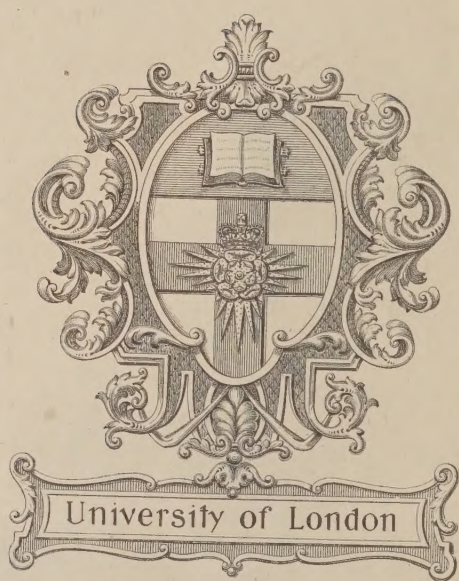
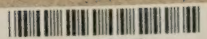






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ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS:

TWENTY-NINE VOLUMES.

— (10.) —

EAST INDIA.

BULLION; GOLD CURRENCY; SOVEREIGNS;
BOOTAN; BURMAH, BRITISH; CANALS; CIVIL SERVICE;
DHAR; ENGINEERS' ESTABLISHMENT.

Session

7 February — 6 July 1865.

VOL. XXXIX.

1865.



ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS:

1865.

TWENTY-NINE VOLUMES:—CONTENTS OF THE

TENTH VOLUME.

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Bullion:

334. Return of the Value of Bullion, Gold and Silver, Imported into and Exported from each Presidency of *India*, showing the Excess of Import or Export in each Year; also the Value of Bullion, Gold and Silver, Coined at the several Mints within each Presidency respectively for the like Period (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 133, of Session 1864) - - - - - p. 1

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“RETURN of the Value of BULLION, GOLD and SILVER, Imported into and Exported from each Presidency of *India*, showing the Excess of Import or Export in each Year; also the Value of BULLION, GOLD and SILVER, Coined at the several Mints within each Presidency respectively for the like Period (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 133, of Session 1864).”

Year ending 30 April	I M P O R T S.						E X P O R T S.						TOTAL BALANCE.	C O I N A G E.						TOTAL.							
	BENGAL.		MADRAS.		BOMBAY.		BENGAL.		MADRAS.		BOMBAY.			BENGAL.		MADRAS.		BOMBAY.									
	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.		Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.								
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.		£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.								
1863 -	1,846,298*	2,924,474*	1,009,939	745,001	4,025,332	9,857,923	13,360	447,726*	135	115,324	19,925	514,189	19,398,315*	£.	£.	none	£.	£.	£.	9,382,132							
1864 -	2,529,721	2,305,817	1,082,395	839,448	5,308,324	10,828,135	14,172	674,372	5,200	89,358	7,734	474,353	21,629,751	none	2,598,015	none	1,277,670	none	7,604,000	11,479,685							
TOTAL from the Year 1800 - - - £.													256,013,988	TOTAL from the Year 1800 - - - £.													231,950,981

* In the previous Return British Burmah was not included.

India Office, 30 May 1865.

M. Hornidge, Statistical Reporter.

EAST INDIA (BULLION).

RETURN of the Value of Bullion, Gold and Silver,
Imported into and Exported from each Presidency
of *India*, showing the Excess of Import or Export
in each Year; also the Value of Bullion, Gold and
Silver, Coined at the several Mints within each
Presidency respectively for the like Period (in
continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 133, of
Session 1864).

(*Colonel Sykes.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
1 June 1865.

EAST INDIA (GOLD CURRENCY).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 24 February 1865;—for,

“ COPIES of a RESOLUTION, No. 1325, dated Simla, 12th July 1864, by the Government of India, Financial Department, on the subject of a GOLD CURRENCY for *India*, together with the several MINUTES, LETTERS, &c., therein referred to :”

“ And, of any CORRESPONDENCE between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India, relative to the same subject.”

India Office, }
27 February 1865. }

T. L. SECCOMBE,
Secretary, Financial Department.

(*Mr. Crawford.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed.
28 February 1865.

COPIES of a RESOLUTION (No. 1325), dated Simla, 12th July 1864, by the Government of India, Financial Department, on the subject of a GOLD CURRENCY for *India*, together with the several MINUTES, LETTERS, &c., therein referred to ;—And of any CORRESPONDENCE between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India, relative to the same subject.

RESOLUTION by the Government of India, Financial Department
(No. 1325); dated Simla, 12 July 1864.

READ the following papers on the subject of a Gold Currency for India :—

Letter from the Secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, dated 19th February 1864, forwarding copy of a Resolution passed at a General Meeting of the Chamber on the 17th idem.

Reply to ditto (No. 1124), dated 29th idem, stating that the subject above referred to was under consideration.

Memorial from the Bombay Association, dated 19th idem.

Reply to ditto (No. 1123), dated 29th idem.

Letter from the Government of Bombay (No. 252), dated 7th March 1864, forwarding a Memorial from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, together with copies of the Minutes recorded by the Members of that Government on the above subject.

Reply to ditto (No. 1516), dated 18th idem.

Memorial from the Madras Chamber of Commerce, dated 30th April 1864.

Reply to ditto (No. 474), dated 28th May 1864.

Letters from the Government of Bombay (Nos. 308 and 520), dated 19th March and 11th May 1864, respectively.

Read also a Minute by the Honourable Sir C. E. Trevelyan, K. C. B., dated 20th June 1864, proposing to introduce a gold currency into India by declaring sovereigns and half-sovereigns according to the British and Australian Standard, to be a legal tender in India, at the rate of one sovereign for ten rupees, and recommending a modification of Act XIX. of 1861, whereby currency notes would be exchangeable for coin only, instead of for coin and bullion, as permitted by Section IX. of that Act.

The Governor General in Council directs that this Minute be published for general information in a *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, to be issued at Calcutta, with the intimation that a Despatch will be addressed to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India in support of the recommendations contained therein ; and that, in the event of his approval, it is proposed to give legislative effect to those recommendations.

From *H. W. J. Wood*, Esq., Secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, to *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department; dated 19 February 1864.

I AM directed by the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce to forward, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, a copy of a resolution passed at a general meeting of the Chamber on the 17th instant.

2. The resolution records the opinion that the introduction into India of an auxiliary gold currency would be attended with great benefit, and directs the committee to address the Government of India on the subject, and pray for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the best mode of introducing such an auxiliary currency.

3. In compliance, therefore, with that direction, the Committee have the honour to submit for the consideration of his Excellency their recommendation of the introduction of gold as an auxiliary currency, and their prayer that a committee be appointed to inquire into the means best adapted for the introduction of such a currency.

4. The introduction of a gold currency into India is almost universally admitted as a positive necessity demanded by various circumstances which have been gradually developed within the last few years, and the time appears to have arrived when that necessity should be at once recognised by the State, and measures promptly adopted for such a modification of existing monetary legislation as will best promote the commercial and social interests of the country.

5. The opinion of the Committee and of the meeting was strongly in favour of the introduction of gold as an auxiliary currency, and as a tentative measure which they believe will gradually but surely lead to the adoption of gold as a general metallic currency of this country, with silver as the auxiliary, but they are opposed to any sudden change being attempted, fearing that any such attempt would prove unsuccessful, and be likely to cause great derangement in the commerce and finance of India, and probably also in the money markets of Europe, if a large quantity of gold were suddenly required to carry out such a change.

6. For convenience of reference, the Committee beg leave to append to this letter the correspondence which took place on this subject between the Government of India and the Chamber of Commerce in 1859, and they respectfully invite the attention of the Governor General in Council to the representation then made, and to the replies given to the several objections which had been raised to the proposed measure.

7. In placing these papers before his Excellency, the Committee consider it unnecessary at this moment to enter into a further discussion of the question, for in the event of his Excellency being pleased to appoint the committee applied for, a separate report will be presented, and every point in connection with the scheme will no doubt be prominently noticed.

RESOLUTION adopted at a Special General Meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce held on the 17 February 1864.

Resolved,—That this meeting is of opinion that the introduction of gold as an auxiliary currency into India would prove very beneficial, and that the Committee be instructed to address the Government of India on the subject, and pray for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the best mode of introducing such an auxiliary currency.

From *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department, to the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce; (No. 1124), dated 29 February 1864.

IN reply to your secretary's letter of the 19th February 1864, forwarding copy of a resolution passed at a general meeting of the Chamber on the 17th idem, regarding the introduction into India of an auxiliary gold currency, I am directed to state that his Excellency the Governor General in Council has this important subject under consideration, but it is not deemed necessary to appoint a committee to inquire into the best mode of introducing such an auxiliary currency.

The respectful Memorial of the Bombay Association, to the Right Honourable Sir John Lawrence, Bart., G. C. B., K. S. I., &c. &c. &c., Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council, dated 8 February 1864 :

Sheweth,

THAT your Memorialists beg respectfully to submit for the serious and favourable consideration of your Excellency in Council, the following representation in regard to the question of the introduction of gold currency into India.

2. That the existing silver currency is no longer adequate for the wants of India, and that commerce begins to be seriously crippled by its inefficiency.

3. That from time immemorial until some years ago India possessed an extensive gold currency.

4. That the superior convenience of this circulating medium was well understood by the natives of this country.

5. That the measures adopted by the British Government for the regulation of the money of India had the effect of gradually suppressing a gold and extending a silver currency, and that finally in 1835 an Act was passed declaring gold no longer a legal tender.

6. That these stringent regulations have virtually extinguished a gold currency in India, but have by no means extinguished its popularity.

7. That the few gold coins remaining in circulation are greatly prized and command a considerable premium in the market.

8. That rude attempts are made by some of the natives of India to remedy the defects of the present inconvenient silver currency, by circulating gold bars authenticated by the stamp of Bombay Banks.

9. That when the present currency was introduced into India silver was much more abundant than gold, and on this account was probably adopted.

10. That large quantities of gold have now been discovered in adjacent countries, and that this metal being now greatly more abundant than silver, the same reason which originally led to the introduction of silver now should suggest the expediency of the introduction of gold.

11. That India annually imports and absorbs more silver than the whole world annually produces, and that this excessive drain must inevitably lead to serious embarrassment both to India and to the rest of the world.

12. That India annually loses a large sum by being virtually forced to purchase silver brought from distant countries and weighted with heavy charges.

13. That gold might be imported much more conveniently and cheaply from Australia, and not only save expense to the country, but promote the general interests of India.

14. That direct trade with Australia is prohibited by the present exclusive silver standard and currency, and the expansion of the commerce of India thus seriously impeded.

15. That India cannot resell silver reaching her so burthened with charges without loss, and is therefore obliged to absorb it.

16. That India might obtain gold at a rate which would enable her profitably to distribute it, and that its introduction, therefore, would not only check absorption, but add materially to the reproductive wealth of the country.

17. That a silver currency convenient for the people of India a quarter of a century ago, when trade was limited, and payments in the main extremely small, is very inconvenient now that wealth is largely diffused throughout the country and the operations of commerce have become so enormous.

18. That the transport of this bulky and cumbersome currency entails constant and useless expense upon the country, and its consequent sluggish circulation is a serious impediment to trade.

19. That India is not yet prepared for a paper currency, and that the Currency Act of 1861 does not provide any remedy for the defects of the monetary system, which the late Right Honourable Mr. Wilson admitted "called loudly for amendment."

20. That currency notes do not circulate in the interior, and even in large towns in the Mofussil only rank as hoondies, and cannot be cashed, except under heavy discount.

21. That the insufficiency of the existing currency has already caused severe financial embarrassment, and threatens the commerce of India with periodical and fatal vicissitudes.

22. That reform is therefore very urgently required, and cannot be delayed without endangering national interests.

23. That your Memorialists therefore respectfully pray your Excellency in Council to take this question into immediate consideration, and to restore a gold currency which the altered circumstances of the world recommend, and which your Memorialists believe would be most popularly received in India, both from ancient associations and present convenience.

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

From *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department, to the Committee of the Bombay Association; (No. 1123), dated 29 February 1864.

IN reply to the memorial of the Bombay Association, dated 8th February 1864, for the introduction into India of a gold currency, I am directed to state that his Excellency the Governor General in Council has this important subject under consideration.

From *A. D. Robertson*, Esq., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, to *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department; (No. 252), dated 7 March 1864.

I AM directed by his Excellency the Governor in Council, to forward for submission to the Government of India, the accompanying memorial of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce,* addressed to the Right Honourable the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council, on the desirability of introducing a gold currency into India, together with copies of the Minutes recorded by the members of this Government on the subject.

2. The memorial of the Bombay Association referred to in paragraph 2 of his Excellency the Governor's Minute of the 23d ultimo has, it is presumed, been

* Received with letter from the Secretary to the Chamber, No. 21, dated 19th February 1864.

been already forwarded direct to the Government of India by the Association. A copy of that memorial, and of the letter of Mr. W. Cassels, referred to in the concluding paragraph of the Honourable Mr. Inverarity's Minute, are also herewith forwarded.

3. The Minute promised by his Excellency the Commander in Chief, will be submitted as soon as it is received.

The respectful Memorial of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce to the Right Honourable Sir *John Lawrence*, G.C.B., K.S.I., &c. &c. &c., Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council :

Sheweth,

THAT the monetary condition of India is in a most unsound and unsatisfactory state, and that its exclusive silver currency is no longer adequate for the circulation of the increased and increasing amount of commodities through its vast population.

2. That within the last ten years, the trade of Bombay has been trebled, and that last year the aggregate export and import trade alone of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, amounted to 1,060 millions of rupees.

3. That the resources of India are only now beginning to be developed, and that its commerce and industry, now stimulated into healthy activity, are rapidly expanding in every direction.

4. That the wise regulation of our currency therefore demands the immediate and serious attention of Government.

5. That when our silver standard and currency were introduced, the production of silver amounted to double that of gold, and was therefore reasonably selected for this country.

6. That whilst the demand of India has enormously increased, the production of silver has remained unaltered, and has become insufficient.

7. That the annual produce of silver throughout the world does not exceed 10 millions sterling.

8. That during the last six years the average annual importation and absorption of silver by India alone has amounted to $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, and that last year the amount imported was no less than $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

9. That India alone, therefore, has consumed during the last six years on an average 15 per cent., and last year nearly 50 per cent., more silver than the whole world annually produces.

10. That the annual aggregate demand for silver throughout the world may be fairly estimated at about treble the annual production.

11. That great scarcity and enhancement in the value of silver must inevitably ensue from this excessive disproportion between demand and supply.

12. That the inevitable decrease in the amount of our currency, therefore, just at a time when the amount of commodities to be circulated has so enormously increased, and a consequent violent derangement of prices, cannot fail to be most disastrous to India.

13. That the continued drain of silver for India must derange, if not eventually destroy, the silver currency of all other nations.

14. That it is the interest of the world, as well as of India, to check the exhaustive drain of silver, by the introduction of gold into our currency.

15. That the special demand of India for silver does not arise from any predilection for that metal, but is compulsory, and due only to our exclusive and inconvenient silver currency.

16. That while the production of silver has remained unaltered, in spite of increased demand, and is so insufficient, the production of gold has largely in-

creased, and annually amounts to at least 150 per cent. more than that of silver.

17. That this complete revolution in the relative quantities of the precious metals, and the discovery of gold in an adjacent country, naturally suggests the necessity of a corresponding adjustment of our currency, and the introduction of gold.

18. That while there is not enough of silver for India, and for other countries, there is abundance of gold for all.

19. That while silver must be transported from a great distance, and reaches us burdened with heavy charges, gold may be cheaply procured from neighbouring countries.

20. That from its enhanced cost in India, we cannot profitably or without loss, re-export silver, and its reproductive power is thus lost to this country.

21. That our silver standard and currency therefore force India to continue the "sink" of this precious metal, adding the reluctant absorption of commerce to the characteristic absorption of the ryot.

22. That instead of being the last recipients and absorbers of silver, we might become the first importers and the distributors of gold.

23. That India is virtually compelled to purchase silver, the dearer and scarcer of the precious metals, and prevented taking gold, which is cheaper and more abundant.

24. That, obtaining money cheaper, we should obtain all other commodities cheaper also.

25. That the heavy charges with which silver is burdened are a serious and unnecessary loss to India.

26. That our exclusive silver standard and currency renders direct trade with Australia and other gold-producing districts impossible; and forces a country, with abundance of the more precious metal, to traverse half the globe in search of silver before she can pay for our commodities.

27. That this prohibitive currency, which excludes us from commercial intercourse with neighbouring countries, must severely injure the interests of India.

28. That a silver currency is bulky and inconvenient, and entails much expense upon India.

29. That the cost of transport is a serious item in State charges and in private accounts, the weight of 1,000 l. sterling in rupees being no less than 312 lbs. 6 oz. troy.

30. That the mere loss of time in counting, weighing, and examining it is vexatious and embarrassing.

31. That the cumbrous nature of our silver currency not only causes much heavy and unnecessary expense, but from the impossibility of its rapid transmission from point to point renders it necessary for Government to retain large and unprofitable balances in various treasuries.

32. That the accumulation of Government and private funds, which the difficulty of transport necessitates, not only causes much loss of interest, but restricts all business operations.

33. That the introduction of a gold currency into India would promote an equable distribution of the precious metals, and restore their relative equilibrium.

34. That the superior convenience of gold, and its adaptation to native wants, would secure an immediate and intelligent welcome for a gold currency in India.

35. That the importation of gold has for many years steadily increased, though it is not a legal tender, the amount imported last year being nearly seven millions

lions sterling, and that from the 1st May to the 31st December, since the returns quoted, no less than 3½ millions sterling of gold are imported into Bombay alone.

36. That there is an increasing tendency to the creation of a gold ingot currency, by the natives of this country, as a rude remedy for the defects of the existing silver one.

37. That gold bars, stamped with the mark of Bombay Banks, are for this purpose circulated in several parts of the country.

38. That the exclusion of gold from our currency cannot be justified, and cannot be considered other than barbarous, irrational, and unnatural.

39. That it is only just and reasonable that India should be allowed the benefits which she would secure from the introduction of a gold currency.

40. That recent financial derangements warn us of the necessity of immediate reform.

41. That the longer this reform is delayed, the more difficult will it become.

42. That your memorialists, therefore, earnestly entreat your Excellency in Council to take this important question at once into serious consideration, and to effect an amendment which is so loudly called for, by introducing a well-regulated gold currency into India.

MINUTE by his Excellency the Governor of Bombay; dated 23 February 1864.

I WOULD forward this memorial to the Government of India without delay, with a request that the subject may receive the early attention of the Governor General in Council, as it is one of the greatest importance at the present moment to the commercial interests of this part of India.

2. I would add a copy of the very able memorial of the Bombay Association, which may be taken as an expression of the views generally concurred in by the leaders of the native mercantile community.

3. These papers state so clearly the arguments in favour of the adoption of a gold currency for India, that I will confine myself to briefly expressing my own views as to the course to be taken by Government, assuming it for granted that, if the present demand for silver continues, the adoption of a gold currency will very speedily become a matter of necessity rather than of choice, and that our present duty, therefore, is simply to prepare the way for a change, which, supposing the present state of things to continue, may at no distant period be forced upon us.

4. I would, in the first place, act on the proviso in the last clause of section 9 of Act XIX. of 1861.

5. The effect of this would doubtless be to substitute a considerable proportion of gold for the silver which is now imported into India, and, in proportion of such substitution, to relieve the inconvenience now felt by the absolute scarcity of silver in Europe.

6. It would also tend to expand the use of Government currency notes, and to set free a corresponding quantity of silver which is now absorbed in various ways in remote parts of the country, and which disappears from the circulation of our great commercial marts.

7. I may remark, in passing, that this absorption of silver, of which we hear so much, is not, in my opinion, entirely owing to hoarding or the use of silver in ornaments; great quantities, I believe, go to furnish a currency where no general medium of exchange before existed. There can be no doubt rupees are now found in hundreds of small bazaars where all trade used to be conducted by barter; and if any one who is acquainted with the almost universal prevalence of barter a few years ago, in all but the larger bazaars of country districts, will reflect on the amount of silver which must be absorbed before all the petty bazaars of the country are furnished with silver coin as a medium of exchange,

he will at once perceive that it must occasion an absorption of silver quite as important as the practice of hoarding, or of converting silver into ornaments.

8. It has been objected to the proviso in section 9 of the Paper Currency Act, that Government might be embarrassed if they got too large a quantity of gold, as compared with silver, in their Treasury, in exchange for notes; but I am convinced that there is no ground whatever for apprehension on this score, because, in the event of any panic which might cause a run on the bank, nine natives out of ten would prefer to exchange their notes for gold rather than for silver, owing to its superior portability.

9. When we have had time to see the effect of issuing notes against gold, we shall be in a better position to consider what further steps may be called for. Probably the next step would be to allow the Government revenue above 10 rupees to be paid in sovereigns. It is clear that there must be a much larger amount of gold than at present in common commercial use before the question of the necessity for a change in standard can become one of immediate practical importance.

10. It will probably be necessary that we should first pass through the inconvenient and anomalous stage of a double or alternative standard; but I cannot see that at the present stage Government can be reasonably expected to do more than I have above proposed.

MINUTE by His Excellency the Commander in Chief, Bombay; dated
25 February 1864.

I WILL not now detain these papers. I have been for some time engaged in the investigation of the question, which has now been formally proposed by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for the consideration of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council. I purpose, in consequence, to submit my views in detail to the Board at an early date. In the mean time, I would ask to signify my concurrence in the prayer of the memorial.

MINUTE by the Honourable *W. E. Frere*, Bombay; dated 26 February 1864.

As this is not a question for our decision, I will not detain these papers further than to add my concurrence in the opinion given by his Excellency the President, and conviction that, as the first step in the monetary revolution we are now entering upon, or being driven into, action on the 9th section of Act XIX. of 1861 is imperatively called for.

MINUTE by the Honourable *J. D. Inverarity*, Bombay; dated
29 February 1864.

I THINK that the measure proposed by his Excellency the President, and concurred in by my honourable colleague, will be found to be totally inadequate to accomplish the end sought for by the memorialists, viz., the introduction into India of a well-regulated gold currency.

2. It is an admitted fact, that as yet the supply of the precious metals in India is altogether insufficient to meet the demands for currency purposes, and the introduction of a paper currency, unfamiliar to the masses, and unsuited to their habits and condition, has not been followed by any very great measure of success. Silver and gold continue to flow into this country in vast quantities. The appended statements, prepared in the secretariat, show that for the past nine years, 1854-55 to 1862-63, the imports of silver into Bombay in excess of exports stand at 33,89,69,774 rupees, a sum not far short of 34 millions sterling, and that for the same period the imports of gold in excess of exports stand at 16,51,91,293 rupees, or somewhat more than 16½ millions sterling. These imports have largely increased year by year, and still the demand will be

be for more. During the current year it is expected the imports of silver over exports will not be far short of 12 millions sterling. "It is not," as expressed by a writer in the "Westminster Review" for last month, "any fall in the value of silver which has brought about the drain of this metal to the East, but simply the nature of the Indian and Chinese demand for our manufactures, which is very small compared with ours for their productions, but which is immense for silver, which represents to them everything desirable in their conceptions of luxury, comfort, and security. * * * * * In spite of our troubles in India, and a state of chronic warfare in China, the increase of our trade with the East during the last ten years has been enormous. This, too, may be looked upon as only the beginning of a commerce that must grow to proportions which cannot be estimated. The most important feature, too, of eastern trade, is the manner in which it absorbs the precious metals. This is a peculiarity so intimately bound up with the social condition of the East, that it is likely to last as long as their ignorance and mutual mistrust. Until a system of credit can grow up among them like that which in Europe dispenses with the use of gold and silver for almost all things but retail transactions and the payment of labour, the East must ever remain a perfect sink for the precious metals. What amount of money would be sufficient to saturate the hoarding propensities of these hundreds of millions of men? * * * There is no practical limit to the demand of the East for the precious metals except the industry that they can develop in its acquisition, and that industry is susceptible of indefinite development."

3. Dr. Nassau Lees, in his book "The Drain of Silver to the East," lately published, supports the same view at pages 43 to 46. He considers that the demand of the precious metals for currency purposes in India will not only continue for a very long time, but will yet be enormous. He shows that India is still capable of absorbing four or five hundred millions of pounds sterling of silver, in addition to what she already possesses. The question then arises, can this enormous quantity of silver be provided for India? and, as there can be but one answer, the alternative seems to be that prayed for by the memorialists, viz., the adoption of a gold standard, and the introduction of a gold currency with subsidiary silver tokens, as set forth by Mr. Walter Cassels in his letter of the 1st ultimo to the address of his Excellency the Governor. The action of the people themselves, by largely importing gold, and by making it current in stamped bars, has already opened the way for Government to supply a long-felt want, the continued existence of which may lead to future embarrassment. The bugbear of the possible fall of value in gold is thus well disposed of by the writer in the review I have already quoted: "All the efforts which have been made to estimate the fall of value in gold by calculating the effect of the annual additions to the existing stock of the metal, err by ignoring the immense effect of the additions themselves upon the productive industry of the world, and by overlooking the direct tendency of such a stimulus to re-establish the old ratio between the circulating medium and commodities, upon which ratio prices ultimately depend."

4. The prayer of the memorial has my cordial support, and Mr. Walter Cassels' letter of 1st January 1864, on the same subject, to his Excellency the Governor, has my full concurrence, and might be submitted to the Government of India with the memorial.

From *W. R. Cassels, Esq.*, Bombay, to His Excellency Sir *Bartle Frere*, K.C.B., Governor of Bombay, &c. &c. &c.; dated 1 January 1864.

THE monetary condition of our Indian Empire is so unsound, and the necessity of a thorough reform of its currency so urgent, that I venture to address your Excellency on the subject, in the hope that, recognising the inadequateness of the existing system for the wants of the community, your Excellency may be induced to exert your great influence to secure the introduction of a gold currency and standard into India.

Your Excellency is aware that, for some years, the commerce of India, and especially of Bombay, has rapidly increased. Favourable circumstances have

occurred to develop the resources of the country, and wealth has been largely distributed amongst all classes from the ryot to the merchant. In ten years the trade of Bombay, as the following statistics show, has increased nearly 250 per cent.

YEARS.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1853-54 - - -	8,43,83,626	9,50,71,893	17,94,55,519
1854-55 - - -	7,82,52,261	8,16,98,816	15,99,51,077
1855-56 - - -	11,57,73,041	10,29,19,161	21,86,92,202
1856-57 - - -	14,48,46,391	12,57,93,939	27,06,40,330
1857-58 - - -	16,31,60,026	14,67,73,599	30,99,33,625
1858-59 - - -	18,38,15,410	15,95,08,825	34,33,24,235
1859-60 - - -	19,87,49,906	15,51,54,526	35,39,04,432
1860-61 - - -	18,62,63,013	19,48,80,399	38,11,43,412
1861-62 - - -	21,85,65,797	21,29,99,605	43,15,65,402
1862-63 - - -	29,01,87,097	30,13,92,044	59,15,79,141

These amounts, however, being but Custom House valuations, do not adequately represent the extent of our commerce during the last three years, and taking into consideration the high prices realised for cotton in England, and paid for piece goods here, they might fairly be increased by 15 or 20 per cent. The aggregate commerce of Calcutta last year amounted to 34,06,04,861 rupees, and that of Madras to 13,04,66,579 rupees, making a total for the three Presidencies, of 1,06,26,50,579 rupees.

It is clear that the amount of money required to circulate commodities to so large an extent as this through so many hands, as well as to suffice for the wants of a population of 200,000,000, must be very great. There can, therefore, scarcely be a subject of greater importance for the consideration of Government than the wise regulation of the currency, upon which the well-being of so vast an empire so vitally depends, and it is one which at present demands their immediate attention.

The late Right Honourable James Wilson, in his speech on a paper currency, expressed in distinct terms his sense of the inefficiency of the existing Indian currency. "I believe," he said, "there is but one opinion throughout India, and I will add at home, that the currency of this dependency of the British empire is in a most unsatisfactory state; there may be, and no doubt there are, many different opinions as to the mode in which its glaring defects can be best amended, but at least all are agreed that amendment is loudly called for. If," he continued, "your monetary condition be unsound, the country will be exposed, in an aggravated form, to all those vicissitudes which overtake trade, for a time paralyse industry, and impoverish the people; if, on the other hand, it be based on sound and solid principles, we may rest contented that we have at least taken every precaution within our power, if not for altogether preventing those vicissitudes, yet for alleviating their consequences and shortening their duration."

I quote these statements, not only as possessing all the weight of opinions expressed by so able a financier, but also as being particularly appropriate at a time when trade is really suffering from the very species of vicissitude which Mr. Wilson anticipated, and which is both intensified and prolonged by the imperfect currency which he described.

The only object of a currency*being to circulate commodities in the most convenient manner, Mr. Wilson, of course, admitted that this was best attained by adopting either gold or silver as a standard by which their value might be defined, but he proposed his scheme of a convertible paper currency for the purpose of setting free a large portion of the reproductive capital of the country, thus absorbed and rendered sterile. The Currency Bill was no doubt a very important and desirable measure, whose usefulness, probably, will increase as the country becomes ripe for its acceptance. Hitherto, however, I believe, that the objects for which it was framed have not to any considerable extent been attained, and, for the present, it has not been successful in reforming the defects of the Indian currency.

A paper currency, based upon sound principles, is certainly one of the wisest measures of financial administration; but for its general adoption throughout a country, it is requisite that intelligence and confidence should be largely diffused. The acceptance of a piece of paper, without intrinsic worth, and deriving its sole value from the mere promise to pay a certain sum, denotes the existence of a healthy public credit, and reliance upon administrative principles which can only be found in an advanced state of civilisation, and after a long period of commercial good faith.

I believe that few persons acquainted with the state of India will assert that the mass of its population are yet prepared to understand, or avail themselves of such a currency. Centuries of misrule and oppression under Native rule have implanted suspicion and distrust in the native character; and European civilisation has as yet scarcely lifted a corner of the veil of ignorance that enshrouds and perpetuates these hereditary qualities. Without going into statistics at all, therefore, it might be predicated that a paper currency, unintelligible both in form and in principle to the great mass of the people, could not circulate much beyond a few of the greater towns into which European enterprise and enlightenment have penetrated. That this has really been the case is evident from the following statement of the currency departments in the three Presidencies:—

PRESIDENCIES.	RESERVE.			Value of Notes in Circulation.
	Bullion.	Coin.	Government Securities.	
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
Calcutta* - -	- -	1,84,55,922	1,10,44,078	2,95,00,000
Madras* - -	- -	73,00,000	- -	73,00,000
Bombay† - -	1,17,00,000	1,19,00,000	- -	2,36,00,000
Total - -	1,17,00,000	3,76,55,922	1,10,44,078	6,04,00,000

* 31st October 1863.

† 4th January 1864.

Speaking in 1860, Mr. Wilson stated that the coinage in the three Indian mints, since 1835, amounted to upwards of 100 crores of rupees, or 100 millions sterling, and that, during the last four years of the period, the production had actually been at the rate of 12 millions sterling in each year.

Professing, however, to allow for the great withdrawal of coin, both for the purpose of hoarding and conversion into jewellery, he estimated the total amount in actual circulation at 100 crores of rupees or 100 millions sterling. I cannot understand by what process he arrived at this high estimate, but I believe that if he had reduced it by one-half, he would have been much nearer the mark. He, in fact, assumed that the coin issued prior to 1835 counterbalanced the whole of the previous and subsequent absorption. It would not be difficult, I think, to show the incorrectness of his estimate; but, accepting it for the present, and taking it, as Mr. Wilson apparently desired, as the basis of our calculation, we find that currency notes, after three years, have really only been taken to the extent of about 6 per cent. of the whole currency, and that they have actually only fulfilled their sole legitimate object of releasing the reproductive capital of the country to the extent of a million sterling, or one per cent.

As an illustration of my assertion that India is yet far from prepared for such a circulating medium, I may mention a case which occurred in Bombay within my own knowledge. A Parsee gentleman tendered a currency note for 100 rupees to a native carpenter for work done, which he somewhat reluctantly accepted. This was about the time when the present monetary pressure first became intense, and the value of Government securities had declined, and banks were no longer able or willing to lend money against them. Two days after, the native returned, wringing his hands, and saying that he had been unable to change the note in the bazaar, and that he understood that Govern-

ment notes were no longer worth anything. In order to test the state of popular credulity, the gentleman offered 45 rupees for the 100 rupees note, which the native thankfully accepted, and he was going away in a more easy state of mind when he was recalled, and the full amount of rupees handed to him. I fear that, amongst the poorer classes in the interior, a currency note would be regarded with still greater distrust.

The statistics which I have cited, it appears to me, conclusively prove that the Currency Act of 1861 has not produced any very material result, and that the "amendment" which Mr. Wilson admitted to be "so loudly called for," has yet to be effected and is now more urgently required than ever.

Whatever may be the monetary state of any country, moments of vicissitude must of course occur, and passing storms must disturb, in order to clear, the commercial atmosphere. Where the currency, however, is sufficient, and based upon sound principles, these periods of commercial distress, although they cannot be altogether prevented, are seldom of long duration, and can speedily be relieved. The trade of Bombay, at present, is passing through one of those periods of severe monetary pressure which a defective currency mainly contributes to prolong. The crisis, I think, may be accounted for from the fact that our unprecedentedly active and profitable trade, and the numerous hands through which commodities have to pass in this country, have absorbed a great part of our metallic currency. The stream of capital has, to an unusual extent, flowed into the interior for cotton and other produce; much has been distributed amongst the ryots, by whom it has been absorbed; and much has been embarked in speculative investments. This has proceeded with a rapidity commensurate with the activity of commerce, and, rather suddenly, the country has found itself without sufficient coin for the efficient circulation of commodities. Under these circumstances one of three things generally happens; either the deficiency is made up by artificial contrivances—and here our paper currency has not helped us; or money must be made to do double work, and pass from hand to hand with a rapidity sufficient to compensate for its reduced quantity; or the market must adjust itself to the smaller currency, by a general fall in prices. In our case, peculiar circumstances have modified all of these effects. The price of all securities has more or less declined, and other commodities have likewise been partially affected, but holders, generally, are too strong and wealthy to succumb under a pressure which they feel to be only temporary, so that, instead of parting with their goods or produce for a smaller quantity of the circulating medium, they prefer retaining them. Prices, therefore, have not adjusted themselves to the reduced currency, but business has been almost altogether suspended. The demand for money continues great; profitable employment for it is still abounding, and the Bank's rate of interest has been raised to 24 per cent.; while those who have required to draw their capital from England have been content to engage to pay 2*s.* 3*d.* there, six months hence, for each rupee advanced in India. This crisis might, and, no doubt, would have occurred, whether our standard had been gold or silver, but it appears to me that, with a gold standard, its severity would have been mitigated, and its duration materially abridged. Our relief can only be effected by importations of silver, for I do not believe that we can reasonably hope for a sufficient present return of coin from the interior. Now silver is becoming scarce in Europe, its transport is comparatively difficult, and even when received in Bombay, the working powers of the mint are greatly below the requirements of the country. At the present moment, with the demand for money so intense that interest is 24 per cent., and the exchange on England 2*s.* 2*d.*, about 80 lakhs of rupees in bullion, belonging to merchants, lie in the mint uncoined and unassayed. With gold for our circulating medium, this state of affairs could scarcely long continue, and an ample supply, to meet so profitable a demand, would certainly have flowed into our market, but, under existing circumstances, I cannot see any immediate prospect of effectual relief.

Both the public and the Government are subjected to loss by our bulky and inconvenient silver coinage. "Can any one form a just estimate," demanded Mr. Wilson, "of the whole cost to which the public are put in transmitting this bulky coin from place to place? Can any one even judge of the expense which the Government alone has incurred on this account?"

He also alludes, as to a familiar and patent fact, to the inconvenience of the present money to every one in private life. Indeed this can scarcely be rendered

dered more apparent than by the circumstance that scarcely any European or native gentleman ever carries a single rupee about his person. Mr. Wilson, however, mentioned one circumstance which very forcibly illustrates the inadequacy and inconvenience of such a circulating medium. He stated, "In one of the large trading towns in the North-west, I found a remarkable example of this inconvenience. I found that recourse had been had for a circulating medium, in order to save the labour and time of counting large sums in rupees, to the use of mysterious sealed bags, said to contain 1,000 rupees each. These bags circulate freely, in wholesale transactions, upon the faith the merchants have in each other, with a 'chit' or letter of endorsement, without always any precise knowledge of what the real contents are. Sir, when recourse is had to expedients of this kind, we have ample proof that some reform in our existing system is loudly called for."

But this inconvenient coinage which native dealers struggle in a measure to correct for themselves, is actually maintained at great unnecessary expense. The estimated number of rupees in circulation, according to Mr. Wilson, is no less than 1,000 millions, and the aggregate trade of the three presidential towns represents a sum of upwards of 1,062 millions, to maintain which in circulation the three mints annually coin upwards of 120 millions of rupees. A large part of the expense thus incurred, in producing an unwieldy and costly coin of small intrinsic value, might be saved by adopting a gold standard.

India has for ages enjoyed the unenviable reputation of being the "sink" of the precious metals, but, since the adoption of a silver standard for her currency, the process of absorption has principally acted upon that metal, gold not being a legal tender, and consequently being less freely imported. From the 30th April 1834 to the same date in 1857, about 60,000,000 *l.* sterling, chiefly in silver, were imported into India, of which no less than 90 per cent. were actually coined into rupees, at a considerable expense to the Government; a large part of which, doubtless, was subsequently converted into bangles, at an equivalent loss to the country. The amount of silver bullion and coin imported into each of the three Presidencies during the last six years is as follows:—

YEARS.	CALCUTTA.	MADRAS.	BOMBAY.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1857-58 - -	7,14,90,940	1,39,86,923	5,96,49,976	14,51,27,839
1858-59 - -	3,23,48,032	1,10,58,271	4,45,15,517	8,79,21,820
1859-60 - -	6,76,24,417	1,22,78,944	4,67,86,769	12,66,90,130
1860-61 - -	2,60,97,635	1,38,02,362	3,88,59,849	7,87,59,846
1861-62 - -	2,70,45,899	1,28,44,799	6,64,71,563	10,63,62,261
1862-63 - -	2,19,15,689	1,30,00,000*	9,95,92,005	14,45,92,000

* Estimate.

and since the period included in the above calculation, say from the 1st May to the 31st December, about 6,25,00,000 rupees have been imported into Bombay alone. If the American war proceed, and certainly there is not at present any indication whatever of its close, we shall continue to draw from Europe even larger quantities of silver than at present, and from the wide distribution of profits throughout the interior, amongst that class especially which has always been the most insatiable absorber of the metal, very little of this will be permanently added to the circulating medium of the country, but it will in large part be engulfed in secret hoards, or melted down into bangles and other native jewellery.

Now the silver mines of the world produce, in the aggregate, annually, only about 10,000,000 *l.* sterling, so that India is now taking, and to a large extent absorbing, more silver annually than the whole world produces. Without, therefore, taking into consideration the future exhaustion of mines, the result of such a drain of this metal from Europe is quite clear, and it is already beginning to be felt. Silver must become scarce, the home markets must become unable or unwilling to supply it; banks must raise their rate of discount in order to check exportation, the value of silver must considerably advance, and the rate of exchange become permanently unfavourable to remitters from Europe. The

rise in the value of this metal has already nearly swept away the whole of French silver currency to the East. French coin contains more silver than our subsidiary English currency, and it has been more advantageous to export it as bullion than to use it as money. The only silver coin now remaining in France, in fact, is that which, by wear and tear, has become depreciated. A further advance, by no means improbable, if the present demand be considered, would affect English silver coin precisely in the same way, and we may yet have to melt down the silver currency of England to replenish that of India.

Scarcity and a steady and permanent advance in the price of silver, both of which contingencies appear inevitable, will decrease the amount of our circulation, the natural consequence of which would be that the reduced currency would have to circulate the same amount of commodities as before, and prices, therefore, would be reduced in the same ratio. The great desideratum, however, of any monetary standard, is that it should be as little variable as possible, and a general fall in the price of commodities is far more prejudicial to a community than a general advance. Every sudden fluctuation in value, in fact, affects the conditions of every monetary arrangement. If, for instance, prices rise 50 per cent., every man with a fixed income finds that it is only half as valuable as it was, and, on the other hand, if prices fall 50 per cent., every man bound to pay any fixed sum is obliged really to provide double the amount.

The depreciation which has taken place in the value of gold in consequence of the discovery of the mines of Australia and California, has been made an argument against the adoption of a gold standard. This is, of course, based upon the principle that that standard of value is best which is least variable. I shall consider this point hereafter more fully, but I may here remark that the actual and probable enhancement of the price of silver is, on the very same ground, quite as strong an argument against a silver standard, as any fluctuation of the standard, and consequently of prices, whether up or down, is equally objectionable.

The demand of India for silver, however, which causes this enhancement, and absorbs annually so large a quantity of what is now the dearer and scarcer metal, does not arise from any special predilection for that metal, but from the fact that we have a silver standard, and an extremely inconvenient and bulky silver currency. The demand thus, in a manner artificially created, has increased and will increase with the development of India to a pitch that will drain Europe of silver, derange the currency of all countries possessing a silver standard, and probably affect, if not destroy, the subsidiary coinage of England herself. It is a demand arising from no special expediency, but, on the contrary, is extremely injurious and inconvenient to India, and it will likewise cause inconvenience to almost every other country. If the standard were changed, quite enough of silver would still be imported into this country for manufacturing purposes, to prevent any material fall in its value, but we should not uselessly, and by a partially compulsory demand, absorb it in such large quantities, and extravagantly raise its value.

Consideration, therefore, for the general convenience of the world, as well as of India, I submit, favours the proposal to change our standard from silver to gold. As the metal which contains most value in small bulk, gold has special claims, and as it has been found that the cost of obtaining gold, and, consequently, the cost of gold, varies less than that of silver, it is on that ground likewise preferable as a standard. There are other reasons, however, for which I would venture to urge the adoption of a gold standard. Prior to the discovery of the mines of California and Australia, the annual production of gold amounted only to about 5,000,000 *l.* or 6,000,000 *l.* sterling. During the 10 years since the opening of these new sources of supply, however, it is estimated that 150,000,000 *l.* sterling in excess of any former decade have been added to the stock of the world, and the annual production now amounts to about 25,000,000 *l.* sterling. A considerable portion of this increased production is neutralised by expended commerce and industry, but political economists are pretty well agreed that the excess has depreciated the value of gold. The double argument, therefore, of scarcity of silver, and abundance of gold, advance in the value of the one, and depreciation in that of the other, is, I submit, altogether in favour of the adoption of a gold standard for India. The tendency of the East to absorb the precious metals, would be a mitigated evil if diverted from dear silver to cheap gold; and, in fact, our demand would probably re-adjust and steady the disturbed

turbed balance of the precious metals. The present large production of gold would not be more than sufficient for the wants of the world, if Indian demand drew from it, as it now does of silver, so large a portion as 12,000,000 *l.* sterling. Indeed the great gold discoveries of late years could not have been more opportune, being made just at a time when the rapid development of India's commerce has outstripped its circulating medium. If the annual production of gold were now, as it was so short a time ago, only about 5,000,000 *l.*, the adoption of a gold standard and currency for India might have been unwise and objectionable; but now that the production has been so largely and suddenly increased, and is still increasing, the introduction of the gold standard could not but be generally advantageous, steadying the price of gold on the one hand, and of silver on the other.

Our silver currency, however, entails positive loss upon India. We are in a manner constrained to exchange our commodities for silver, the only metal which is a legal tender in this country; now, silver being dearer than gold, we are thus forced to buy the dearer and scarcer metal, and prevented from taking that which is relatively cheaper.

With a gold standard and currency, England might advantageously for herself, as well as for us, pay us for our products in gold from Australia unburdened, as at present, with the charges of transmission to Europe, of exchange into silver, and of transport overland to India; in fact, we are, by the necessity of this circuitous mode of circulation, virtually prohibited from commercial intercourse with markets at our very door. We are prevented from importing gold direct from Australia materially cheaper than we can obtain silver. Calculating the actual charges upon gold from Australia to England, and expenses there, at five per cent., and the charges thence overland to Bombay, and till it can be converted into coin at five per cent. more, it is at once evident that we could import gold much more advantageously direct from Australia. The charges from Australia to Bombay being estimated at three to five per cent., we should thus secure the metal five to seven per cent. below what we now pay for importations from England, and still more below the cost of silver purchased with gold sent round by London from Australia.

It is an obvious fact, that if we obtain money cheaper we should obtain all other imports cheaper also, and it is not absolutely necessary, in order to obtain gold bullion at a cheaper rate, that we should have a direct demand for our commodities from Australia. There is quite sufficient demand for them in England alone, which exports largely to Australia, to obtain all the gold we want in exchange actually, though circuitously, from the mining country. The demand for gold which would arise from its adoption as a standard in India would be the greatest stimulant to the creation of a direct trade with Australia. The resources of India are only now beginning to expand, and so much wealth is now distributed throughout the country, that even after the cessation of the present extraordinary demand for cotton, our trade will continue to increase, and flow through numerous channels. The manufacturing industry of India will certainly be largely developed. With the freight and heavy charges on cotton on Great Britain, and equally heavy charges upon goods outward again, as a margin at credit, India may well be able to produce the lower qualities of cloth and the lower numbers of yarn, so as to undersell England. Is it too much to say that India may, in the course of some years, be able to export such goods to Australia, amongst other commodities, in exchange for her gold? Every enlightened statesman, overlooking the paltry and unmeaning objection of supposed injury to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, would rejoice to see that day, and would certainly desire to open out in this or any similar way the resources of our Indian empire; so long as we have a silver standard, however, we labour under so great a disadvantage in trading with neighbouring countries, that it is nearly prohibitive. Mr. Laing expressed a decided opinion on this point in introducing the Currency Act of 1861. He said, that "it seemed to him a pity to enact that, for all time to come, in transactions between countries such as Australia and India, an Australian merchant should not be able to pay for a cargo of Indian rice without resorting to the roundabout and expensive process of sending his Australian gold to London, thence to France or Germany, to buy silver, and finally send that silver overland or round the Cape to India."

Mr. Laing and the Select Committee on the Bill, of which your Excellency was a member, therefore "thought that it would be a considerable advantage to provide for the possible application in India of the same principle as regards gold as is applied in England in regard to silver." They consequently granted power to issue up to "one-fourth part of that portion of the circulation of India which is represented by actual coin or bullion against gold coin or bullion, at a rate to be fixed by the Government from time to time, and not altered without six months' notice." The committee hoped that by thus fixing a *minimum* value at which gold should be received at the Government treasuries, its "superior convenience" and "its adaptation to native wants" might in course of time lead to the introduction of a considerable auxiliary gold currency. This important amendment has, for some inscrutable reason or by mere oversight, been allowed ever since to remain a dead letter, and even this timid experiment has not yet been tried. I trust that your Excellency will at least urge that this clause, which you yourself was instrumental in framing for the evident advantage of the country, may at once be brought into operation.

That India has long been prepared to avail itself of this privilege is evident from the importations of gold which have been received for some years. The following is a statement of the amount imported during the last six years into Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay :—

YEARS.	CALCUTTA.	MADRAS.	BOMBAY.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1857-58 - -	1,00,71,277	46,34,989	1,53,35,797	3,00,42,063
1858-59 - -	2,96,29,566	32,37,936	1,97,32,307	5,25,99,809
1859-60 - -	1,10,48,282	51,60,740	2,86,07,418	4,48,16,440
1860-61 - -	1,26,36,424	74,23,585	2,50,32,294	4,50,92,243
1861-62 - -	1,70,42,188	94,41,201	2,85,39,425	5,50,22,714
1862-63 - -	2,26,95,370	1,00,00,000 *	4,02,35,794	7,29,21,164

And from the 1st May to the 31st December, since the above returns, the importation of gold into Bombay alone amounts to nearly three and a-half millions sterling.

We owe it to our silver standard and currency, I maintain, that India has so long continued the "sink" of the precious metals. Absorption is to a very great extent forced upon her, and it is by no voluntary short-sightedness as a commercial country, that so much of India's capital is made unproductive. It is a patent fact that we purchase our silver so dearly, and receive it burdened with so many charges, that it is impossible to sell it otherwise than at a loss. We are, as it were, the last receivers of the commodity, after it has paid tribute to the rest of the world. We cannot re-export it without actual loss, and there is, therefore, a positive inducement to absorb. If, however, gold were our standard, in lieu of being the last, we might become the first recipients, and might profitably distribute, instead of absorbing it. We should be placed on the highway by which gold will travel to Europe, and no longer be the unfortunate "sink" in which the precious metals, after making the circuit of the globe, are dragged down by their weight of charges.

Gold alone can enable a paper currency to fulfil its legitimate purpose in this country. It is only by liberating the precious metals from the duties of circulation, and enabling a country to make them reproductive by exportation as commodities, that a paper currency can legitimately benefit any nation. Supposing, then, that our paper currency were so far successful as to set any amount of silver free for this purpose, India could not avail herself of the opening, because silver costs too dear for re-exportation. On the other hand, gold received from Australia, and thus rendered available, could be profitably exported either on a calculation of its actual cost, or its relative outturn in comparison with other commodities. So long, therefore, as silver is maintained as the standard in India, our paper currency will continue to be delusive and unprofitable, and a wise system of financial administration deprived of all healthy vitality.

A gold

A gold currency would probably in another way check, or at least retard, absorption. Most of the 200 millions of the population of India aid, more or less, in withdrawing coin from circulation, but a vast number of these can only do this by small instalments. Rupee follows rupee but slowly into the secret hoard, although the sum total of petty abstractions from the circulation is an important amount. The intermediate sums, however, between gold coins could only be amassed in subsidiary silver token coins, of limited tender, rated somewhat above their intrinsic value, and the gold would continue meanwhile in circulation. Such a gold currency would now be peculiarly suitable for India. The distrust and ignorance which reduce a currency note, with its promise to pay, to the level of waste paper, would appreciate a gold coinage, with its absolute intrinsic value in a condensed form, and the desire to possess so convenient a coin would probably attract forth again much of the hoarded silver which is now as effectually withdrawn from circulation as though buried in an undiscovered mine.

Mr. Wilson, bent wholly upon the introduction of a paper currency, was unwilling to weight it with any plan of a gold standard and coinage for India, but he frankly said, "if we had to begin *de novo*, no one will doubt that, 'as in England, to adopt a gold standard, supplemented by silver tokens of limited tender, as subordinate coins,' would be a much preferable plan to that which we now find in use." His main objection to its present adoption, however, was, that a silver standard having been established in India, and under it large liabilities contracted, we could not in good faith now change the standard, and pay public creditors in any other, and perhaps relatively cheaper metal.

We have not yet, it appears to me, seen much more than the mere infancy of our Indian empire, and certainly its resources are still in their first stage of development. We have surely not yet advanced so far, then, that a false step cannot be retraced, and a system sufficient for the early requirements of our commerce replaced by one more suited to its maturity, and to the altered circumstances of the world. It seems to me absurd to argue that the country having once adopted a standard is pledged to maintain it for ever, regardless of subsequent consequences. All changes of financial administration involve more or less of difficulty; but if the question, how a gold standard is to be equitably introduced into India, be in some particulars complicated, it is quite capable of solution, and no more appropriate time than the present could be found for the attempt.

The funded debt of the country was contracted in silver, and Mr. Wilson argues that it must be liquidated in silver. If, however, it be right to protect the public creditor from any loss which might arise from the payment in gold of a debt contracted in silver, it is equally right that measures should be used to protect the country from the loss which must arise from the excessive enhancement in the value of that metal. When Government created these debts, Indian trade was not in its present active state, and the demand for silver had not increased to the enormous extent which it has now reached. If this overgrown demand continue, silver cannot fail still further to rise in value; and from the defects of a system no longer adapted to the wants of the country, we may, therefore, eventually have to pay off these liabilities at a still greater disadvantage than at present. It is very desirable, therefore, upon this score alone, that protective measures should be adopted. If Government invited tenders for loans to be repaid in gold, in order to liquidate the debt contracted to be repaid in silver, there can be little doubt that the transfer could be effected upon favourable terms. Even if debts contracted under a silver standard could not be transferred to a gold standard without some slight loss, I submit that it could not be greater than that which the country must generally suffer from the maintenance of the present silver standard, and the consequent advance in the value of that metal. It would be better far, it appears to me, to incur such a loss at once than to continue to cramp the commerce of the country by an altogether inadequate currency.

I venture, however, to affirm that Mr. Wilson's objection is much more technical than real, and that the change of standard does not involve any breach of faith whatever towards the public creditor. Let us admit that the public debt now existing was contracted under a silver standard to be liquidated, according to the strict letter of the contract, in the same standard. No one will

assert, however, that the contraction of these debts involved any pledge for the indefinite perpetuation of the monetary system then existing, or deprived us of the right to make future changes in the financial administration of the country. The general weal of this great empire, and no mercenary desire to take unfair advantage of the public creditor, now renders a reform of the currency necessary; and if, in order to fulfil the letter of the contract, Government must first pay off its debts in silver, they are certainly then at liberty to change the standard to gold. Now what is the utmost which those who receive back their silver loan in silver can do? They must exchange it for commodities, or for gold coin, and they will receive simply the present equivalent of their silver. It appears to me, therefore, that the payment by Government of these debts in the amount of gold which their amount in silver could purchase would fulfil the full spirit of the contract, and leave no real ground for complaint. If precedent be required, it is not wanting. The very same change of standard was made in England, with a public debt greatly exceeding our own, without causing dissatisfaction, or drawing forth any remonstrance from public creditors; and still more recently, America depreciated her coinage, and virtually adopted a single gold standard, under similar circumstances, with the general approval of the country. The transfer of the open rupee loans to an equivalent amount in gold would not, therefore, I submit, entail any hardship; and I believe, as I have before stated, that either the holders of these debentures would be quite willing to accede to the transfer, or that abundance of money could be obtained upon favourable terms under a gold standard, to pay off the liabilities for which silver would be required.

It could only be by a great subsequent depreciation of gold that any loss to these creditors could ensue. The transfer of the debt from silver to gold, however, would be made after the effect of the great increase in the production of the metal has been fully experienced, and after gold has in a manner found its level; and the probability is, that the adoption of a gold standard for India would so completely counteract the increased supply, that no further depreciation could take place.

I feel great diffidence in entering into the details of the scheme of a gold coinage for India, but your Excellency will perhaps pardon me if I venture to make a few suggestions upon this important point. Placed as India, in a manner is, between gold producing countries and Europe, the first consideration must be to fix the Indian mint value of gold so as to preserve a fair mutual equilibrium of value between ourselves, Australia, and England. This value, therefore, should not be so high as to render it profitable for Australia to send gold to be coined at our mints, nor should it be so low as to admit of the advantageous export of our gold coin as bullion to Europe.

It is, likewise, highly important that, as much as possible, a gold coinage should for the present be built upon the existing silver currency, so as to introduce the change with as much regard to private interests as may be. I, therefore, venture to suggest the issue of gold coins similar to the sovereign and half sovereign, and respectively representing ten and five rupees, with subsidiary silver token coins, of limited tender, rated seven to ten per cent. above their real value. The existing silver coin might, for the present, be allowed to continue legal tender to the extent even of five hundred rupees, and this limit might hereafter be reduced according to circumstances. The new gold coins should be of an intrinsic value which should place them on a safe basis in relation to the old rupees, and they could, by subsequent alteration of the limit of tender, be protected, if necessary, from the effect of any unforeseen fluctuation in value. Possessing, as they do, a well known intrinsic worth, the old rupees would, no doubt, for the present, be freely received to a much larger extent, but not being replenished by fresh issues, being retired as rapidly as they came into the Government treasuries, and replaced by new token pieces, I have no doubt that in a few years they would disappear from circulation, and that the change of standard and currency would thus be effected, without any sacrifice disproportionate to the benefit secured.

I scarcely think it necessary to state any arguments against the alternative of a double gold and silver standard to obviate the difficulty of at once adopting a single gold standard, as the objections to that system have too often been advanced, and are too apparent to need repetition. In fact, under a double standard there never would really be a double circulation of gold and silver coins,

coins, but simply an adoption of that metal which for the time best suited the interest of debtors. The standard would therefore fluctuate between the two, to the great inconvenience of the public, and to their continual loss.

I cannot do better, in conclusion, than quote the opinion in favour of the introduction of gold expressed by Mr. Laing when bringing forward the Bill for a paper currency devised by Mr. Wilson, and perfected by himself and the Select Committee. "I must say," he declared, "that at the time when we are professing to make a reform in the currency of India, it does seem to me to be what I can hardly call otherwise than barbarous to introduce a system based upon the entire exclusion of that all-pervading metal, whose superior convenience is fast making it the sole or principal medium of all the most civilized nations of the world." Gold, he recognised, "would be a universal medium of exchange from one end of India to another, whereas a small note circulation involved the necessity of different issues in different circles, and the risk and trouble of keeping an adequate reserve of specie at numerous points." Holding these views, he refrained from bringing forward any positive measure for making gold a legal tender, in great part because it would have given rise to a long correspondence with England, and would have retarded the Currency Act. This objection is no longer valid, and I trust that what he did not scruple to call a "barbarous" system, may not be perpetuated from any further considerations of official expediency.

No doubt, as Mill has suggested, in the advance of political improvement, all countries will one day have the same currency. At least it is exceedingly desirable that the currency of the Indian Empire should be assimilated to that of England and her colonies, and that countries, so closely connected in government and mutual interest, should no longer be separated so widely by a totally different monetary standard. The adoption of the same standard would be a great advance towards a universal currency, would abolish much inconvenience and complication of accounts, promote commercial intercourse, and knit the empire more closely together by the bond of a common financial system.

I trust, therefore, that your Excellency may be pleased to promote the attainment of a consummation so devoutly to be desired, by bringing this subject, supported by your very weighty approval, before the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India, and that India may hereafter owe to your Excellency's administration the important advantage of an adequate gold currency based on the standard of England.

From *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department, to the Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay (No. 1516), dated 18 March 1864.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 252, dated 7th March 1864, and to state that the subject of a gold currency for India is under the consideration of Government.

The Respectful Memorial of the Madras Chamber of Commerce to the Right Honourable Sir *John Lawrence*, G. C. B., &c., Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council, dated 30 April 1864.

Sheweth,

THAT the greatly extended and extending trade of India renders it most desirable the currency should be enlarged to meet the growing wants of the country.

That a paper currency, from its economy and facility of transmission, is suitable to a country advancing in civilisation, in which the operations of trade are yearly increasing, and that in your memorialists' opinion, India is prepared for such a currency on a widely extended scale.

That the existing paper system has not realised the benefits which were anticipated on its introduction, owing, as far as this Presidency is concerned, to the Presidency district being the only circle of issue, and no effectual measures

having been taken to facilitate the convertibility of notes at the Mofussil treasuries. The circulation has in consequence been of a very restricted character, and of very limited advantage.

That a well-regulated paper currency, in the convertibility of which the people felt full confidence, would be generally acceptable to all classes, of incalculable advantage in the transactions of commerce, and a source of profit to the State.

That whatever measures may be adopted, it is submitted the end to be kept in view should be the ultimate circulation of notes as a legal tender throughout each Presidency, by which alone can the full benefits of a paper issue be obtained; there are doubtless difficulties in the way of the present adoption of such a general measure; your memorialists, however, are of opinion that the immediate creation of circles of issue throughout the country should take place, and the Mofussil treasury balances be made, as far as possible, available for the conversion of notes.

That the acceptance of notes in payment of Government dues everywhere should be at once authorised.

That the comparatively low wages of labour in India, and consequent multitude of small payments, render it desirable the lowest denomination of note should be reduced to five rupees. It is believed such notes would speedily come into very general use and extensive circulation.

That while the Chamber is of opinion that the extension of the paper issue is of primary importance in the consideration of the question of an improved currency system, it is also of opinion that the introduction of gold as a circulating medium would be of material advantage.

The greater convenience of gold as a coinage compared with silver, from its portability and facility of transmission from place to place, is obvious, and although from the comparatively small means of the mass of the people of this country, silver must continue to form an important part of the circulation, it is believed a gold currency, if introduced, would rapidly come into general use. A convenient subdivision of whatever gold coin might be adopted into halves and quarters, for the purposes of small payments, would be necessary.

The fact that at the present time a large quantity of gold yearly finds its way to India leads to the belief that a coinage of that metal would be generally acceptable.

That the imports of silver into India have of late years been constantly increasing, while grave doubts have been entertained whether the production of that metal corresponds to the increasing demand. On the other hand, there is reason to believe the production of gold will continue to be sufficient for the wants of the world, and it is therefore desirable India should not be excluded from the use of it as a currency.

That while your memorialists believe the financial embarrassments through which India has been passing have arisen from a sudden and unlooked for expansion of trade, and could not have been averted or prevented by any currency system, they are nevertheless of opinion that the severity of the crisis would have been to some extent mitigated, and its duration shortened, had gold been in use.

Your memorialists having thus briefly and generally stated their reasons for believing the present currency might, with benefit to the country, be amended, respectfully, but urgently, solicit your Excellency in Council to give this important subject your earnest consideration, with a view to the adoption of measures for the early enlargement of the paper issue, and the introduction of a gold currency.

From *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department, to the Chamber of Commerce, Madras, No. 474, dated 28 May 1864.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your memorial recommending the extension of the Government note currency, and the introduction of a gold currency, and in reply to state that the subject is under the consideration of the Government.

From *A. D. Robertson, Esq.*, Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, to *E. H. Lushington, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department, No. 308, dated 19 March 1864.

WITH reference to para. 3 of my letter of the 7th instant, No. 252,* I am directed to transmit herewith a copy of his Excellency Sir William Mansfield's Minute, dated the 8th idem, on the subject.

* Forwarding the memorial of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce with copies of the Minutes recorded by the Members of this Government, on the introduction of a gold currency into India.

MINUTE by His Excellency Lieutenant General Sir *W. Mansfield*, K. C. B.,
dated 8 March 1864.

CHAPTER I.

The Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce should be supported.—Mr. Wilson's opposition to a Gold Currency in India.—Necessity of answering his objections.

THE MEMORIAL of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, praying for the introduction of a gold currency into India is, I trust, the beginning of a reform which is much required by the circumstances of the country.

When we consider all that may be said in favour of the reform, and how little can be asserted against it, a reasonable expectation may be entertained that the prayer of the memorial will not pass unheeded by the Supreme Government and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India.

It would be difficult to put the facts which tell on the side of the proposed change more cogently and clearly than has been done in the memorial under consideration. There is, nevertheless, the weight of a great authority in opposition, which must be removed by argument before we can hope that success will attend the movement of the reformers.

That authority is the opinion of the lamented Mr. Wilson, who died at Calcutta, as financial member of Council, in 1860. This gentleman, distinguished alike as a financial statesman and a great economical writer, rested his objections to such a reform as is now asked for, on three grounds:—

Firstly. That the change to a gold currency would involve breach of faith with the creditors, who had contracted their obligations in the form of silver.

Secondly. That it was opposed to much of European precedent and example;

And, thirdly. That seeing that silver was now the legal tender, he could perceive no particular good in change, although he admitted that it would have been an advantage to the country if gold had been the original legal tender instead of silver.

A careful perusal of Mr. Wilson's Minute of 25th December 1859, "on the Proposal to introduce a Gold Currency into India," has convinced me that the grounds of his opinion are, in point of fact, fallacies, which are incompatible with the development of the people, and with a feeling of equity towards all classes, the poor as well as the rich, the indebted (in which I include the State), as well as the capitalist and the owner of land.

That Minute has convinced me that while Mr. Wilson has allowed his imagination to be excited by the possible depreciation in the value of gold, as the effect of new gold mines might be still more felt, he overlooked the corresponding circumstance that if, as he expected, gold throughout the world should fall still more in value than it had done when he wrote, silver, if stationary in the amount produced, would proportionally rise. He thus neglected to consider that, as a means of appreciating value, silver was, in truth, as uncertain as gold; this being true both with regard to new contracts hereafter to be made, and to those of ancient date.

The perusal of his speeches and minutes on Indian currency has further persuaded me that Mr. Wilson's views were formed without sufficient attention to the social condition and the habits of the great masses of the people of India.

He was thus led into error, both with regard to what it is possible to effect in the execution of currency changes, and to the wisdom of reforms to the general entertainment of which the popular mind has not yet been sufficiently educated.

It has appeared to me therefore to be a duty for some one to examine Mr. Wilson's Minute and his views on the subject of a gold currency for India, according to the principles of political economy, of which he has so often been the able and uncompromising exponent.

The necessity of the investigation which, in the public interest, thus seems to me most urgently required, has apparently not occurred to any one else in this country. I proceed therefore, with much diffidence, to take the duty on myself.

In deference to the great authority to which I find myself opposed, and to the importance of the inquiry, I have been obliged to take nothing for granted, but to follow Mr. Wilson's own example, when in a series of admirable articles he criticised the Bank Act of 1844. In short, at the risk of a charge of tediousness, I have felt it incumbent on me to consider the principles on which rests the idea of a currency.

These being kept steadily in view, it has been sought to apply them in answer to Mr. Wilson's Minute, and in support of the demand which has now come from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

CHAPTER II.

The Economy of Gold as a medium of Currency as compared with Silver. The practical consequence.

A CURRENCY is the machinery of domestic exchange. So much of the medium as is absorbed in the metallic currency of a country is the material of the machinery.

The precious metals absorbed in a currency, are so much of the capital of a country which is devoted by the community to save it from living in a state of barter. The profits of the capital so employed return in the form of convenience, and the saving of labour and time.

The material or metal may be economised by the use of paper in various forms, but it being admitted that paper must always be convertible, it is sufficient to say that the metallic currency is the basis or material of the machinery, by which the operations of modern commerce are rendered possible.

It would seem then, that when a community determines what shall be its metallic medium of currency, it should carefully consider the conditions of economy which it may present, as compared with other media.

Thus if a given medium, as being of more value, be more portable than another, it is preferable on such an account. Copper is better as a currency medium than iron, silver than copper, gold than silver; on this ground alone, according to the advance made in a community towards wealth, and in the consequent increase in the number of transactions, to which it daily commits itself. So long as a community is very poor, the rude currency of iron or copper may suffice for its wants. A silver coinage is the indication that the community has passed out of the ranks of poverty.

When it is discovered that even to carry about the increasing masses of silver has become an intolerable labour, for which daily commerce in self-defence must find a substitute, we may be sure that a community has made an immense stride towards the possession, not only of moderate but of great wealth.

It is observed in such circumstances, that a more valuable medium of daily exchange should be substituted for the silver, and gold, unless prevented by legal restrictions, is sure to advance to substitute itself for the silver, and to perform the duties hitherto discharged by the displaced silver.

But there are other reasons besides those of mere portability, all of which tend directly to a like result. Thus whenever a large quantity of the precious metals is broken up into coins, and is constantly going through a course of circulation, a certain wear and tear or waste of the metal so employed takes place; in other words, an immediate loss of the national capital.

If

If a coin of one metal (gold) is equal to 10 coins of another metal (silver), assuming that a like degree of purity, hardness, and durability is mechanically given to both, it would seem at first sight that the degree of wastage in both would be exactly proportionate, and therefore that the results of loss to the national capital on this account would be equal. But this is not so, for the following reason: the coin of greater value is not so often turned over in the affairs of petty commerce as that which is of less value, and consequently the former escapes much of the wear and tear which attends the latter.

Again, the coining operations of the Mint, involving assay and manufacture, are reduced in amount, and therefore cheapen coin in an inverse ratio to the value of the coined medium.

Thus, if a sovereign be equal to 10 rupees in intrinsic value, it is many times cheaper to coin gold for general use than it is to coin silver. The mechanical economy would be considerable, if it afforded merely a sufficient quantity of coins for the daily purposes of domestic exchange.

But the reserves of the precious metal, established as legal tender, must be in great measure coined to meet drafts in accordance with legal demands. Consequently, a larger coinage must inevitably take place than would actually suffice for daily use. This is still more enhanced by the fact of the exportation of coins in the form of a commodity of trade, merely on account of their value as such, and without respect to their being a monetary element in the country they are leaving.

Such considerations are particularly important in India, where so much of the coined medium is retained in private hands, owing to a marked peculiarity of eastern habits. In consequence of this a vast number of millions of rupees is kept in reserve by the people, on which the minting labour has been expended.

We have therefore in a gold coinage, as compared with a silver coinage, three elements of cheapness, which cannot fail to have a marked effect in asserting the superiority of gold as a circulating medium and one of metallic reserve:—

- 1st. Its superior portability.
- 2d. Decrease of wastage.
- 3d. Economy in mintage.

Now, if we accept the definition of a metallic currency, that it is a certain portion of the capital of a community which is abstracted from the whole without immediate return of any kind, for the purpose of enabling the community to pursue its business; in other words, to employ the remainder of its capital in the daily commerce of life, we cannot escape the conclusion, that that medium should be chosen to perform the particular functions of currency, in which mechanically it can be done most cheaply. In this we merely follow the same rules of reasoning and practice that we apply when we substitute animal draught for porters, and the steam-engine for horses.

It is particularly necessary to bear this in mind, to recollect that a currency is only the means of transacting business, that it is a machinery in the economy of which all men are interested, and therefore, that the medium has to be considered on account of such merits, just as we consider the relative merits of steam and horses. This view may be called the mechanical one. It is very liable to lose the attention which it deserves, because of the difficult problems which come across the investigator, and of the manner in which the value of the precious metals as commodities occupies the mind, to the preclusion of the mechanical facts of their employment, and of the costs of those facts. Hence a great confusion arises. Even acute thinkers are thus apt to forget the important circumstances which have been stated to overlook the mechanical economy of using one metal (gold), as compared with another metal (silver). Nevertheless other conditions of relative value being preserved, this very mechanical economy would be quite sufficient to drive the lower metal generally out of circulation, were circulation allowed to adjust itself without the intervention of State laws or other restrictions. When arguing against the introduction of a gold currency for India, the late Mr. Wilson omitted to give these important considerations the weight they deserve. On the contrary, while he allowed that a gold currency would be more convenient than a silver one, he did not also add, as he should have done, that as a machine of daily commerce, a gold medium is much cheaper in the working than a silver one can possibly be. This fact should not have escaped a practical economist of his distinction. It is perhaps to be

regretted that an authority of his calibre was lent to an incomplete statement on this very important part of the subject.

Having thus established the mechanical superiority of gold over silver as a medium of currency, that is to say, that it is superior as a means of machinery in point of economy, to silver, it would seem to follow that the State, in which term is conveyed the inherent governing power of a community, is bound to cause the more valuable metal to be substituted in the currency for the cheaper one, as soon as the community has become rich enough to render such a change desirable for the greater convenience of daily commerce.

It will hardly be denied that the State should guard itself according to the manner in which a trading firm or corporation would proceed in defence of the interests of its constituents. Such a firm or corporation having a given function to perform, which requires the absorption of a certain portion of capital, feels bound to economise the means of action according to the improvements which may take place; and to the progress made by invention and experience. In this sense, to revert to our old illustration, it substitutes animal draught for porters, and steam-engines for horses. It is not held that porters who have to seek another employment, have any grievance, and we none of us can forget how fruitless were the jeremiads of the old anti-railway party on the destiny of stage-coachmen.

In the same manner, if the State finds an old official machinery which does not suit the times, such machinery, after more or less discussion, is invariably made to give way to adaptations possessing greater convenience, as being more suitable to present exigencies than what is cumbrous or has become obsolete in form.

The same rule and practice are precisely attributable to a currency, when considered in its character of machinery. The holders of an old and cumbrous medium can no more plead exemption from the effects of progress and development, than porters who find themselves supplanted by horses, or the stage-coachmen who have given way before the steam-engine.

The actual holders of the medium are also a portion of the community which benefits at large by an economical reform of the currency, or the machinery by which transactions are carried on. The holders are generally interested in the measure of reform, just as the stage-coachman is interested in the general improvement of the country by the introduction of the railways, and in the possibility thereby afforded to him, of securing his existence somehow or other, though perhaps not on the coach-box.

In like manner, by having an economical currency given them, the holders of the old medium, though at first sight they might seem to lose by its demonetisation, whether with or without the aid of law, actually gain in the end by the greater use they are able to make of it as a commodity of trade.

This ultimate gain to all classes we have seen both in France and in the United States.

The Government then, being considered as the trustee of the community, is bound to afford to that community the cheapest currency or machinery for conducting all the transactions of domestic exchange and deposit which can be devised by human skill and ingenuity. The obligation is one from which the State cannot escape.

This cheapness being the interest of the whole, must be preferred to individual interest if the two be found to run counter to one another.

There is no reason to believe that any such antagonism exists, it being found that any reform or measure which re-acts with favourable results on the whole body of a nation, is beneficially, however indirectly, experienced by all the individuals composing it. It is essential to bear these somewhat trite maxims in mind, on account of the fallacies by aid of which it is sought to be maintained, that to reform the metallic currency of India, by substituting a gold for a silver one, involves breach of faith with those who have contracted obligations in the form afforded by the latter medium, or who happen to be holders of it.

The attempt is made to put out of sight the character and mechanical functions of a currency, the cost of the performance of these functions, the means of economising the cost under the admitted necessity of maintaining a due metallic reserve. The other character of that reserve is then alone considered, viz., its character as a commodity. That character is, of course, disputed by no one, but it is but to state one side of the argument when it alone is brought forward,

forward, and the other character (*viz.*, of machinery) maintained at the cost of the community, is hidden from view.

In confirmation of what has been advanced, it may, I think, be held to have been shown by the practice of wealthy nations, that gold is a more convenient means of currency machinery than silver, when transactions are sufficiently numerous, and when the metallic means are sufficiently large, to render economy of portage, wastage, and coinage an element of calculation both to the State and to the individuals of whom the currency wants are concerned; England, France, and the United States are sufficient examples.

This being so, we must be convinced that as a matter of administration, on the score of economy, we should substitute a gold currency for a silver one for the accommodation of large transactions, or what may be in excess of the wants of very petty dealing, in countries which have reached the level of wealth and commercial activity attributable to such nations. As regards the application of a gold currency to India we have then to ask, is she entitled to be counted among such nations? Are her transactions of a character, are her needs on account of means of reserve and circulation, are the expenses of her mints and of waste of capital sufficient to warrant a change similar to that which has been found in the United States, France, and Great Britain?

CHAPTER III.

The Standard of Value.—Does a change of the Standard involve what is called a Breach of Faith, either with the Public Creditor or the Private one?

BEFORE proceeding to consider the question of a change in what is called the “standard of value,” it may be well to come to an understanding on the exact meaning of the phrase. Confusion is apt to arise from the misappreciation of terms, and the public sometimes deceives itself, and is frightened accordingly by the misuse of words and phrases.

Such a confusion, perhaps, exists at present with regard to the phrase to which attention is invited. In some minds the so called “standard of value” is mistaken either for value itself or for the regulator of value. It is, in fact, a particular metal or commodity, in which the law of a given country declares that a currency shall be maintained.

That particular metal comes thus to be the expression, or means of the measure of value. This is a very different thing from being the measure itself, or from the commodity chosen as the standard of value having any intrinsic virtue, by which it can regulate value, or obtain value in any manner not common to other commodities.

We are taught that there is no real value but the cost of labour which is thrown into production,* transport, and delivery. However that labour may be paid for, whether by the commodities it produces, by other commodities, or by their representative in the form of money, on the cost of it depends the value of the commodity produced. It makes no difference whether the commodity be gold or silver, corn, or oil, stone or timber. In the cost of labour must be included wages in every form, the expenditure of material which has been produced by previous labour, the preparation of the soil, which is also the result of labour, at whatever former period it may have taken place, although now it may be paid for under the denomination of rent.

Thus is it that by the cost of labour value is determined. It is measured by the exchange of one commodity against another; as we say that an ounce of gold is worth a ton of iron, the cost of producing the ounce of gold being the equivalent of the cost of producing the ton of iron, or the labour on account of the ounce of gold being the equivalent to the labour on account of the ton of iron.

It is evident that what is called the standard of value cannot affect the operations with respect to value, *viz.*, its creation by the application of human labour
to

* Note.—The cost of production as here used includes the rent of land. Waste land, on which labour has not been expended, returns no rent.

to matter; its determination according to the limits of the cost of labour so applied, its measurement by the exchange of one commodity against another, except in so far as the commodity furnishing the standard appears as an article of trade, and not merely as the means of measurement.

We must, therefore, carefully distinguish between value with the foregoing conditions, and the legal notion conveyed in the term "standard of value," as applied to a currency, which declares what particular metal shall afford expression of the measure of value, for the convenience of the community. Otherwise we may be led into the mistake of forgetting that the metal which has been selected for a legal tender, has on that account a twofold character, as has been already illustrated, viz., that it is the basis of a currency, or the material of an artificial machinery by which the rude operation of barter has been superseded, besides being also an exchangeable commodity of trade.

In the former character, a metal when made into coins, measures market value, in other words, affords the formula of price, whereas its own value as a commodity is determined by the cost of its production, as compared with other commodities.

If this distinction between the two characters of the metal, chosen by the community for the expression of value, be not resolutely kept before us, the one, viz., that of machinery, being artificial, and created for our own convenience, and the other, viz., its own value as a commodity being natural, we may expect finally to fall into the error of attributing an occult virtue to a condition of currency which is liable to change with the circumstances which may render it inconvenient.

This seems to be a not inaccurate description of what often takes place in the consideration of currency questions. It is not improbable that the phrase "standard of value," has more than once been the cause of the confusion and the errors of reasoning which have arisen from them.

Objection is thus taken to a change from the legal standard of India (silver), to a gold one, because large liabilities have been contracted by the State under the former, and it is maintained that as a matter of good faith, as it is called, the public creditor might reasonably demur to being paid under any other.

If such reasoning were to be admitted, it can but be on the ground that silver is viewed as a commodity of trade only, and that its artificial character of being the material of the currency machinery, chosen either expressly or fortuitously according to a shifting expediency, is forgotten.

We must not however permit ourselves to forget the artificial condition. Having in the progress of civilization committed ourselves to a system of "money," in supersession of one of barter, that is, having organized currency in various forms, having constructed a machinery by which the system of "money" may be carried into execution, we cannot permit ourselves to revert to a system of barter, in the one item of silver, which is not tolerated in any other commodity. Otherwise we should destroy the very ground on which a currency rests, viz., that the so-called standard of value is but the legal means of expressing how value is to be measured, and does not itself affect value.

In effecting a loan, the State borrows value as represented by a certain number of coins.

It does not borrow a special commodity of trade, or contract to return that same commodity, except in so far as it is the representative of value.

Thus the money it seeks represents a given value. It actually contracts for that value, and receives the money which represents it in the legal tender of the day. But it is because money is the representative of value, and that the legal tender is merely the form in which the money is clothed, that the State so receives the money in gold or silver, as the case may be.

The State does not, and cannot, bind itself never to change the character of its legal tender, or expression of measure, which it looks on as liable to change like other institutions. Its engagement deals with the value of the loan, and not with the special expression of the measure of value, which in equity cannot be a matter of consequence either to the lender or the borrower, if the idea of currency be fairly maintained, and it be not confused with the notion of the natural character of the commodity, which has been chosen to afford a material of currency or national machinery of exchange. If value be left untouched by the change, if there be no sacrifice of convenience in the mode of repayment, either of principal or interest; if, on the contrary, the convenience of the community be increased by a change in the currency machinery, as caused by a superior portability

portability and economy, it is indeed idle to maintain that there is even a semblance of breach of faith with the public creditor. For if we pay the public creditor the full intrinsic value of interest and principal of his loan, whether in gold or silver, he has surely small ground of complaint. On the contrary, if there is a greater convenience to himself in the fact of receiving, carrying, and guarding a portion of gold as compared with its equivalent in silver, he is clearly a gainer, if the former be substituted for the latter, so far as a currency is concerned.

If we paid the public creditor 99 rupees' worth of gold on account of his loan of 100 silver rupees, we should defraud him, and he would be right to exclaim. But if we pay gold, which is actually equal in value to the hundred rupees, there is no ground on which an objection can be raised, with regard to an obligation created after a system of barter has given way before a system of money.

The same reasoning applies even more strongly to all obligations of domestic commerce, in which a currency comes into action, and the particular legalised money represents value for the convenience of the community. Although some thinkers may have a difficulty in overcoming the exact terms of a State loan, they cannot find any perplexity when they survey the transactions of commerce, it being understood and admitted by all, that the given coin or legal tender is simply a device by which the prices of commodities may be adjusted, with respect to their relative market values.

The market values are constantly changing, and they require according to circumstances more or less of the coin of legal tender in the form of price, but they cannot be affected one way or other by the character of the legal tender, excepting the consideration, that an economical improvement in the currency cannot but effect a certain reduction of charge to the community, as we see similar effects from improved machinery in other matters.

The very fact of the existence of a money system demonstrates that a merchant does not contract to receive his dues in one particular form, but in any form which may be most convenient to the community of which he forms a part, provided only that he does really obtain those dues; in other words, that the value to which he is entitled is not depreciated with respect to the actual present state of things.

The argument may therefore be summed up as follows :—

The State not being bound for ever to adhere to a given tender, it follows that loans made whether on account of the public or of individuals, and that all transactions of domestic commerce must follow the rule of any change in the mode of measuring monetary obligations, which may be demanded on account of the general convenience, provided that that change does not prejudice real value, that is, that the value of a new legal tender is, at the present, absolutely equal to that of the old one, or in other words, that the currency is not depreciated.

CHAPTER IV.

Further exposure of the Fallacy contained in the Breach of Faith argument, urged against the substitution of a Gold for a Silver Currency in India.

IN considering the question of currency, it is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of the conclusion which has been arrived at in the former chapter, viz., that the State or individual making a loan, in all cases, makes a contract for value, and not one affecting the particular commodity in which the legal tender happens fortuitously to exist.

The view stated in an opposite sense does in fact abolish the idea of a currency, and reduces us again to a state of barter. It ignores the representative character of money, and depends altogether on the character of the metal composing it, as a commodity of trade.

Thus to take Mr. Wilson's illustration * :—“ If two men enter into a contract, one to deliver and one to receive a given quantity of wheat at a distant day, however much wheat may have fallen in price in the meantime, the receiver has no right to

* *Vide* Minute on a Gold Currency by Mr. Wilson, dated 25th December 1859.

to complain, any more than the deliverer would have, had it in the meantime risen as much in price. But if the person whose duty it was to deliver wheat, finding that it had risen much in price since the contract was made, sought to deliver barley or some other grain, which in the meantime had become relatively cheaper, the injustice of such an attempt would be plain. But it would be equally unjust, after a contract had been made in a silver standard, to change the standard to gold, because it was becoming more plentiful, and in relation to silver likely to become cheaper."

Now in the foregoing illustration, the theory of a currency is entirely put out of sight, and with that omission is coupled another, that the State in fact borrows value, and not a particular commodity.

The illustration of the wheat is really beside the question altogether, because it refers only to a system of barter from which we have been removed by a system of money.

It is evident that when the contract to pay for the wheat was to be completed by offering an inferior description of grain, this could only take place by substituting the real equivalent in value, or a larger measure of the latter for the former.

In the same manner if gold were now to be substituted for silver, it would be necessary to find the exact equivalent of the two metals as respects weight and fineness, and in discharging obligations, to see that no depreciation of value took place to the disadvantage of the creditor, according to the state of things as now actually existing.

But keeping in view the idea of a currency, that it is a machinery for circulation, and the statement of transactions and prices, there is no good reason why we should be irrevocably bound hereafter by an accidental form of legal tender which happens to be in existence now. Otherwise this would convert the holders of silver, and those who were on the credit side of obligations contracted in a certain form, into future fortunate speculators in a commodity, whereas when their contracts were made, this idea did not enter into the conceptions either of the creditor or the debtor, the expression of the contract in the medium having been assumed solely as the readiest mode of stating the obligation; according to the law or custom of the community, and not for the purpose of driving a trade in the commodity which happens to have been fixed on as the means of measuring value.

If such reasoning as Mr. Wilson's were to be admitted, when the question of substituting a cheaper currency for a more expensive one is considered, such as silver for copper and gold for silver, the community would be absolutely precluded from effecting any improvement or economy in the working of that particular machinery, organised and maintained by the community at its own charges, for the performance of particular functions, which affect alike the State and the individual.

It would be to create a new vested right in consequence of an accident, to bar economy and the progress of development in favour of certain portions of the public to the disadvantage of the public generally; in short, it would be to do what has been declared politically and socially wrong, and therefore unwise, in all the great changes which have been executed in England since the passing of the Reform Bill.

If we guard the public creditor and the private one up to the actual moment of making a change, if we guard him from any retrospective operation, we have done our duty towards him. But if we legislate so as to give the public creditor and the private one an advantage prospectively, in a sense which was intended neither by them nor the debtor, we then legislate in favour of the creditors to the inequitable disadvantage of the debtors.

Yet, if we are satisfied that silver is likely to become hereafter relatively dearer, that is to say, that a change of value is likely to take place by which an ounce of silver will at some future time possibly be worth more than an ounce of silver now is, we are surely bound to consider that the public, including what is called the State, as well as individuals, is made up of two large classes, the creditors and the debtors. Bearing this in mind, and that all monetary obligations have been created for value, and not for the commodity accidentally affording the legal tender, we are further bound, according to every principle of equity, to consider the interests of the debtors hereafter to the full as much as those of the creditors. We have no more right to increase the value of the debt

of the former hereafter, by declaring that, for all time, their debts shall be paid in coins, constantly gaining a higher value than that originally attributed to those coins, than we should have to declare arbitrarily at present, that the dues of creditors shall be discharged in a depreciated currency, with regard to the actual state of things.

It is believed that a judge in equity would not consider the possible prospective value of advantages which might be speculatively entertained as an afterthought by one or two parties to a contract, provided that no reference had ever been made to such speculative advantages in the draft of the covenant binding the two parties.

The judge would consider what was the exact intention of the contracting parties at the time the contract was effected; he would insist on the contract being completed according to that intention, with regard to actually existing circumstances and the due interpretation of the latter as affected by the meaning of the covenant, and he would banish from his mind fortuitous conditions, not contemplated originally, and which as yet have no reality in practice.

If this view be correct, we may adopt it without danger in considering the obligations of the public and the private creditor and debtor, with respect to the breach of faith argument urged against a substitution of gold for silver.

The contract of the creditor being really made for value, must be completed in value as nearly as possible at the present time, but that value is not to be enhanced in the future, because the form in which the monetary obligation was contracted is likely to become more costly than it is now, or when the contract was made.

Yet, if it be true that silver is to become more costly than it is at present, owing to the supply being unequal to the increased demand for it in China and India, we should really add to the debts of all debtors whose debts have been contracted under the denomination of a silver legal tender, were we to declare that this prospective change in the value of silver is to be entirely ignored. Such a resolution would be a one-sided, and therefore, an unjust one in favour of creditors, whether those creditors are represented by the holders of the public debt, or by bankers and other private individuals.

On the assumption, therefore, that the relative value is likely to be greatly raised, an assumption, however, which must be received with the utmost caution, it would seem that so far from there being a breach of faith in introducing a gold currency in the place of a silver one, we are absolutely bound to do so in justice and in good faith to the public at large, unless we would lay ourselves open to the charge of regulating our measures solely in favour of certain classes, viz., creditors, public and private, who lent value under a silver denomination, and of the actual possessors of silver.

It is evident that these classes form but a part of the whole vast public of India.

When we reflect on the argument by which the introduction of paper money is justified and eulogised by all writers on political economy from Adam Smith to the authors of the present day, of whom no one has been more eloquent and more convincing than Mr. Wilson, it is difficult to repress the feelings of surprise caused by the argument of bad faith as adduced by him.

His argument, and that of all others in favour of a paper currency, is, that the introduction of convertible bank notes on proper terms, has the same effect as opening a gold mine in the country to the extent of the relief afforded by the paper currency.

Thus assuming that the bank note currency of the Bank of England is 14 millions in excess of the coin kept in deposit, for the purpose of meeting the liability caused by the convertibility of the notes, so much metal, viz., 14 millions of bullion being released, the metal becomes proportionably cheaper, in other words, money is cheaper, or the same amount of coined money will not purchase so many commodities as it would do were there no bank notes, and were 14 millions of bullion, now set free as a commodity to trade with, absorbed in the British circulation.

Consequently the issue of the bank notes is a direct disadvantage to the public creditor, who, having lent value, finds that value depreciated by the fact of money having been rendered cheaper by the artificial mine dug under his feet. Therefore his three per cent. of dividend will not purchase for him so many commodities as it would have done had there been no bank note issue.

The like consideration affects all private creditors on account of loans, as well as all holders of the precious metals.

We have never heard of the British public creditor being permitted to cry out against breach of faith, because the value of the public debt has been diminished from time to time by the development and improvement of affairs, and the machinery used in conducting them, including bank note circulation.

Yet, if the argument is worth anything, we must apply it to the introduction of a bank note circulation under the law by which money is rendered cheaper, and the value originally given for public securities is depreciated, to the full as much as to any other measure by which a similar result might be produced; such, for instance, as to a substitution in India of a gold for a silver currency, by which the artificially caused extraordinary demand for the latter metal might be checked.

But Mr. Wilson could see no evil in cheapening money, or interfering with the value given by the public creditors, or retained in deposit by private holders, so long as his own nostrum of paper was only concerned. He desired, and it is believed rightly, to introduce paper throughout the length and breadth of India, for the purpose of realising vast masses of hidden metal, and thereby cheapening money. Not a word in this about the public creditor or the duty of obligations. But there cannot be a doubt, that if he had been permitted to carry out his plans, admirable as they were, and if his expectations had been realised, his operations would have been attended with similar, but far more important results to the creditors in all sorts of obligations, public and private, than he attributes as likely to flow from a substitution of gold for silver, on account of the assumed eventual greater costliness of silver as compared with its present value.

The truth seems to be that Mr. Wilson reasoned rightly when he was discoursing on the merits of his paper scheme, and that he was wrong when he talked about the change of gold for silver, as involving breach of faith.

He was, in the latter instance, seduced from his correct principles, by the mistake of attributing to a denomination of value the fact of value itself, and he substituted the idea of the character of a commodity for the idea of a currency.

In the former instance, viz., of paper, in which he escaped the difficulty of the commodity, however convertible his paper might be, he remained true to the proper theory of a currency. This, as before shown, declares that currency is a machinery for the easier transaction of all the domestic operations of the State and of commerce. The State being thus responsible for working its machinery, of whatever character, as cheaply as possible, and with the greatest advantage and convenience to the community at large, is bound to use paper as much as it can be applied with advantage, just as it would turn to its own uses a gold or silver mine which might be found in land in which the State has a private property.

But as already asserted, an economical reform of currency, by substituting gold for silver, which shall give the community the means of circulation and deposit at a cheaper rate than it has hitherto enjoyed, does actually afford also relief not so large, but similar in kind to that afforded by the introduction of the convertible bank note, if the latter operation is to present all the consequences promised by Mr. Wilson, an assumption, be it said, which is open to more than reasonable doubt in the case of India.

CHAPTER V.

The double “Standard of Value.”—In practice a single Standard alone exists.—Illustration afforded by France and the United States.

HAVING established the exact meaning and function of the “standard of value,” it becomes necessary to pursue the inquiry, for the purpose of fixing the worth of that much vituperated thing a “double standard.”

It is said that a country has a double standard, when legal tender is made of coins in two metals, silver and gold, in payment of taxes and debts, a given coin of the one (viz., gold) being held legally to be the equivalent of a certain number of coins of the other, viz., silver.

Metallic

Metallic money assumes two legal forms. Two metallic media of circulation appear, in either of which obligations may be discharged according to law, either wholly or in part.

At first sight, it might seem that, under such an arrangement, two means of measuring the value of commodities are then afforded, and that a conflict must ensue between the two to the disorganisation of trade. It is well to ask if this is so.

If the two metallic means of exchange were abstractions, like the signs for measuring length or weight, they might be jointly retained as mere means of measurement also. No practical inconvenience would result from the use of such two means, but the labour of reducing the one to the other in calculation. As, for instance it makes no difference whether a piece of stuff is measured in French metres or English yards. Price follows on the actual length of the stuff, and not on the signs by which that length is represented. In the same manner, coins of different denomination, but of the same metal, are reduced from one to the other, according to the value they actually represent, without trenching on any other consideration. When we have to deal with things, and get beyond the region of signs, the reality of value must be dealt with also. Thus silver and gold not being abstractions but exchangeable commodities, beside having whatever functions of representation and measurement which may be assigned to them, follow the laws of supply and demand like all other exchangeable commodities. This involves variation of relative value with regard to one another, according to the changing demand for them, variation in the means of supply, their conditions of bulk, the cost of transport, waste, and so forth. The relative mint value of the two metals may be struck by law with the greatest nicety with regard to cost of production and delivery in the country where the mint is placed, but the vicissitudes of production, and the necessities of commerce, including currency, are ever causing slight variations between the market values of the two.

It then becomes a matter of calculation to creditors and debtors as to which particular metal will best suit their respective purposes, when all such elements of value have been taken into consideration. It will not be forgotten, that in these elements are comprehended the considerations of economical machinery already illustrated, through which an actual economy of the national capital takes place. Others of a not dissimilar character will be adverted to hereafter.

When two metals are engaged in a currency, the principle displayed in Chapter II. comes naturally into operation. That metal which asserts its superior cheapness as the material of machinery, for carrying on the transactions of exchange, excludes the other from circulation.

If a currency in one of the two metals can be carried on more cheaply than in the other, the former will be preferred, although the original cost in producing each of the two is the same.

This consideration affects all alike, both creditors and debtors, because the precious metals absorbed in a currency are so much of the capital of a country which is devoted without interest by the community to save it from living in a state of barter.

The relative value of the two metals, taken as commodities and not as mere means of measurement, is carefully weighed, and according to the price of the metals as fixed by the value of other commodities, or we may say by the cost of production as involved in the labour expended for that purpose, will the choice be made by the payers of taxes and debts as to which of the two metals shall be their medium of payment, or in which of the standards payment shall be made.

If it be cheaper to the community to maintain a currency in one metal than it is in another, when both have been launched on equal terms, this circumstance must react on them as commodities, and make the former the preferable means for the discharge of all obligations. It thus becomes established as the medium of exchange and deposit, whatever may be the law about the standard of value, or the double legal tender.

Thus when there is a so-called double standard of gold or silver, or to speak more accurately, a double legal tender, if it be more profitable to the community at large to pay in gold, payments will certainly be made in it to the exclusion of silver, notwithstanding that the latter is equally a legal tender with the former. In such case, silver practically subsides from circulation, and sinks into the rank of a mere commodity of trade, with the exception of a certain small quantity,

which executes very petty transactions, the place of silver in the circulation and in deposit being usurped by the conquering gold, exactly as horses are pushed out by steam, on the superior economy of the latter coming to be recognised as an agent of machinery.

On the other hand, if the price of gold were fixed at too low a rate relatively to silver, in the legal tender of the two metals, with regard to the amounts produced and consumed, that is to say, if the legal equivalent of silver were unequal to the market value gold possesses as a commodity, the superior cheapness of gold as a material of currency would be defeated by the consideration of the profits of trade.

Gold would then disappear and would subside from the circulation, because amid the freedom afforded by a double legal tender, silver would furnish the domestic money, and the gold merchant, being able to take advantage of the larger price gold would fetch abroad than at home, would export it all accordingly.

The nominal double legal tender would resolve itself virtually into the single one of silver, and the best metallic basis of currency for a rich country would be supplanted by the worst, in defiance of a proper economy of the capital of the community, because of an error in the calculation of the value of the metals.

This seems to have been actually what occurred in France from 1801 to 1850, during which time the market value of gold was in excess of its legal equivalent in silver.

The variation in the value of silver since the gold discoveries, which is reckoned at 5 per cent., seems to have proximately established the values of the two metals, at the rates previously but erroneously attributed to them, when the equivalents of the two metals were legally fixed. The gold napoleon ceased to be worth more of silver francs than it could claim by law in the form of money. It ceased to be able to buy more value in a foreign country than it could in its own, which had been the case till the gold discoveries, and the action of some other countries in this matter, to which allusion will hereafter be made. On this taking place, the superior economy of a currency of gold as compared with silver at once made itself felt. Silver has, in consequence, in France, been driven out of the circulation and of deposit, and has been exported, the currency of the country and its reserves being maintained in gold, which has been coined in vast quantities.

The same results were seen in the United States of America. A very slight variation of the relative values of silver and gold was sufficient to cause the fullest weight to be attached to the superior economy of the latter (gold) as compared with the former (silver), for the performance of the work of currency and deposit. Gold was accordingly, as in France, coined in millions to meet the contingency, and silver was exported, that operation being more favourable to the possessors of it, than to tender it in payment of debts. The latter (silver) sank altogether to the rank of a simple commodity of trade. No variation of prices took place in other commodities, no inconvenience was experienced in measuring values.

The public debts and all other obligations were not held to have been in any manner affected by the circumstances, the mint value of the new gold dollar having been made as nearly as possible equal to the original mint value of the silver one. The money made of gold represented value generally to the satisfaction of the public, according to the idea it had hitherto had of value in the silver form, and the gold money was cheaper to the public as such a representative than its equivalent of silver could have been, on account of the much greater bulk, weight, waste, and expense of coinage of the latter.

Thus it is seen in practice, how other things being equal or nearly so, the question of tender, and therefore finally of standard, is determined by the necessity of following the simple rule of economy, which guides the conduct of all manufacturers and merchants in the transaction of their business. It is said that the question of standard is finally resolved by the instance afforded by the United States, to which I will now allude, though it may be necessary to dwell on it hereafter.

Thus by the law of 1849 in that country, a step forward was made towards the substitution of gold for silver by the introduction of golden dollars, a certain weight of coined gold being estimated and legally declared to be equal to the original silver dollar.

In 1853, although no legal objection was made to the discharge of the largest obligations in full weight dollars, the silver coinage required for daily petty transactions was by depreciation legally reduced to the rank of a token coinage. Payments of more than five dollars could not be enforced in the token coinage according to law. This change was made as a matter of convenience. The national reserves had come to consist almost entirely of gold.

Perhaps it may be well to mention that a token coin merely means a metallic bank note; that is to say, that a certain coin (say of silver) is authorised to stand for more than its weight of silver, and therefore to be a sign of value which it does not itself possess. This is the case with the shilling. To prevent traffic in token coins to the derangement of trade, a legal tender of shillings does not exceed 40. Beyond that sum payment must be legally made in gold in England.

In the United States so much of the old full weight silver coin had been absorbed as a commodity of trade, as to put the community to inconvenience in the execution of petty daily transactions.

The substitution of gold for silver on account of the larger functions having become complete, the necessity of consulting daily convenience was felt and acted on in the matter of silver coins of small value, as had been previously done in Great Britain.

It was no longer required for the national convenience that the silver coins current for such purposes should possess the intrinsic value of which they were the signs. The function of representation of value in the national reserves having been finally assumed by gold, it was evidently to the interest both of the State and of the individual, that no more of silver should be absorbed in daily petty commerce than was absolutely indispensable.

Consequently, in 1853, the legal tender of the United States was practically reduced to a single one, the double standard of silver and gold being thus brought down to a single one of gold. This does not seem to have been absolutely stated in words. If any one had been unwise enough after that date to present his full weight dollars in payment of large obligations instead of exporting them, there was nothing in law to prevent him.

With the two examples of France and the United States before us, we can thus hardly resist the conclusion, that as a matter of pure economical science, a battle about a double standard is a somewhat unnecessary contest. For whatever we may proclaim regarding a legal tender of two metals in discharge of obligations, the facts of payment and deposit settle on one of the metals, to the exclusion of the other from the currency. If two metals be declared to be legal tenders, but one will be tendered practically, the other gradually subsiding from circulation, being absorbed in domestic manufacture, hoarded or exported as may be found expedient by individual interests.

With regard to what may be further expected, or what may actually take place, under the double standard, or when a twofold metallic legal tender exists, we must again advert to the fact of the exchangeable value of the two metals.

Thus it is absolutely necessary in the interests of commerce, and of the community, that there should be but one measure of value, whether or not there be a double metallic legal tender. This is so fully recognised in practice both by Governments and subjects, that we find in the countries where such double tender exists by law, that but one denomination of coin, of one metal, is admitted into the calculations of value: This is seen in the transactions of trade and of the revenue. The nominal value of the particular coin remains as a fixed quantity, and is the recognised measure of value, in the face of the legal twofold metallic tender.

All accounts are kept in it, whether of the public debt or of private obligations. Thus in France the silver franc has retained the denomination of the measure of value, although, as above mentioned, the legal tender admits of silver and gold, and that the gold has practically driven the silver out of circulation.

The price of the gold is thus determined by the value borne by the silver at the time that gold asserted itself as the best medium of circulation. All transactions are still measured under the old silver form, though the payments are actually made, and deposits are maintained, in the gold equivalent.

The interest of the public debt is paid in gold as being the equivalent of the silver which is due according to the actual terms in which the contracts for the loans were actually conceived.

Thus, it may be said, that any possible or prospective change in the value of silver is banished from view, and that the value of silver only is considered by the Legislature and the community, as it stood at the date when gold was poured over the country in supersession of the old silver coinage.

The French have not as yet advanced beyond this point. They have not as yet legalised and fixed what has actually occurred, in accordance with the principles which have been stated. We remark a curious phenomenon: the titular standard and measure of value have alike maintained their position in silver, notwithstanding that the money of the country has for the most part become gold. In this manner have discussions with regard to the Public Debt and the Breach of Faith argument been successfully disposed of.

Names have been retained, while legal equivalents declared with the utmost nicety of calculation have changed the face of the money or representative of value throughout France, without in any way affecting prices, obligations, or interests of any kind whatsoever. Consequently, it may be said that the real franc of the present day is the golden equivalent of the silver franc of the year 1850, just as we have seen that, in the United States, the golden dollar, in which all the reserves and currency are maintained, is the equivalent of the silver dollar of 1849. The comfort of the communities of both countries, and the economy of their capital, have alike benefited by the reform operated, according to their progress and increasing wants.

But, as already said, the United States have proceeded one step further than the French, and by the introduction of a token coinage for sums less than a dollar, have fixed their gold currency by law.

It is probable that the gold currency of France is practically as much fixed as that of the States, but it would be well if she also were to have recourse to a token silver coinage, according to the example set by our ourselves, and followed by the United States.

We may fairly say, that both France and the United States have exemplified in practice what has been maintained with respect to value, and the monetary obligations consequent on a particular form of metallic currency, the said obligations being contracted for value, and not for the metal or commodity in which the currency is cast.

CHAPTER VI.

Effect of the Demonetisation of Gold subsequent to the Gold Discoveries.—Breach of Faith towards those on the Debit Side of Obligations thereby involved.

It is necessary once more to refer to a definition.

The money absorbed in a currency, whether it be actually floating in the course of daily exchange, or in deposit for the purpose of insuring the convertibility of bank notes, and of meeting the balance of trade, is so much of the capital of a country which a community estranges from the ordinary processes and profits of manufacture and commerce, for the easier transaction of its business.

This absorption of capital takes place in a special form, viz., in a certain metal, or in metals which have been produced or imported in exchange for other commodities.

The absorption of a particular metal for the special purpose of money, in other words, of metallic currencies in the several communities of which the world is made up, causes a larger demand for the metal or metals generally than would be the case if these metals were not so used, that is to say, if they were required only for the purposes of manufacture, jewellery, and so forth.

Many hundred millions of gold and silver are absorbed in the function of representing value, which would be available for other purposes, if it were not more convenient to retain them for that particular one.

The metals are therefore produced in great quantities, to meet the demand on account of this particular function of representing value, which is known as metallic currency, the metals employed in it being intrinsically worth the value they represent in the form of coins.

The further conclusion is then, that a much larger production of the metals takes place on account of the several currencies of the world than would occur if those currencies did not exist.

Consequently,

Consequently, as to make the money of a community of particular metals causes a greater demand for them, and therefore increased production, so, suddenly and arbitrarily to drive one metal away from the function for which amongst others it was largely produced, cannot fail to affect its value, as shown in market price, till the absorption and waste of manufactures have again given a stimulus to the production of it.

Further, this operation on a metal hitherto used in a currency, called demonetisation, in favour of another metal, which is retained, is liable to render the former cheaper and the latter dearer.

Such a result may be counterbalanced by other causes, but in the absence of such other disturbing causes, it could not fail to follow.

The ultimate practical consequence of sudden demonetisation of one of such metals is, that owing to the cheapening of the demonetised metal, it leaves the country where it has been so cheapened, or it is hidden away, in the hope of better times coming for it hereafter.

The production and importation on account of that particular country cease, except for manufacturing purposes.

If not compensated for by the opposing action of other countries, we can conceive, without fear of error, that production of the demonetised metal would altogether cease, till the absorption and disappearance has occurred through manufacture and waste, till the reserves previously held had been finally exhausted in it.

This having taken place, the value of such a metal would again rise to what it about formerly possessed, relatively to other commodities with regard to the cost of the labour expended in its production. We have seen that in France and in the United States silver has been gradually but practically demonetised in recent times without shock to existing interests, as it had been previously in England.

It is unnecessary to remind the reader of the extraordinary wealth of those countries and of the productive power of their respective communities, as compared with all other countries and communities in the world. The trade and the production of them has been increased at an accelerated ratio since the termination of the great wars in 1815. Leaving England out of the question, as having effected her currency reform before the gold discoveries, we may content ourselves for the present with the consideration of France and the States, with regard to the subject before us.

Their enormous wealth and trading power demand a great mass of metallic currency and reserves, and the demand is ever increasing with the progress of their development, the daily augmenting multiplicity of the engagements and obligations they have to meet.

For as the trade of a country and its capacity for production increase, so also does its demand for metallic reserves.

The reserves of France and of the United States must, as a matter of course, follow such a very simple and obvious rule, and we have evidence of it in the enormous gold coinage of both countries.

The latter fact shows besides, that their reserves are now held in gold instead of in silver, or part silver and part gold, as in former times. In these circumstances, and in the fact of the increasing wealth of Great Britain, France, and the United States, we find a chief reason why the value of gold has been but little affected by the gold discoveries, and the extraordinary production of gold, which has taken place in recent years as compared with times antecedent.

If, as was done in some other countries, gold had been artificially demonetised by France and the United States, subsequently to the gold discoveries, the result expected with much alarm by some economists and Governments would probably have ensued. It is certain that, according to the amount now producible in the known mines, silver could not have continued to supply the currency and reserves of those countries amid their great development, without an extraordinary rise in its value, as compared with gold and other commodities.

Had then those countries been as ill-advised as some others, it is really true that silver might possibly have taken the place of gold, and all loans and obligations, including public debts, nominally payable in silver, would in such case have been doubled, perhaps trebled in value.

It perhaps may be said then, that the course pursued by France and the United States, and by England in the matter of metallic currency, has saved the world

from a great revolution in the relative value of the precious metals, and from the evils which could not fail to have followed on such a revolution.

On the other hand, the conduct of other Governments, which acted under feelings of alarm, and from incapacity to grasp the reality of what they were about, was exactly calculated to cause the disaster, which was the object of their fears.

In the countries under such other Governments the fact was overlooked, that to demonetise gold, which had hitherto been used in aid of a silver currency, was to add to the effects of the change caused by the gold discoveries; in the absence of compensating foreign causes, to degrade the value of gold by arbitrarily reducing that demand for it, which had hitherto had the sanction of law and custom; to deprive it of the principal function, on account of which heretofore it had been largely produced, viz., the functions of currency and of deposit, of forming part of the national reserve, whether in the public exchequer or in individual hoards.

Thus was gold reduced in those countries hastily and arbitrarily to the rank of a mere commodity of trade and manufacture, instead of being permitted to be the agent of vast operations involved in the character of being a legalised representative of value.

In addition, therefore, to the mines discovered in California and Australia, gold mines were artificially created by the inconsiderate conduct of the Governments alluded to. To the best of their ability, these Governments poured forth on the world the gold hitherto absorbed in their metallic currencies, or condemned it to idleness, when they degraded it from use in their domestic exchange. That took place which has been stated as certain to occur in the absence of disturbing causes. Gold was relatively cheapened as regards silver, its price being determined by the artificial value communicated to the latter.

For the value of silver could not but be proportionally raised, with regard to the amount of that metal existing and annually produced in the world being called on to perform the great function of money, or of representative of value, which had hitherto been divided between silver and gold.

The consequence was, that in all the countries adopting this course, a positive injury was done to the community generally, and to all debtors, because the repayment of obligations from the date of the legality of the gold tender being denied, had to take place in silver, the value of which had been thus artificially and arbitrarily raised, that being subsequent to the date on which the contract of the obligations had been made.

This injury was to the detriment of the State in its character of debtor, as it was to all other debtors.

It was a successful speculation in favour of the fundholder and of all creditors. It was also a successful speculation in favour of all those who happened to possess hoards of silver metal, while it was the contrary to the holders of gold, it being understood that disturbing causes of the counter operations of wiser Governments are put on one side, while the question and its conditions are stated with purity and absoluteness.

Under such circumstances, there is small room for surprise, that silver should rise 5 per cent. in value, which may be fairly attributed to the conduct just illustrated, and not to the new production of gold.

We can only be thankful that it did not rise still more, a circumstance which, as above shown, can only be accounted for by the wise conduct of the three most wealthy and actively producing communities in the world, those of France, the United States, and Great Britain, and by the fortunate era of peaceful progress and of national development in which that conduct took place.

The progress and the development of these countries were sufficient to prevent any but slender change in nominal value, on account of the increased production of gold, and their conduct was almost able to obstruct the mischievous regulations of other Governments, which tended directly to raise the value of every debt, public and private.

We cannot then resist the conclusion, that the conduct of the Governments of Holland, Belgium, and India in this matter, which has been mentioned in terms of commendation, as being an useful experience, by a great authority (the late Mr. Wilson), it being called by him an act of great caution, was in fact one of inconceivable rashness.

He says that "before the gold discoveries silver was rarely so low as 4 s. 11 d. the

the ounce, since, it has seldom reached, or at least exceeded 5 s. 2 d. the ounce ; but under the apprehension of a fall the Government of Holland, proverbial for its caution, was the first to take alarm, and having then a circulation of both gold coins and silver coins, which were a legal tender at a fixed relation to each other, they demonetised the gold coin, leaving silver, the ancient standard, the only legal tender."

Thus Holland, it appears, merely under an apprehension of a fall, and not because a fall in the value of gold had occurred, was the first to set the fatal example. Holland was the first to create an artificial gold mine to aid the new Californian natural mines, in changing the relative values of gold and silver, in fact, to cause the very evil it professed to dread, and doubtless did dread.

The example was followed by another small but very rich country (Belgium). India, under the British Government, did the like, and gold, which from time immemorial had been coined for circulation and reserve by all the Governments which preceded ours, was made suddenly to cease to form part of the British Indian currency.

The inevitable consequence was soon seen. The price of silver being thus unnaturally forced in other countries, while it remained at its natural value in France, the United States, and Great Britain, according to the commercial law, which enjoins all traders to sell things in the dearest market and to buy them in the cheapest, silver forthwith began to flow to the market where it could fetch the highest price.

I would ask leave, in considering this important matter, notwithstanding the fear of repetition, to refer again to the points involved in the value of obligations being increased, by the sudden and arbitrary demonetisation of gold in the several countries where it occurred.

I would also request that the facts of value, as applied to obligations (public and private), may be borne in mind, the deduction from them being in the present instance, that to demonetise gold arbitrarily and summarily, to order that silver only shall perform the functions of metallic money, is to interfere with value as it has been hitherto determined in respect of silver, to give a high price artificially to silver, and then to rule that that high price shall stand in the place of intrinsic value, as measured by the cost of production. Consequently, an artificial high price replaces the natural price at which silver was estimated, when it was selected by contracting parties to represent value in mutual obligations between debtor and creditor, it being the fact that the particular metal was only the representative of value, and was not itself a commodity of trade, in which either party was driving a speculation.

These considerations are peculiarly important when we consider the public debts of countries, money obligations connected with the mortgage of land, &c., &c.

There cannot be a doubt that in all the countries in which gold was arbitrarily demonetised, the public debt in those countries having been contracted under the denomination of one of the forms of legal tender, while two were admitted in the currency, the operation took place for the benefit of the holders, and the detriment of the tax-paying public, in exact proportion to the rise in the value of silver, viz., about 5 per cent.

If they sold 100 rupees of their stock, they received value which was equal to five rupees more than they had originally lent.

Their dividends from henceforth were 5 per cent. more valuable than they had contracted to receive, although the nominal interest was the same.

All mortgagees, all holders of policies in life insurance, in short, all creditors in monetary obligations, made antecedent to the demonetisation, received a like benefit, to the positive detriment of the debtors.

It is really pleasant to observe that, with regard to the Breach of Faith argument, that which has been most erroneously used against a substitution of gold for silver might have been, indeed ought to have been, if the nature of value is fairly considered, urged with firm and honest purpose against the operation called a measure of caution by Mr. Wilson.

It is certainly true that the fundholders, the creditors, and the holders of silver of the time in the countries referred to, exercised the caution which makes laws and regulations to enhance the value of existing property, in other words, which legislates in a purely selfish interest to the detriment of the public at large which pays taxes, and of the huge class of debtors, including what is called the State.

CHAPTER VII.

Justice can alone be done to the Community of India by the introduction of a Gold legal tender, and the consequent prevention of rise in the value of Silver.—Effect of the rise in value of Silver on the very poor. Instance afforded by the incidence of the Salt Taxes.—Loss caused to India by the compulsory importation of Silver.

AMONGST other arguments which have been used against the introduction of the gold legal tender, we have been told that a great injustice amounting to robbery would be inflicted by it on the ryot, or cultivator. It is asserted by some that the proposed measure is meant to add to his difficulties, and it has been dubbed confiscation on such an account.

The assertion is a seducing one to some minds. It is indeed but a re-statement of the Breach of Faith argument with a dash of sentimentalism infused, for the purpose of attracting the support of the British philanthropist.

It may be fairly said that the truth is exactly opposed to the assertion, and that justice can only be done to the ryot, and to those who are lower down in the social scale than he is, by reverting to a gold currency.

It has been shown that, putting disturbing causes aside, an arbitrary and absolute demonetisation of gold must of necessity raise the value of silver. Consequently, such an operation is directly disadvantageous to all debtors whose obligations were contracted prior to it.

Such demonetisation is also disadvantageous to all who are bound to make payments of given sums at regulated periods, according to ancient contracts. For the sake of argument we must assume that the rise in the value of silver with respect to that of gold is the same in India as it is declared in the markets of Europe, although that perhaps is hardly so. Thus, if silver is now worth 5 s. 2 d. an ounce instead of 4 s. 11 d., as was the case in Europe in former days, before the gold discoveries, and before gold was absolutely demonetised in certain countries, every obligation contracted under the national denomination of value, viz., the rupee, before the changes adverted to, is practically worth about 3 d. more in 5 s., or something like 5 per cent., than it would have been had no such changes taken place.

Consequently, all leases, mortgages, and public debts impose this disadvantage on those who are on the debit side of the contracts made prior to the operation referred to. Such parties, counteracting causes being put on one side, of which notice will be taken hereafter, as affecting India, are actually now paying about 5 per cent. more of value than they contracted to pay, because they are compelled arbitrarily to pay their dues in a metal the market value or selling price of which has been artificially raised 5 per cent. by the absolute demonetisation of gold.*

Let us examine how this circumstance acts on the ryots of India.

In the first place, the land revenues of India being in the nature of rent, the State landlord receives 5 per cent. more of value than he intended when he contracted for the rent of his lands, or, in other words, settled the assessment of the land revenue.

In Bengal this settlement, made in the last century, was a permanent one. Therefore, in Bengal, the essence of a permanent agreement has been invalidated by the fact of a circuitous arrangement, one altogether out of the minds of the contractors on both sides to the settlement when the settlement was made; that is to say, other disturbing causes being put on one side, the permanent landholders of Bengal now pay 5 per cent. more of value for their land than it was originally intended by them and Lord Cornwallis that they should pay, or than they did pay for more than half a century after that settlement was made.

In the North-West Provinces and in Bombay the settlements are not permanent, but run for 30 years.

In the North-West Provinces the settlements were generally effected after the Act

* Be it said in passing, that for the sake of the argument I am obliged to assume that the popular demonetisation of gold has been really as effective in India as the laws and regulations would have made it. It will be seen in a following chapter, that this is by no means the case, and that there is consequently reason to believe, that India has in great measure escaped the evils of that demonetisation, as affecting the relative values of silver and gold.

Act of 1835,* but before the treasuries were ordered not to receive gold in payment of revenues.

The rents were, therefore, fixed in a great many instances before the value of silver could have been affected by the gold discoveries, and its price raised by them. Consequently, until the settlement comes to a close, the older lessees or payers of revenue under the 30 years' settlement of the North-West Provinces, are affected similarly to the permanent tenant of Bengal. The land settlement of Bombay which is still proceeding, seems not to have been commenced at so early a date, but the argument must also partially apply to that Presidency.

It is obvious, therefore, that so far as rent is concerned, all obligations contracted between the State landlord on the one side and the tenant on the other which are older than 20 years, are discharged according to a notion of the value of the rupee, which was not intended by either of the contracting parties, and which is to the direct disadvantage of the tenants. Let it be remembered that these tenants are the classes on whom most of the direct taxation of India is made to fall.†

Whatever may be our opinion of the policy of the immemorial system of State landlordism for raising the funds required for the functions of Government and administration in India, it is clearly wrong and unjust to add to the burthen indirectly. Yet this is exactly what has been done by the course pursued with regard to gold and silver in the currency of the country, in disregarding the fact that a certain idea of value was originally contemplated by the lessors and the lessees, and not the actual commodity or metal; in other words, the special form of money, in which that idea was for the time nominally represented in contracts.

In addition to the difficulty stated with regard to the contract made with the State landlord, we have the further facts of the indebtedness of a large proportion of the Indian landowners and ryots, under whatever name they may exist, towards bankers and others. This state of indebtedness is not only general, but is also in a vast number of instances of very old standing. It has come down from generation to generation, and is transmitted from father to son, the security being in the form of mortgage.

Here again the mortgage profits, as it has been shown that the State landlord profits by the arbitrary elevation given to the market price of silver, by the demonetisation of the gold.

Again, has the burthen of the indebted ryots and of the indebted possessors of land been artificially and circuitously raised.

It may, therefore, be said that in the matter of change of value, in consequence of the absolute demonetisation of gold, the great landed interest represented by the ryots or tenants under other names, and by the indebted freeholders of India, stand with regard to the breach of faith argument in the same position as the State, when the latter is viewed as a debtor on account of such portion of the State debt as is more than 20 years old.

In the character of a debtor, the State is unfairly prejudiced.

In its character of landlord it obtains an unfair advantage in Bengal with regard to the permanent settlement, and in the North-West Provinces with respect to the 30 years' settlement, and inaugurated by the late Mr. Thomason.

If even there had been no counteracting causes to bar the effect of the legal demonetisation of gold, it is possible, perhaps indeed very probable, therefore, that so far as the public purse, the Exchequer, is concerned, one of the circumstances neutralises the others.

In like manner, assuming the rise of the value of silver to be a fact for the sake of the argument, it is by no means improbable that the tenants or ryots who are wealthy, and follow the national instinct of hoarding, have found a compensation for the increased value of the rents they pay in the increased value of their savings. But the indigent ryots, who were not what is called "before the world"

when

* Act XVII. of 1835. This Act determines the silver and gold coinage, and establishes equivalents of respective values. It also enacts that gold shall not be a legal tender.

† This is not said in depreciation of the Indian system of land revenue, which I believe to be a most perfect engine of raising money for State purposes, when it comes down from ancient times as is the case in India, and is not arbitrarily applied as a novelty, and therefore a tax. In the former, it is strictly rent; in the latter, it is an impost which may or may not be equitable, with regard to the burthens placed on the classes connected with the land.

when the value of silver was raised, who have to pay the interest of mortgages contracted by their fathers or by themselves, have no such compensation wherewith to mitigate the additional burthen inflicted on them by the artificially effected increase in the market value of silver.

It is therefore evident that any measure which tends to arrest the rise in the price of silver, to cause the value of contracts to be appreciated, as apart from the arbitrary augmentation of price of a particular metal which happens to be the legal tender of the day, cannot but be an unmixed advantage to the vast tenant interest of India, from which comes the great bulk of the revenue of the country in the form of a rent paid to the State landlord.

There are other numerous classes besides the ryot and the indebted landowner, which have a right to demand that the value of the silver rupee shall not be artificially raised.

It is far from my wish to reflect on the financial system of India. The improvements which have been made during the last half century, the abolition of transit duties, the reduction of the rates of land assessment, the abatement of customs duty on articles of first necessity, are all evidence of the spirit by which the Government of India is actuated, and of the right course in which it is moving. Difficulties present themselves with regard to raising the necessary revenue which impede reforms otherwise desirable.

It is on such account, we may presume, that the salt taxes, which are condemned on principle by the most enlightened Governments of Europe, still find a place among the imposts on which reliance is placed by the Indian administration. The effect of the salt tax on the very poor is, as it is well known, of a most serious character. Thus, it is not too much to say, that people of this class, in order to support life, to prevent themselves from being slowly poisoned by the scanty farinaceous food on which they subsist, must spend a large portion of their incomes on the purchase of salt.

The salt must be paid for in the legal tender of the day, or in silver, a great part of the price of the salt being a direct tax to the State. The poor man, like the rich one, cannot escape a physical law. Although his income may only be from 3 to 4 rupees,* or 6 s. to 8 s. a month, his health requires that he should consume as much salt as the man of large fortune.

It must therefore be admitted, that although the salt revenues may be levied either in the form of Excise or of Customs, they do in effect constitute a poll tax on every man, woman, and child in the country, simply because salt is a necessary of life.

It is, then, evident that any measure which conduces to raise the value of silver artificially, in which, as at present ruled, taxes can alone be paid, forms an addition to the poll tax which is levied on the enormous masses of the Indian population.

Perhaps it will be said that all disturbing causes being put on one side, silver being assumed to rise in value as is feared, the rupee received by the very poor man as wages will rise proportionately in value with that portion of the rupee paid away by him as a tax on salt to the State. This is true, but we may be quite sure that if the value of silver with regard to all other commodities were to rise, the actual rate of wages, as represented by the number of rupees paid for labour, would sink as the value of silver rose.

It is not perhaps likely that such a consideration would influence the scale of the salt taxes, unless it had been determined to revise the financial system, and to abolish salt duties.

On the contrary, we know that actually while the price of silver has been affected in European markets by the demand of importation to India, it being believed by many, however contrary it may be to fact, that the value of silver in India was also rising, the tax on salt which according to the legal tender of the day must be paid in silver, has been raised.

I must again guard myself, and bring to mind that for the sake of the argument, the facts of silver and gold only have been considered, the effect on the former by the absolute demonetisation of the latter, being alone taken into account in answer to objections offered to the proposed reform. It will be seen as the inquiry is prosecuted, that both metals, gold and silver alike, have of late years
sunk

* Such a low rate of wages is now much less common than it used to be.

sunk in value in India about *pari passu*. Consequently both the payer of rent and the payer of salt taxes are on this account better off than they used to be, with the exception of persons living on very small fixed incomes, a considerable class in the town and village communities of India.

Before quitting the subject of justice to the community, as involved in the proposed reform, it is well to advert to that which is so clearly stated in the memorial of the Chamber of Commerce, viz., "that while silver must be transported to a great distance, and reaches India burdened with heavy charges, gold may be cheaply procured from neighbouring countries."

From this follows a prejudice to India, because silver being burdened with such heavy charges, cannot be re-exported without loss, much of its reproductive power being thus lost to India.

It is further pointed out in the same memorial, that India instead of being the last recipient and the absorber of silver, would become the first importer and distributor of gold, if her currency were put on a reasonable footing.

With regard to the facts of India being a producer of manufactures as well as of raw commodities, both the former and the latter being available for direct export to the gold-producing countries, it seems clear that a positive injustice is done to the Indian community, by permitting a state of things to exist which unfavourably affects the value of gold in India, and compels a large importation of silver when gold would otherwise be preferred.

There can be no good reason to compel the precious metals to make the journey from Australia round by London to India, instead of coming direct to the latter country. Yet that is what to a certain extent necessarily takes place, and which throws heavy charges on the metal ordained as a legal tender, viz., silver. The gold of Australia must go to London to be exchanged for silver, which is then sent out to India, after being bought at an artificially high price in Europe and the United States. The European markets are the middlemen, who obtain their profits on the silver sent to India to restore the balance of trade.

Those profits are thus a partial deduction from the profits which would otherwise accrue to India herself. It is evident that this is neither more nor less than a grievance, seeing that the proceeding is arbitrary and artificial, and not demanded by the natural wants of commerce.

It may be argued that the present extraordinary state of things cannot last, and that India will cease to be such an importer of the precious metals as she now is, when the supplies of cotton from different parts of the world shall have become equal to the demands of the several markets of Europe and America.

This may be true to a certain extent; but so long as India is a great producer of raw commodities, and a considerable manufacturer, and until the masses of her people have so changed their habits as to become great consumers of European productions, we must understand that the balance of trade will continue to require a large annual importation of the precious metals. Let it be remembered that her powers of production, her capacity for manufacture, and her determination to avail herself of the profits of foreign commerce, are daily increasing, while the change of habits and customs, involving a demand for European commodities to which the Indian mind is not yet habituated, cannot but be a matter of very slow growth.

I have heard it said in answer to this argument, that the trade of India with Australia being as yet slender, to import gold direct from the latter to the former in large quantities, is at present impossible. We may, however, believe that mercantile ingenuity would overcome any difficulty of execution which stood in the way of buying gold cheap at the mouth of the mines, instead of when it is burthened with the cost of freight by a journey to London.

Thus if A, an Indian merchant, exports his cotton to B in England, B may send cloth to C in Australia and make his payment to A in India, in the form of bills drawn on C in Australia, which would be discharged in gold. That gold is I believe worth about 3*l.* 15*s.* in Australia, instead of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*, the price of the Bank of England, to which it rises in the European markets in consequence of freight, &c.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Introduction of a Gold Currency into India is urgently required as a matter of convenience and economy to the people at large.—A Paper Currency inoperative, owing to social causes.—The Introduction of a Gold Currency demanded by the same social causes.

WE now proceed to other considerations.

It is believed that the justice of any measure, including the gradual and partial demonetisation of silver, which may prevent the further upward move of the market value of silver, or its selling price, has been fully proved.

We have now then to discuss those other parts of the question, which have been already generally stated in the second chapter of this treatise, viz., the convenience to the people, the superior economy proposed by an arrangement, which shall include gold in the currency, as compared to the charges and want of comfort to which they are at present exposed.

With regard to mint operations, to economy of manufacture and administration, and to the saving of waste of material, and therefore of the national capital, by substituting generally as means of circulation and deposit the more costly metal, gold, for the cheaper one, silver, it is unnecessary to recapitulate the arguments by which this part of the subject has been already illustrated.*

But when we come to consider the question of portorage of coin, and of preserving in security the savings of the poor and of large sections of those elevated above poverty, we touch a subject intimately connected with the social habits, and the imperfect civilization of the people.

Let us reflect on the fact, that the populations of India have the most simple and gregarious habits. There are tens of millions of the people who carry their little store of wealth habitually with them on their persons, or bury it in the corners of their huts. To perceive the actual presence of their hardly saved rupees, or to conceal them away from the eyes of all other men, is their only notion of safety for their slender property.

For them, therefore, it is difficult to over-estimate the advantage of having the intrinsic value of their savings in the smallest and most portable form. The intensity of the want of portability of money comes before us in various ways. It is one of the conditions of what may be called the extreme promiscuity of existence seen in oriental bazaars, in the town and village life of India, as compared with the habits of European communities.

The importance of portability of the precious metals, as a means of being constantly on the watch to preserve the reserve wealth of the family, is observed in the addition to personal ornaments of silver and gold.

The reserve capital of a family is carried for safety on the persons of the women in the form of gold or silver bangles, as much as for ornament.

It is but an instance of the habit of thought, of the desire, amounting to a craving, to intensify the feeling of security, which we see in oriental potentates, who invariably invest large portions of their surplus wealth in precious stones and durable valuables.

Thus every man, who is just raised above mendicancy, carries his little store of money on his person, or he buries it. The waistband of almost every such man contains a few rupees or a coin or two of gold, which represent all his wealth, except his wife's bangles and his tools.

We saw the exaggeration of the notion of the value of portability during the recent rebellion in 1857-58, when the price of gold rose 50 per cent. in the bazaars of the North-West, solely because of that quality. The gold mohur which used generally to be exchanged by the money changers for 16 rupees, its mint price being 15 rupees, actually rose to 24 rupees, which were readily given for it.

I am particular in noting these circumstances, because, if fairly interpreted, they display a far more serious necessity for the introduction of a gold currency among the population of India as a matter of convenience, than perhaps may be the

* *Vide supra*, Chapter II.

the case in more advanced communities. This has probably always been so, but it seems particularly desirable, now that wealth is beginning to spread among the people in a manner which would have been believed to be impossible a few years ago.

In America and in Europe the great reserves of precious metals are for the most part secured in the strong rooms of banks, the value being represented by convertible paper. The promise to pay satisfies every one. The reserves being known to exist, and to be forthcoming to redeem the promise, gold and silver are but little seen in the course of business, except in the petty daily commerce of life.

The old habits of feudal Europe have well nigh died out. Secret hoarding, the carrying about the little store of wealth on the person, and the use of the hearthstone, so common in many countries till quite a recent date, the resources of the weak and of the oppressed, seem to be almost forgotten.

Money is felt to be safer in a commercial or a savings' bank. The people are satisfied to let their money "breed" if possible; and faith in obligations such as bank notes, or bank receipts, has entirely replaced the want of confidence which, among ignorant and backward populations, refuses to be satisfied except by the daily evidence of the senses.

But oriental populations, if we except the inhabitants of a few large sea-board cities, are generally a long way from such a result of progress in social polity. They are not practically educated to the point of appreciating the convertibility of paper, and the advantage of popular banking. The latter, in their eyes, is connected with their natural enemy, the usurer. The former must remain for a long time an object of distrust.

The people hug the idea of intrinsic value in coins of the precious metals which will last for ever, which will be again found, if war sweep over the country and destroy all that is above ground.

It will be understood that they would not care to bury the bank note in a corner of the hut. They would know that the paper would rot, be destroyed by damp, or be eaten by insects.

They would further be always oppressed with the idea that it might lose in value or become inconvertible hereafter, in the midst of political changes, a by no means unreasonable suspicion.

To the very poor, the bank note would also present serious objections on account of its easy destructibility. It must wear out in the waistband. Its wants of weight, its very flimsiness, preclude the idea of its general use by the very poor, who like to assure themselves, by constant touch, that their little reserve store of wealth is actually in its usual place on their persons.

There cannot be a doubt that such people would long to change the bank note, when paid to them in satisfaction of their dues. This they would undoubtedly do, even at considerable loss, rather than continue to trust in what to them is a doubtful representative of value. Such facts daily pass before our eyes, even in great marts, where other things might have been expected.

It may further be said that, of all people in the world, the population of India carries practically and keenly into execution the principle, that the money actually current is a commodity which must possess the intrinsic value it assumes to represent.

To them bangles are convertible into rupees and *vice versa*.

"The gowd's the gowd for a' that."

Thus, in some Native States the people refuse in their retail operations to take the British rupee without a slight discount, because they declare, whether rightly or wrongly, that the rude rupees supplied from their native mints have more of silver in them, or are freer from alloy than the British rupee.

The gold mohurs produced in the native mints were, I am informed, always more in demand, for similar reasons, than the British gold mohurs, when gold was received at our treasuries. To this day, the purity of the old gold mohur of Oudh, and of the gold mohurs coined at Jeypore, are held in high estimation.

These matters are valued with the greatest nicety by the native cambist, and they descend into minute retail operations, to the extreme disadvantage of the very poor.

Those practically acquainted with India will understand how they must affect

a widespread circulation of bank notes. The difficulty of generally applying bank notes must remain, until the suspicions of the people have been allayed by practical and patient education, and their civilization in the matter concerned has reached the point we have lately, but very lately seen attained in some European countries.

It is not asserted that a large development of the paper currency would not greatly facilitate the business of domestic commerce, the transactions in the large towns, the operations of great merchants and shopkeepers, and of Government in its several characters of State landlord, merchant, producer, administrator, banker, and provider of a currency. I desire only to show that what are called the masses, the hundred millions, with the slight exception perhaps of those living in the seaboard cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Kurrachee, will for the present and for many years to come fail to appreciate a system of paper representing Government promises to pay.

My object is to declare the strength and importance of the habits and customs, of the immemorial feeling among the many races of which the people of India is made up, that they must have intrinsic value in their hands before they are convinced that payment has been made to them. In their present state of knowledge and civilisation, their habits of thought and of practice being based on the ideas of barbarous ages, when concealment and the hoarding of money were necessities of existence, we should not expect them to hold different views. Such views will in the lapse of time come to be entertained, but it is in vain to attempt to force them forward. They must grow naturally amid tender encouragement.

In this matter we have to overcome what is called the "immobility" of the East. This we know successfully resists sudden pressure. It can be stirred only by bringing Nature to our aid, as we remove the bar from the mouth of a harbour, not by steam engines and hydraulic presses, but by turning a current, which gradually washes away the immemorial obstruction.

So must it always be in the introduction of improvement into Hindustan. We do not find that the natives of India are slower than those of other countries to profit by innovation, when their understandings have been convinced that advantage will flow from the change. But it is certainly true that the conviction must be practically won.

Theories are not taken on trust. The experience of other countries is not admitted as sufficient. Custom is paramount, till it is dislodged by the actual evidence of the senses, that success attends a change, and that gain follows on the change.

This having been achieved, immobility is shaken among the masses, the bar finally disappears, before the increasing strength of the new current directed against it.

Then is perceived what we have seen in the plantations of New Orleans cotton in southern India, and of tea in the north. In each case the people had to be practically educated to the point required for a change in their industry. The introduction of the change could not be effected in less time than that represented by a generation. It finally took place, because the people had at length convinced themselves, by their own experience, that what was announced by Government and foreign planters was actually true.

These facts of Hindustanee nature, so important to the legislator and the administrator, must surely not be permitted to escape us, when we contemplate the introduction of convertible paper, and desire to substitute promises to pay in the hands of the people, for the metallic payment itself. For in this the uneducated and the timid have alone confidence, because as yet it is the only thing they have known by which value could be represented, and the only thing which has been proved to them by the experience of ages to be durable and recoverable, when all other produced things might be swept away.

The social aspect of the question is after all the truly important one, that which presents enormous difficulties in the way of execution of a general paper currency. The economical theory of the advantages of a paper currency is doubtless absolutely true; but we are convinced, by a thousand instances, that in politics scientific truth must wait patiently, must gradually force itself on popular conviction, here a little and there a little.

An over hasty application of the most perfect economical system, which ignores the facts of the existing state of knowledge and civilisation, defeats the objects sought

sought by the advocates of the change. In such case the Government of a country is fortunate if the resistance it is certain to encounter be only dumb and dogged, as it might be in India, instead of violent and inflammatory, as it assuredly would be in Europe.

It seems to me, that those who, like the late Mr. Wilson, have had absolute faith in the virtue and the possibility of the immediate application of a convertible paper throughout India, have overlooked the foregoing considerations.

Thoroughly imbued with the truths of economical science, they have overlooked the social bar standing directly before them, submerged though it may be by the calm waters of Indian tranquillity and apparent submissiveness to the orders of Government.

They have forgotten that that submissiveness is perfect, so long only as the personal interest of the individual is favourably concerned, but that at the point where the interest is either prejudiced, or the individual thinks it is prejudiced, the opposition becomes determined and invincible. It is none the less so, because of the outward calm of the spoken and acted submissiveness. As before said, we find ourselves in the presence of great results of natural causes. These results cannot be removed until the causes themselves are diverted.

Yet Mr. Wilson thought, and tried to act on the thought that, by a simple order of Government, the people of Hindustan must at once be induced to appreciate and use a convertible paper currency, which would have dropped on them as a novelty to be understood and fed on, as manna was by the Israelites in the wilderness.

It is not then too much to say, that Mr. Wilson fell into the error of overlooking or of putting aside the political truths conveyed by the social aspect of the question.

It seems clear that in his ardent desire to relieve the currency of India from the difficulties in which he found it, according to his own economical views, he entirely failed to estimate the obstacles presented by custom and habit, by ignorance and prejudice, by the facts of the enormous numbers of the population, among which the metallic reserves of India are fractionally distributed, the principle of the savings' bank being as yet entirely unknown to them.

Mr. Wilson evidently must have reasoned, as if he had had a British or an American public before him, which has been educated to the point of understanding, that the convertibility of the bank note when real and positive under the authority of the State, or any other equally valid authority, is but another term for actual value.

His sanguine temperament was perhaps unable to appreciate that to cause such a truth to sink into the mind of the Indian population, and to become operative amidst its shallows, must be an affair of many years. He was probably misled by what he saw at Calcutta and at Bombay. He doubtless assumed, for the more convenient floating of his schemes, that the great masses of the Indian people differed in no respects from the native inhabitants of those vast trading cities.

Yet nothing can be more erroneous. Bombay and Calcutta evince the effects of a practical British education, which has lasted for two centuries. In the matters of trade, of the changes and improvements in the art of commerce, they have proceeded with the European countries, more especially England, with which they have been in direct communication. In such respects, therefore, the people of these cities resemble the communities of Liverpool and London, rather than the masses of their poor countrymen in the provinces, who are only now commencing the rudiments of a like education.

This has been practically seen in the districts, wealthy as they are, and overwhelmed by the sudden prosperity lavished on them by the cotton crisis, where the Bombay Bank has established its branches.

The people of those districts are shown to be not ripe for a bank note circulation, and in point of fact they will not have anything to say to it.

They are greedy of the metals in every form. Silver, coined or uncoined, gold, in bars and golden bangles, have the greatest charm for them. Gold on such account is brought into the Bombay market and taken into the interior directly it appears. There is at present no more profitable trade than to import gold for this purpose. An ingot currency, organised by the people themselves, has, as it were, sprung into existence, on account of the new value created in the country by the cotton crisis, and by the largely developed export trade following on it.

But the bank note is despised in the provinces as it was before the strange, unlooked-for, and enormous addition to the material wealth of the country, which has recently taken place.

It will be recollected that Mr. Wilson's schemes were elaborated in 1859, or more than a year before the outbreak of civil war in the United States.

Nothing could be so favourable to the development of a paper currency as a vast accession to a material wealth, the consequent increase of transactions, and extraordinary impetus given to the activity of trade.

Circumstances on which Mr. Wilson did not reckon, have all been immensely in his favour.

Yet, so far as we know, whenever bank notes have been offered out of the Presidency towns, they have failed to attract attention, while, on the contrary, the old passion for the possession of the metals, silver and gold, has made itself felt with tenfold force among the "*nouveaux riches*" of Hindustan.

Thus have old social habits been triumphant, and the artificial devices of the art of commerce, for the furtherance of the freedom of exchange and the saving of capital, are steadily put aside, simply because their merits are not understood, and because the people are not educated to the point of understanding them, and therefore of departing from their ancient custom.

It is curious to note the determination of the population at large to acquire gold in preference to silver as a means of ornament and hoarding, so soon as their increased wealth permits of it.

The fact is remarked and reported by collectors and superintendents of police. It is said that since the cotton crisis, gold bangles have in some favoured cotton districts become almost as common as silver bangles were before. Sir Arthur Cotton relates that before the opening of the Godavery canals, the district of Rajamundree was one of the poorest in India. The irrigation of the soil converted it to a rich one.

He visited the district a few years after his canal labours had produced their fruits. Wealth had taken the place of the most ghastly poverty. The district had become a steady importer of gold.

It is then evident that the people must have and will have gold.

The want of it being strongly felt in accordance with the instincts of the people, with regard to the late accession to their wealth, they are rudely proceeding to supply themselves.

Thus 21,000,000 *l.* of gold have been imported into India since Mr. Wilson's currency scheme was propounded, viz., since 1860-61.*

Although his paper scheme was grievously mutilated, an attempt has been made since that date to float a tentative paper currency. The attempt has failed, as already shown, whilst the enormous sum of gold just cited has been absorbed so soon as it appeared, and this fact has taken place notwithstanding that gold is not coined in the British mints, and is not available as a legal tender in payment of debts and taxes.

What is then the inference?

By every consideration of regard for the people, for their convenience and the economy of their means, we are bound to give an administrative form to the solution of the problem of a gold currency, which, in a rude and barbarous manner, they have, to a certain degree, worked out for themselves.

* Importation of gold to Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay :—

								<i>Rs.</i>
1860-61	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,50,92,243
1861-62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,50,22,714
1862-63	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,72,25,794

In the incomplete financial year of 1863-64, viz. till 15th February 1864, the importation of gold to Bombay alone has been 4,13,46,748 rupees. This sum has been imported on private account, and is exclusive of Government remittances.

CHAPTER IX.

Change of Values in India.—Disturbing causes of Value.—Increased demand for Metallic Circulation.—Popular instinct has corrected an Administrative Defect.—It is our duty to follow the lead thus given.

A SURVEY of Indian affairs during the last few years makes us acquainted with circumstances which have an intimate connection with the subject before us.

Thus it is seen that many causes have tended to accelerate, perhaps it should be said to create, a new development in India.

The throwing open of trade 50 years ago has at length come to have its full effect; the foreign trade, which was most insignificant at the commencement of the century, now exceeds a hundred millions sterling. New industries, new commodities have sprung into existence to meet the wants of daily augmenting demands of foreign commerce.

Vast tracts of country which were formerly devoted entirely to the production of cereals are now alienated to other purposes, to opium, to cotton, to oilseeds.

Provinces in which corn was not many years ago at a fabulously low price are now importers of grain. The consequence has been that for several years a steady but certain rise of prices has been observed to be proceeding.

Much more of money has flowed into the country and been distributed throughout its wide area than could be received and absorbed in former times.

Silver and gold have alike become cheaper, as a greater demand for other commodities has followed on two causes—the new demands of foreign commerce, and the enlarged power of consumption evinced by the people in consequence of their prosperity.

The latter circumstance is shown by the unfailing test of the salt taxes. The consumption of salt, as proved by the returns of the tax, is steadily rising, the craving for that necessary aliment being the first to be satisfied as a condition of health, as the means of the poor are ameliorated.

It will be understood that a largely increased foreign commerce must add immensely to the amount of domestic production, and therefore to the number of transactions, each in their own way demanding more consumption, more labour, more land, more conveniences, more means of exchange, more money, and an easier adaptation of money to the supply of the new wants.

These facts have all been visible in a very marked manner in India.

Thus great tracts of land are being daily brought into cultivation which for ages had lain waste. There is no part of the revenue which is more* remunerative, more elastic, or shows a greater tendency to increase, than that proceeding from the land. Notwithstanding that the assessments or rates of rent are much lower than in former days, the actual amounts paid into the Treasury exceed those of the times of high assessments, because of the larger area brought under cultivation, and of the exactness with which the assessment is now paid.

Instead of a population which was too numerous for employment, there is now an active competition on the part of employers of all sorts to attract labour.

One great reason of the rise of prices in all descriptions of food is the greater disposition to consume. The people being richer, actually eat more than they did in their days of poverty.

The rates of wages are rising everywhere, but more especially in the neighbourhood of the sea-coast, where labour is most in demand.

The conveniences required by a great activity of domestic commerce have simultaneously made their appearance.

Thus railways, which create so many new industries, and employ the population by millions, are becoming a part of the habits of the people, wherever they have as yet pierced. The same may be said of coasting and river steamers.

Hundreds of thousands of carts have within the last 20 years supplanted the pack-

* This remark refers to the Presidencies and Governments into which the permanent settlement has not been introduced. In the former the Treasury benefits, as does an improving landlord whose ultimate returns are augmented by the prosperity of his tenants. Such a result seems to be precluded by the permanent settlement, which transfers this advantage to the zumeendar or large landholder in Bengal proper.

pack-bullock and the camel in wide areas, in which formerly such carriage sufficed for the insignificant traffic of the country.

The Public Works Department of Government is striving to meet the demand for improved communications in aid of the railways, and to ease the growing traffic of the country to the best of its ability. Much is being effected, competition for labour both of man and beast being thus added by the Government to the exertions of railway companies, and to the energies of other employers.

If we turn to other matters of convenience, we remark that numerous banks have been established, that the small capitalists are making themselves felt in India, as they do in Europe, in the form of "companies," for carrying out the purposes of trade and manufacture.

It is observed that within the last quarter of a century a system of barter still prevailed in many parts of India.

The country was too poor in some parts to own the presence of money to be able to pay for the convenience of it. Now, on the contrary, the rupee has penetrated everywhere, and it is doubtless true, as remarked by his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere, that one of the causes of the increased demand for silver and gold may be found in the simple fact, that in such lately pauper districts an entirely new circulation has had to be recently supplied.*

Let us add to this cause another. Let us recollect that countless individuals, who must be reckoned by scores of millions, have respectively come to be the possessors of small portions of reserve wealth, which they either consume, save, or employ in reproduction. We shall then be able to form some idea of the immense but comparatively new demand for increased means of metallic currency, which cannot be measured by European or American experience.

What, then, have we to note? It is simply this. India has, within the last generation, passed from a state of poverty to one of comparative wealth, this being shown by all those signs which we are accustomed to consider as certain unerring symptoms of prosperity and wealth in the communities of Europe, viz., the cheapening of the precious metals with regard to other commodities, increased power of consumption among the people, the great and still growing demand for new means of metallic circulation, the augmented demand for labour, the development or the creation of the expedients by which in civilised and rich countries it is sought to economise the labour of man and beast in every form.

It is thus seen that what I have more than once alluded to as disturbing causes in their effect on ancient values in India; have been of late very great. While, on the one hand, accidents have tended to slightly raise the value of silver in foreign countries in which exists the legal coin of the Indian Empire; on the other, the material development consequent on an era of peace and prudence and fairly good government have much more enhanced the value of domestic productions, and therefore of the cost of labour in India itself; comparative competency flowing in on countless individuals, and great wealth on very many.

Such facts alone must convince every one that, putting all other reasons on one side, we have in these circumstances an ample cause for great increase in the circulating medium.

The vastly augmented numbers of transactions as compared with former times, the rise of wages throughout the country following on the demand for labour, together with the increased market value of all commodities as shown by selling price, have called for a great addition to the amount of metallic money in circulation and in deposit, for the mere execution of business.

This would be a certain result in any country in a condition of rapid progress, but it is tenfold more so in India, if we take into consideration the habits of the people, which have been adverted to in a preceding chapter. These habits, it will be remembered, preclude the idea of a paper currency being allowed the fair play which it obtains in more advanced countries.

There is yet another consideration.

It is doubtless true that the addition to wealth among the people at large will produce a change of manners at no very distant date. We shall ultimately see commodities imported into India for the satisfaction of luxury and comfort among classes to which such matters have been hitherto unknown. The change of

* See *supra*, Chapter II., "Definition of Currency."

of manners has already taken place in Bombay itself, and importations are seen accordingly to meet new wants.

Perhaps the change may be said to be beginning to make itself felt in the provinces since the great flux of prosperity poured on the merchant and cultivator by the cotton crisis.

If this be so, it can be but a very slender beginning. We must wait for some years before we can expect that the Indian mind generally will undergo a great change. It will not immediately look for value in increased comfort, such as is to be obtained from imported manufactured commodities, to which it is as yet not accustomed; it will still prefer to revel in the possession of a certain quantity of silver and gold, and to be satisfied with such further consumption as is in accordance with the productions of the country and the prevalent notions of enjoyment.

The old craving for the precious metals is as strong as in the days of poverty. This cannot, therefore, but cause the disappearance from circulation of great masses of metallic capital, the ancient habits of the people thus combining with the new activity of their modern commerce and industry to stimulate the demand for the metals, to increase the amount of deposits, and, therefore, to cheapen the value of the metals, to reduce them in price as compared with other commodities.

This process, half economical and half social, by which values are thus disturbed, has been proceeding in the Bombay Presidency in a very marked manner. Great numbers of the population are afflicted almost to starvation, on the one side, by the rise in prices, viz., those who live on very small fixed incomes, while the fortunate owners and tenants of the land, and the merchants and shopkeepers on the other, are overwhelmed as it were with the silver and gold which have been heaped on them, and with which as yet they hardly know what to do beyond amassing it in a glittering heap, turning copper bangles into silver bangles, and silver ornaments into gold ones.

The union of the old social causes with the economical one of material improvement, the two operating towards the same conclusion, which drags the precious metals from the west to the east, is one of the circumstances of the difficulty the currency of India now encounters which has the most escaped consideration.

The fact is powerful in showing, that even if silver was adequate to the wants of Indian circulation before the setting in of the late prosperity, it is no longer so. For unless corrected by the determination of the people to have gold as a representative of value, whether or not it be coined into money, the circumstances of improvement would all re-act in raising the value of silver, and therefore in adding to the burthen of those who have contracted to pay value according to the nominal legal tender of the day; for, as already shown, an addition to the functions of the circulating medium must add to its value as a commodity, because more of it is drawn from the other uses for which it is produced.

The correction of the wants of the currency has been enforced by the practice of the people. It is evident that in the popular estimation gold is a representative of value equally with silver, and the people are determined that it shall so remain. The popular instinct has been wonderfully true to its own interest. In spite of the legal restriction conveyed in the sole legal tender of silver, the instinct operates largely to do what has been done in France and the United States by means of the double standard.* That is to say, the force of that instinct has generally maintained the former relative value† of gold and silver in India, although with a slight depreciation of the former, by compelling the large importations and the distribution of gold, in spite of the prohibitions to discharge obligations in coins of that metal.

The value of the phenomenon here noted with regard to the question before us is immense, it being evident that‡ both gold and silver have been for a long time bought at remunerative prices in Europe for the purpose of exportation to India.

If silver is cheaper in Europe, Australia, and America than it is in India, so is

* *Vide supra*, Chapter V.

† *Vide* Appendix, Tables of Value.

‡ *Vide* Tables F, G.

is gold ; that is to say, the commodities returned on account of the two metals are more in demand in the other quarters of the globe than the metals are.

On the other hand, in India itself the metals, owing to the abundant importation to the East, are cheap with respect to all other commodities, and to the hitherto customary cost of Indian labour. But the cheapness affects both silver and gold alike, and the relative value of the two metals has been only slightly affected in India, because although gold has been legally demonetised, the instinct and ancient custom have been triumphant in retaining gold as a representative of value, and are causing it to perform some of the most important functions of money.

Can further proof be required of the illusion under which Mr. Wilson must have proffered his advice in 1859, and the Government of India issued its prohibitory orders to receive gold at the Treasuries in 1852 ?

We are, therefore, again brought to the point reached in the last chapter, viz., that on account of the convenience of the people, this resting on new economical grounds as well as the old social ones, we are bound to follow the lead they have given us to afford an administrative form and sanction to a gold currency.

However strange it may at first sight appear, it is doubtless true that the popular instinct has saved us from much difficulty in giving practical effect to the necessary arrangements.

Thus knowing, as we do, that the importation of gold has been of late years proceeding at an accelerated ratio as compared with former times, that consequently immense masses of gold are held in the country, and that the gold so held must proportionally have displaced silver, we cease to fear an alarming depreciation of the value of the latter when it shall be partially and gradually demonetised by the introduction of a gold currency.

It being thus clear that great stores of reserve value are maintained in gold by the practice of the people, we are saved from the dread of committing ourselves to a measure which may in any manner interfere with the national tastes, or invade the national notion of value, with regard to the discharge of obligations in their integrity.

Such reflections are especially important to us, as removing even the faintest idea of want of equity towards the holders of silver, whether they be wealthy capitalists, or the poor, who in individual slender savings build up national deposits, as islands of coral are produced in the ocean.

These considerations have a like weight in answer to the objection which has been conjured up, but it is hoped has now been dispelled, with regard to the fanciful assumption that in the discharge of obligations the actual metal of the fortuitous legal tender or current coin must be absolutely considered, instead of the value it represents.

We may believe with certainty, in consequence, that no change of any importance in the popular consideration of the value of the silver rupees could ensue on the introduction of a gold currency. Existing stores of silver would be absorbed gradually but certainly in manufacture, and by the universal taste for jewellery among all classes, rich and poor, the only effect being that the importation of silver would diminish, perhaps might almost cease for a time, while an impulse would be given to the importation of gold.

As respects national tastes and desires, we should but revert to a concurrence with the habit of thought, which has been sufficiently powerful to resist the enforcement of the sole legal standard absolutely ordered in 1852, in opposition to the old customs of India and to the practice of all Governments preceding ours, that practice having been our own till a recent date.

CHAPTER X.

Caution necessary in the mode of Introduction of the Gold Currency.—Transition period of Double Legal Tender.—Token Coinage inadmissible during such period.

It is hoped that much of what has preceded may be borne in mind, in considering how practical effect may be best given to the demand made for the introduction of a gold currency into India.

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The social facts of India to which allusion has been made, as well as the illustration afforded by other countries in similar circumstances of change, seem especially worthy of reflection when we determine what is to be done in the matter before us.

Thus knowing as we do that an immense quantity of silver coins is held in the country, a considerable time must elapse before the masses of silver which are in deposit and in circulation can make place for gold. This is so on two accounts.

A sufficiency of gold coinage cannot make its appearance *per saltum* in exchange for the silver. Time is required for the mere mechanical operations of the Mint, and when the gold has been coined for its further distribution through the country. It is evident that if a hasty order were given to make payment of revenue receivable only in gold, the gold coins actually in existence would go up to an extravagant price, because more would be demanded than are now probably to be found in the market, whatever the exertions made by the money changers.

Secondly, it is most desirable on other accounts that whatever change is made should take place most gradually, according to the demand evinced by the people, as the mode in which it may operate on their interests dawns on them.

We cannot be too careful to avoid the charge which might be justly made, if by a sudden and absolute demonetisation of silver we were suddenly to reduce its value in the local markets. This consideration has great weight with regard to the amount of silver now in the country. The gradual and due absorption of that metal is demanded by every principle of justice and equity before gold can be absolutely substituted for silver in the currency. Absolute substitution is a very different thing from adding gold money to the present existing silver money.

We must be further careful, as a matter of social policy, not to disturb the popular, existing, and healthy notions with regard to value and exchange. To ensure this, when we present to the people coins of the two metals for general use, instead of one as heretofore, we must not interfere with the reigning idea, that the coins of both metals are valued by the people on account of their intrinsic value, that is to say, of the amount of the metals actually contained in the coins. For some time to come both metals, when in the form of coin, must run their chance as commodities of trade without assistance.

Relative Mint values with regard to certain considerations being fixed between gold and silver, the facts of the ultimate settlement of the particular function of money, will determine themselves according to the laws it has been sought to illustrate.*

In such respects, then, we have but to follow the example which has been set to us by the United States and by France. We are forced to admit the necessity of a transition period of double legal tender, during which gold and silver must be permitted to compete on their own merits. The facts and argument before stated are sufficient to determine the ultimate success of the gold.†

The necessity of a transition period being admitted, we must infer that a token coinage could not be issued during such period.

The success of a token coinage is the practical evidence that one metal, gold, has been substituted successfully in currency and deposit for another metal, silver. The power to introduce a token coinage, and to cause it to be adopted generally, is a result of the completeness of the change which has been effected by the operation of the superiority of gold over silver for the performance of the functions of currency and deposit in a wealthy country. A token coinage is, then, the consequence of a perfected antecedent.

To apply a silver token coinage before the change from silver to gold has been finally effected at large in currency and deposit would, therefore, be to apply a result in anticipation of the causes which may hereafter render a token coinage expedient, but as yet have not come into operation.

Let it further be carefully borne in mind that the necessity of a token coinage of silver for small transactions is the sign that silver no longer exists in any quantity in a country. When the necessity of a token coinage is felt, silver is

no

* *Vide supra*, Chapter V., on "The Double Standard of Value."

† *Vide supra*, Chapter II., on "The Economy of Gold as the medium of Currency as compared with Silver;" also Chapter IX., on "The demand for a Gold Currency as declared by the popular instinct of India."

no longer found in deposit to meet the demands of foreign trade, or to represent the reserve value kept in store by a community. The necessity of the token coinage is the indication that the silver in a country does not more than suffice for the purposes of manufacture and jewellery, and that none is left for the discharge of large obligations.

In India we know that the direct contrary is the result of the very measures we have taken of late years to monopolise the functions of money in silver to the depreciation and expulsion of gold, however much our measures may have been corrected by the popular instinct. Consequently, in India, the cause which necessitates a token coinage does not yet exist.

There is besides another reason, which is strongly opposed to the introduction of a token coinage, until it shall have been ascertained by the people to be necessary, because of the disappearance of silver from circulation and deposit, as was shown in the case of the United States in 1853.

The argument against a premature token coinage, and against a hasty forcing forward of a bank note circulation, is identical. The people of the empire generally are not educated to the point of receiving either a token coinage or bank notes as representatives of value which intrinsically they do not possess.

The disappearance of silver may ultimately force the people to appreciate the superior convenience and profit to themselves as afforded by a token coinage in the place of full weight silver rupees, and full weight fractional parts of a rupee.

Till the cause has taken place, viz., the disappearance of silver from circulation and deposit, we can well afford to wait.

For, in truth, the primary use of a token coinage is to atone as a matter of convenience for the absence of silver. The secondary and equally important use of a token coinage is to fix the metallic currency, and to protect it from the chance of further fluctuation, when the substitution of gold for silver has been finally carried out,

I think, therefore, we may assume, that on the introduction of a gold currency, a period of double legal tender must be undergone, while the substitution of gold for silver is gradually taking place in the currency and deposits of India.

Secondly, so long as the double legal tender or period of transition lasts, a token coinage would be inconsistent, and indeed impossible, in such a condition of things.

Thirdly, that so soon as in the course of years the substitution of gold for silver in currency and deposits has been effected, it will be possible, and in all probability prudent, to introduce a token coinage.

With respect to the latter conclusion, we must not hope that the rapidity of the process of substitution which was perceived in the United States will be seen in India.

It is not improbable that what four years could do in the former may require the period of a generation in the latter. This, however, is but another argument for doing nothing hastily, and against urging any measure which might attempt to force the natural growth of opinion and appreciation.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCLUSION.

The denomination of the Rupee to be retained as a matter of course.—How Sovereigns may be used.—The equivalent of Gold and Silver declared in Act XVII. of 1835 may be maintained.—Legal tender of Gold in addition to that of Silver should be created on such a basis.

It will, I presume, be conceded that whatever we may do in the matter of introducing a gold currency, we must retain the denomination of value in which all obligations have hitherto been contracted.

As the franc has been preserved in France, and the dollar in the United States, the gold value of both alike having been gradually substituted in currency and deposit for the old silver value, so must the rupee continue to assert its ancient position in India, whether its value be represented in gold or silver.

It is expedient that gold coins struck for the purpose of domestic exchange should be multiples of the rupee, as laid down in the Act of 1835.

It

It is not to be expected that any foreign coin which has been called into existence with regard to another basis of calculation can be an exact multiple of the rupee.

In an accidental state of the money market, amidst the fluctuations of exchange, circumstances might occur, for a single day, to render the foreign gold coin such an exact multiple for a moment in the market prices.

The price would be abnormal.

To adopt the foreign gold coin into a native circulation on such terms, to declare that it shall be the permanent multiple of the silver native coin, because on one particular day it happened accidentally to be so, would be to give permanence to an abnormal circumstance, and in all probability, to attempt to fix a scale of relative values of the metals which is not borne out by the facts of general domestic exchange.

Thus the idea has been entertained that it would be very convenient to use the introduction of a gold currency into India in such a manner, to establish the sovereign in India as it is in England and Australia, to seize on a particular time when amid the fluctuations of exchange the sovereign should represent the exact value of 10 rupees, and then from henceforth to declare (such value having been momentarily obtained) it should so remain permanently, it being received as legal tender in payment of debts and taxes.

But it is clear that if the sovereign is generally worth more or less than 10 rupees, the due estimation will be taken of the fact in foreign markets, irrespectively of the considerations which might influence an Indian Government in making such a regulation. If the sovereign was worth more than 10 rupees according to average, it would be exchanged to India for a greater value than that of the 10 rupees, and *vice versa*. In the former case, so far as the function of money is concerned, silver would be paid for taxes and debts, and the sovereign would be retained in deposit or disposed of, as being more valuable than the legal tender the sovereign represents.

In the opposite case, if the sovereign in foreign markets was of less worth and could be imported for less than 10 rupees, all taxes would be paid in it, and silver would be sold at a profit, Government being the loser.

There seems to be only one mode of using the sovereign in India in circulation, that being to permit it to be offered in payment, according to the value it bears relatively to the Indian gold coin legally established as the multiple of the rupee, 1 per cent. being allowed for Mint charges,* to put it on the same footing as gold coined in India.

Thus the British Indian gold mohur being held by the Act of 1835 to be equal to 15 rupees, gives a value of 5*s.* 2¼*d.* to the ounce of silver + 0½*d.*, which may be considered the difference of Mint charge between gold and silver.

This being so, if the value of the sovereign † be calculated on a similar basis, its worth must be taken at *Rs.* 10. 4. 4., its intrinsic value at 5*s.* 2¼*d.* being *Rs.* 10. 6. 1.,‡ the difference between the two sums being that which would represent the Mint charges if the sovereigns were coined in India instead of being imported.

Consequently, if it be determined to effect a large coinage of British 15-rupee gold pieces or gold mohurs, and to accept them as legal tender for such value, there

* The Bombay Mint charges are as follows:—One per cent. on gold, two per cent. on silver; this is called seignorage. There is besides a pre-melting charge of one per mille on silver, and .25 per mille on gold. Colonel Ballard remarks that “the difference of charge should be maintained. Gold is cheaper to coin than silver, and therefore entitled to the advantage.”

† In estimating the relative value of sovereigns and Indian coins, for the purpose of circulating the former, it is clearly indispensable to burthen sovereigns with the Mint charge, to which the domestic coinage is necessarily exposed.

‡ Intrinsic value of the sovereign in silver rupees, when silver is worth—

		Rupees.		Sovereign.	
<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>
4	11 per ounce	=	1 9.92	=	10 15 2.18
5	— ”	=	1 10.29	=	10 12 3.29
5	1 ”	=	1 10.66	=	10 9 5.53
5	1½ ”	=	1 10.84½	=	10 8 1.07
5	2 ”	=	1 11.03	=	10 6 8.86
5	2½ ”	=	1 11.12	=	10 6 1.07

there would seem to be no objection to permit the sovereign to be also legally tendered at a uniform rate of about Rs. 10. 4. 0.*

A convenience to the local mints might be afforded by such a rule, and an important advantage would be gained for the trading community generally by the fact that gold specie coming from England and Australia would thus be enabled to take its place in circulation immediately after it was landed.

It is well known that the public is in time of money pressure greatly incommoded by the want of coined money, when the vaults of the mints are crammed with bullion, which it cannot work off into coin under two or three months. This happened in November of 1863, and is again the case now in March of 1864.

Surprise has sometimes been expressed at the fact, that even while gold was receivable at the treasuries in payment of taxes, so little was ever offered by the people in former times.

The reason of this may perhaps be stated to be the same as that which drove gold away from France,† between the years 1801 and 1850.

The value of gold was really considerably greater in the Indian market than it was rated by law in the Act of 1835.

Thus Colonel Ballard, the master of the Bombay Mint, estimates that the value given to silver by that Act, after deducting the Mint charges on coining, is 5s. 2½d. the ounce.

But as we have seen, Mr. Wilson estimated the value of silver, and doubtless with correctness, to have been about 4s. 11d. prior to the gold discoveries. At this price the sovereign is worth very nearly 11 rupees, the British gold mohur struck to represent 15 rupees being on such terms worth more than 16 rupees. Consequently, the Indian Act of 1835 declared silver to be worth 3½d. per oz. more than it really was, as interpreted in the price of gold by the public.

This being so, it is evident that so far as the payment of taxes was concerned, it was absolutely contrary to the interest of the tax-payer to pay in gold, and he accordingly did not do so. Gold remained a commodity of trade in the British provinces, and was very rarely offered at the mints for coinage. The native mints, on the other hand, have, it is said, continued to be comparatively active in turning off gold coins, which have always been in high estimation, as an irregular vehicle of value among the subjects of British India.

Circumstances have, however, combined to establish the price of silver at about 5s. 2d. At this present date it is indeed higher, it having reached 5s. 2½d., or closely to the price indicated by the Act of 1835, with respect to the value of the British gold mohur of 15 rupees, after allowing for Mint charges.

The causes which have been alluded to, viz., the demonetisation of gold in India under the orders of the British Government, and the importation of gold which has taken place notwithstanding that demonetisation, combined with the favourable balance of trade, seem thus to have generally corrected the original error of official calculation with respect to the relative values of gold and silver, just as the discovery of the gold mines and the imprudent conduct of other Governments had corrected a similar official error of calculation in France.

That is to say, the rupee has come to have nearly the value in gold which was formerly but erroneously attributed to it.

This being so, we are perhaps relieved from a very difficult and responsible duty. We are saved from entering into a calculation, with an intention of re-adjusting the legal equivalents of gold and silver in India.

It appears that we may simply take the basis ‡ laid down in the Act of 1835 as we find it, and leave it entirely undisturbed, so far as this very important part of the question of introducing the legal tender is concerned.

It may perhaps be urged that the price of silver is now exceptionally high, and that it cannot last, and, therefore, that it will be found still to exclude gold as it was excluded formerly by the same cause.

There would certainly be some force in the objection, the difficulty being not

so.

* *Vide* Table A. in Appendix, which shows that this rate gives approximately the price which has ruled for several years.

† See Chapter V.

‡ This seems to be accepted in the proviso to 3d paragraph of Clause IX. of the Act XIX. of 1861, for issue of bank notes in India.

so much the decreased value of gold as feared by Mr. Wilson, but the value it maintains in India on account of the estimation in which it is held by the people, The price of the sovereign * is at this date of writing Rs. 10. 6. in the Bombay market, which indicates 5 s. 2½ d. the ounce of silver very closely.

The circumstance of price as just stated is not altogether undesirable, as it leaves a certain slight margin for the cheapening of gold, which may possibly take place through the ultimate opening of direct trade with Australia. Such trade as observed in the memorial of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, will cause gold to come straight to India, instead of making the round by Europe, either there to be exchanged for silver, the latter being bought for exportation to the East, or gold itself coming to the East with the burthen of all the charges consequent on a voyage round the entire globe.

I think, therefore, that we may consider that the values above declared in the practice of recent years will be maintained, and that the superior convenience of a gold currency over a silver one, will be sufficient to overcome any small difference which may remain.

If, after the lapse of a few years, practice should declare that the relative values of gold and silver asserted in Act XVII. of 1835, remains nevertheless more favourable to silver than may be sanctioned by average market prices, gold being thereby forced out of circulation, it would then be for the administration of the day seriously to entertain the question of re-adjusting the legal equivalents.

In the meantime, the values† asserted by the Act being removed but slightly from the actual selling prices of the two metals, at the ports of importation, if allowance be made for mint charges, we can hardly do better than rely on the basis afforded by that Act for the present introduction of a gold currency. The advantage of this, as avoiding the semblance of arbitrary administrative change, is great in every way, but more especially with regard to Mr. Wilson's breach of faith argument, which, however fallacious, will be sure not to be without some adherents, if we cannot quote an ancient unrepealed law and precedent, in favour of any scheme we may desire to carry in effect, for the introduction of a gold currency.

I would propose, therefore, that the legal tender of gold should be enacted on the basis of equivalents submitted by Act XVII. of 1835.

That the gold legal tender should not for the present be in substitution of the silver tender, but in aid of it.

That in accordance with the above, sovereigns should be allowed to run, and to be legal tender at their relative value, including seignorage charge, on the basis of the equivalent established by the Act XVII. of 1835, viz., at Rs. 10. 4. That the issue of notes should take place in exchange for gold and silver bullion alike, without any administrative distinction between the two metals.

That the mints in India should be directed to coin gold in the coins described in Act XVII. of 1835 in large quantities, and to invite the public to offer it for the purpose.

It is said in some quarters, and in all probability correctly, that at present Indian gold coins obtain an artificial value in the inland bazaars, because of their rarity,—this reacting on the price of the coins at the Presidency. If this be so, we have another reason for throwing a large quantity of gold coins on the country. It is probable that the public do not appreciate the fact, that no prohibition exists against a gold coinage in the mints; such a notion of prohibition is not unlikely to result from long disuse on the part of the public, following it may be presumed, on the action of the Indian Government with regard to gold. None of it has of late years been offered for coinage out of Calcutta.

Bombay, 8 March 1864.

W. R. Mansfield.

* Owing to certain reasons connected with exchanges, into which it is not now necessary to enter, this price is liable to oscillate, being now greater and now less. The tendency of gold of late years has been to rise in value as compared with the prices of 1857-58. See Appendices, A. D. E. and F.

† Lieutenant Colonel Ballard, of the Bombay Mint, has favoured me with the following note:—

“By the Act of 1835, the value given to silver, taking the intrinsic value of these coins (those stated in the Act), is about 5s. 2¾d. Allowing 1 per cent. for the extra cost of coining silver, it would give about 5s. 2¼d., so at the present rate it would not be a bad basis.”

APPENDIX.

NOTE.—I append a series of Returns showing the relative values of gold and silver in India for several years, as also the fluctuations which have taken place in the price of silver in England. For these Returns I am greatly indebted to my friend Mr. Walter Cassels, to whose initiative and distinguished ability the movement for the introduction of a gold currency into India is due. I trust that these Returns may be held to give authority to what has been adduced in the foregoing argument.

(A).
AVERAGE PRICE OF THE SOVEREIGN IN BOMBAY.

YEARS.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	AVERAGE.
1857 -	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 1 9	10 3 6	10 3 3	10 3 -	10 2 6	10 1 6	10 2 7
1858 -	10 1 -	10 1 6	10 2 -	10 3 -	10 - 3	10 1 6	10 2 6	10 3 6	10 2 6	10 1 6	10 3 -	10 4 6	10 2 2
1859 -	10 6 6	10 4 4	10 5 -	10 7 -	10 - 6	10 3 6	10 5 9	10 6 6	10 6 6	10 6 3	10 5 -	10 4 9	10 5 9
1860 -	10 3 3	10 1 9	10 1 6	10 3 9	10 5 2	10 5 6	10 6 3	10 7 6	10 9 -	10 7 9	10 6 9	10 6 3	10 5 4
1861 -	10 5 9	10 4 3	10 4 3	10 4 6	10 4 9	10 4 9	10 4 9	10 5 3	10 5 3	10 5 -	10 5 -	10 4 -	10 4 9
1862 -	10 4 -	10 4 -	10 5 3	10 5 6	10 6 9	10 5 3	10 5 -	10 4 9	10 5 3	10 5 -	10 5 -	10 4 6	10 5 -
1863 -	10 4 -	10 4 -	10 5 -	10 5 3	10 5 6	10 4 8	10 3 9	10 4 3	10 3 10	10 3 6	10 3 6	10 3 -	10 4 1

(B).
AVERAGE PRICE OF BAR SILVER IN THE BOMBAY MARKET.
For 100 Tolas.

YEARS.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	AVERAGE.
1858 -	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a. p.
-	104 9	105 9	105 -	105 -	104 10	104 4	104 4	104 4	104 4	104 4	105 4	106 4	104 12 8
1859 -	105 14	104 12	104 14	104 12	103 10	104 8	105 5	105 -	105 8	106 -	106 3	106 6	105 3 6
1860 -	106 3	106 1	106 2	106 5	106 7	106 10	107 8	107 12	108 8	108 10	107 8	106 12	107 - 6
1861 -	106 2	105 6	105 6	106 8	106 2	106 5	106 12	107 2	106 14	106 3	105 14	105 14	107 3 4
1862 -	106 -	106 2	106 6	106 6	106 5	106 12	106 12	106 10	106 10	106 6	106 5	106 2	106 6 6
1863 -	106 8	106 2	106 3	106 5	106 10	106 14	107 1	106 11	106 8	106 2	105 10	105 5	106 5 3

(C).

AVERAGE PRICE OF BAR SILVER IN ENGLAND.

Per Ounce 81 d.

YEARS.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	AVERAGE.
1856 -	s. d. 5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 5 -7 $\frac{7}{8}$	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 5 1 $\frac{1}{8}$	s. d. 5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 5 2	s. d. 5 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 5 1 $\frac{3}{8}$
1857 -	5 2	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 15 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 17 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 17 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 15 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 17 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 21 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$
1858 -	5 18	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 -7 $\frac{7}{8}$	5 -7 $\frac{7}{8}$	5 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$
1859 -	5 17 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 2 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 21 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 2 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 21 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 21 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 15 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 2	5 2 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 2	5 2
1860 -	5 21 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 21 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 2	5 15 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 15 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 15 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$
1861 -	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 -2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 -2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 -2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 -2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 -1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 -1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 -1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 -2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1862 -	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 15 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 2	5 15 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$
1863 -	5 15 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 15 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$

(D).

AVERAGE PRICE OF GOLD BARS (98 TOUCH) IN BOMBAY.

YEARS.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	AVERAGE.
1858 -	Rs. a. 15 11	Rs. a. 15 14	Rs. a. 16 -	Rs. a. 16 -	Rs. a. 15 12	Rs. a. 15 11	Rs. a. 15 10	Rs. a. 15 5	Rs. a. 15 14	Rs. a. 16 -	Rs. a. 16 6	Rs. a. 16 8	Rs. a. p. 15 14 3
1859 -	16 6	16 4	16 6	16 4	16 3	16 9	16 10	16 11	16 12	16 12	16 8	16 10	16 8 -
1860 -	16 8	16 5	16 3	16 4	16 7	16 9	16 10	16 11	16 12	16 8	16 4	16 2	16 7 -
1861 -	16 -	16 2	16 2	16 2	16 3	16 2	16 -	16 7	16 5	16 2	16 2	16 2	16 2 6
1862 -	16 1	16 1	16 2	16 4	16 5	16 5	16 2	16 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 2	16 3	16 2	16 1	16 2 6
1863 -	16 -	15 14	15 14	16 3	16 7	16 6	16 5	16 6	16 6	16 4	16 2	16 2	16 - 5

(E).

QUOTATIONS OF GOLD LEAF ONLY—FLUCTUATIONS NOTED IN THIS LIST.

Date.	China Gold Leaf, 100 Touch.			Date.	China Gold Leaf, 100 Touch.		
1858:			Rs. a. p.	1860:			Rs. a. p.
6 December	China Gold Leaf	-	-	16 12	-	-	-
8 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
14 "	ditto	-	-	16 8	-	-	-
18 "	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
24 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
28 "	ditto	-	-	16 11	-	-	-
31 "	ditto	-	-	16 12	-	-	-
1859:							
14 January	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
20 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
26 "	ditto	-	-	16 11	-	-	-
29 "	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
4 February	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
8 "	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
11 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
15 "	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
18 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
28 "	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
10 May	ditto	-	-	16 2	-	-	-
23 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
16 July	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
26 "	ditto	-	-	17	-	-	-
30 "	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
3 August	ditto	-	-	16 14	-	-	-
15 "	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
20 "	ditto	-	-	17	-	-	-
30 "	ditto	-	-	17 2	-	-	-
5 September	ditto	-	-	17 4	-	-	-
9 "	ditto	-	-	17 3	-	-	-
30 "	ditto	-	-	17 4	-	-	-
4 October	ditto	-	-	17 3	-	-	-
14 "	ditto	-	-	17 2	-	-	-
17 "	ditto	-	-	17 1	-	-	-
26 "	ditto	-	-	17	-	-	-
5 November	ditto	-	-	16 12	-	-	-
11 "	ditto	-	-	16 11	-	-	-
23 "	ditto	-	-	16 13	-	-	-
29 "	ditto	-	-	16 12	-	-	-
5 December	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
9 "	ditto	-	-	16 14	-	-	-
10 "	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
12 "	ditto	-	-	16 14	-	-	-
27 "	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
1860:							
9 January	ditto	-	-	16 14	-	-	-
13 "	ditto	-	-	16 12	-	-	-
23 "	ditto	-	-	16 7	-	-	-
30 "	ditto	-	-	16 8	-	-	-
2 February	ditto	-	-	16 4	-	-	-
8 "	ditto	-	-	16 5	-	-	-
10 "	ditto (nominal)	-	-	16	-	-	-
11 "	ditto	-	-	16 4	-	-	-
20 "	ditto	-	-	16 2	-	-	-
29 "	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
9 March	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
19 March	China Gold Leaf	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
31 "	ditto	-	-	16 10	6	-	-
4 April	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
11 "	ditto	-	-	16 8	-	-	-
16 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
18 "	ditto	-	-	16 8	-	-	-
21 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	6	-	-
24 "	ditto	-	-	16 12	-	-	-
30 "	ditto	-	-	16 12	-	-	-
9 May	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
24 "	ditto	-	-	16 13	-	-	-
26 "	ditto	-	-	16 14	-	-	-
2 June	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
5 "	ditto	-	-	16 14	-	-	-
11 "	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
14 "	ditto	-	-	16 14	-	-	-
18 "	ditto	-	-	17	-	-	-
25 "	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
30 "	ditto (nominal)	-	-	17	-	-	-
5 July	ditto	-	-	17 1	-	-	-
12 "	ditto	-	-	17	-	-	-
27 "	ditto	-	-	17 1	-	-	-
18 August	ditto	-	-	17 3	-	-	-
25 "	ditto	-	-	17 4	-	-	-
26 September	ditto	-	-	17 2	-	-	-
29 "	ditto	-	-	17 1	-	-	-
5 October	ditto	-	-	16 15	-	-	-
20 "	ditto	-	-	16 14	-	-	-
26 "	ditto	-	-	16 11	-	-	-
2 Nov.	ditto	-	-	16 11	6	-	-
5 "	ditto	-	-	16 11	-	-	-
7 "	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
30 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
8 Dec.	ditto	-	-	16 8	-	-	-
13 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
18 "	ditto	-	-	16 11	-	-	-
27 "	ditto	-	-	16 12	-	-	-
1861:							
4 January	ditto	-	-	16 13	-	-	-
8 "	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
14 "	ditto	-	-	16 8	-	-	-
23 "	ditto	-	-	16 4	-	-	-
31 "	ditto	-	-	16 8	-	-	-
8 Feb.	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
11 "	ditto	-	-	16 9	-	-	-
19 "	ditto	-	-	16 12	-	-	-
25 "	ditto	-	-	16 10	-	-	-
8 March	ditto	-	-	16 7	-	-	-
12 "	ditto	-	-	16 8	6	-	-
21 "	ditto	-	-	16 7	-	-	-
27 "	ditto	-	-	16 8	-	-	-
18 April	ditto	-	-	16 7	-	-	-
20 "	ditto	-	-	16 6	-	-	-
25 "	ditto	-	-	16 7	-	-	-
1 May	ditto	-	-	16 8	-	-	-

Date.	China Gold Leaf, 100 Touch.			Date.	China Gold Leaf, 100 Touch.		
1861:			Rs. a. p.	1862:			Rs. a. p.
7 May -	China Gold Leaf	-	-	12 August -	China Gold Leaf	-	16 7 -
11 " -	ditto	-	-	12 September -	ditto	-	16 9 -
20 " -	ditto	-	-	30 " -	ditto	-	16 8 -
27 " -	ditto	-	-	16 October -	ditto	-	16 10 -
4 June -	ditto	-	-	31 " -	ditto	-	16 12 -
11 " -	ditto	-	-	8 November -	ditto	-	16 11 -
19 " -	ditto	-	-	21 " -	ditto	-	16 9 -
28 " -	ditto	-	-	25 " -	ditto	-	16 5 -
2 July -	ditto	-	-	8 December -	ditto	-	16 6 -
8 " -	ditto	-	-	17 " -	ditto	-	16 5 -
5 August -	ditto	-	-	23 " -	ditto	-	16 6 -
5 September -	ditto	-	-	1863:			
13 " -	ditto	-	-	6 February -	ditto	-	16 4 -
17 " -	ditto	-	-	27 " -	ditto	-	16 7 -
3 October -	ditto	-	-	27 March -	ditto	-	16 6 -
9 " -	ditto	-	-	8 April -	ditto	-	16 7 -
18 " -	ditto	-	-	10 " -	ditto	-	16 8 -
23 " -	ditto	-	-	20 " -	ditto	-	16 9 -
29 " -	ditto	-	-	27 " -	ditto	-	16 12 -
6 November -	ditto	-	-	7 May -	ditto	-	17 - -
14 " -	ditto	-	-	8 " -	ditto	-	17 2 -
27 " -	ditto	-	-	12 " -	ditto	-	17 8 -
16 December -	ditto	-	-	6 June -	ditto	-	17 2 -
30 " -	ditto	-	-	8 " -	ditto	-	16 14 -
1862:				16 " -	ditto	-	16 12 -
2 January -	ditto	-	-	30 July -	ditto	-	16 13 -
10 " -	ditto	-	-	17 August -	ditto	-	16 14 -
17 " -	ditto	-	-	27 " -	ditto	-	16 12 -
28 " -	ditto	-	-	10 September -	ditto	-	16 10 -
13 February -	ditto	-	-	21 " -	ditto	-	16 12 -
20 " -	ditto	-	-	2 October -	ditto	-	16 9 -
3 March -	ditto	-	-	5 " -	ditto	-	16 10 -
26 " -	ditto	-	-	31 " -	ditto	-	16 6 -
15 April -	ditto	-	-	4 November -	ditto	-	16 4 -
27 " -	ditto	-	-	13 " -	ditto	-	16 - -
29 " -	ditto	-	-	21 December -	ditto	-	16 4 -
2 May -	ditto	-	-	1864:			
21 " -	ditto	-	-	8 February -	ditto	-	16 4 -
29 " -	ditto	-	-				
2 June -	ditto	-	-				
12 July -	ditto	-	-				
26 " -	ditto	-	-				

(G).

THE PRICE OF BAR SILVER PER OUNCE STANDARD IN LONDON.

Year.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Average.
1853 -	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 24	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13
1854 -	s. d. 5 11	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 11	s. d. 5 14	s. d. 5 14	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13
1855 -	s. d. 5 11	s. d. 5 11	s. d. 5 11	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 14	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13
1856 -	s. d. 5 11	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 11	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 2	s. d. 5 24	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13
1857 -	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 2	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 11	s. d. 5 24	s. d. 5 13
1858 -	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 14	s. d. 5 14	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13
1859 -	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 24	s. d. 5 24	s. d. 5 2	s. d. 5 2	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 2	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13
1860 -	s. d. 5 24	s. d. 5 24	s. d. 5 24	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13
1861 -	s. d. 5 14	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13
1862 -	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 2	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13
1863 -	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13	s. d. 5 13

From *A. D. Robertson*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bombay, to
E. H. Lushington, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Financial
 Department (No. 520); dated 11 May 1864.

I AM directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to forward, for
 the consideration of the Government of India,
 Letter to the Deputy Auditor and Accountant General, copies of the correspondence noted in the margin,
 No. 275, dated 12 March 1864. relative to a proposal to authorise the Mint Master
 Letter from the Deputy Auditor and Accountant at Bombay to issue receipts for bullion tendered
 General, No. 2729, dated 21 March 1864, with for coinage at the Mint payable at deferred
 enclosure. dates.

2. I am also desired to annex an abstract of the opinions of the leading banks
 in Bombay on the proposal, together with copies of the minutes recorded by the
 members of this Government thereon.

From *A. D. Robertson*, Esq., Officiating Chief Secretary to Government,
 Bombay, to *S. D. Birch*, Esq., Deputy Auditor and Accountant General,
 Bombay (No. 275); dated 12 March 1864.

IN order to meet the inconvenience caused by the receipt of larger quantities
 of silver than the Mint can coin, it has been suggested that the Mint Master
 might issue receipts for silver made over to the Mint for coinage, such receipts
 to be transferable by order, and to provide for payment by the delivery of the

(Form.)

Received from A.B. tolas of London bar
 silver for coinage. On return of this receipt, I pro-
 mise to deliver, days after date, to the said
 A.B., or order a Mint certificate for rupees, or on
 demand within the said period of days to return to
 the aforesaid A.B., or order hereon endorsed the said
 tolas of silver.

C. D., Mint Master.

Bombay Mint, 1864.

ordinary Mint certificate within a period to be
 fixed from time to time according to the Mint's
 power of coining, and providing also for the return
 of the bullion in the interim if demanded. A draft
 of such a receipt is given in the margin; and I
 am directed to request that you will at your early
 convenience favour Government with your opinion,
 as also that of the Mint Master, after commu-
 nicating with him, as to the utility of any such
 arrangement, and as to the suitableness of the
 form of receipt.

From *S. D. Birch*, Esq., Deputy Auditor and Accountant General, Bombay, to
 the Honourable *A. D. Robertson*, Officiating Chief Secretary to Government,
 Bombay (No. 2729); dated 21 March 1864.

In your letter, No. 275, of the 12th instant, it is suggested—

1st. That negotiable receipts for silver tendered to the Mint be issued by
 that department.

2d. That Mint certificates be granted, payable at dates on which there
 may be grounds to assume the Mint out-turn will be adequate to meet the
 certificates, instead of at sight, as at present; and

3d. Information is also sought as to the advantages that would be derived
 from either of these arrangements.

2. Mint receipts for bullion are already, it may be said, cashed to a limited
 extent, and under certain conditions, in anticipation of the usual Mint certificates,
 bullion tendered for coinage being occasionally transferred to one or other of the
 banks, and advances thereon obtained. A copy of the form of receipt in use is
 annexed.

3. The Mint is just now receiving bullion, and coining it at the rate of about
 85 lacs per month.

4. From

4. From the annexed copy of a correspondence with the Mint Master noted in the margin, his Excellency in Council will observe that Mint certificates to the extent of about six lacs per working day could be granted.

Letter from the Mint Master, No. 495, dated 15 March 1864.
Memorandum from this Office, No. 348, dated 15 March 1864.
Mint Master's reply, dated 16 March 1864.

5. The following statement will show what would be the result of granting Mint certificates at deferred dates at the rate, say, of 100 lacs per month during the current and following four months, the coinage being at the same time limited to 80 lacs per month, and the receipt of bullion entirely ceasing at the close of the fifth month:—

<i>Lacs.</i>		<i>Lacs.</i>	
Merchants' bullion in course of receipt,		To be coined and paid for, in	
1st March	- 107	March	- 80
Bullion to be tendered in March	- 100	April	- 80
" April	- 100	May	- 80
" May	- 100	June	- 80
" June	- 100	July	- 80
" July	- 100	August	- 80
		September	- 80
		October	- 40
	607		600

6. The proposed measure is, I consider, open to grave objections, as it might entail on Government a very serious liability in the event of any accident occurring to the Mint machinery, a not improbable contingency, it must be admitted, bearing in mind the almost ceaseless manner in which that department has for some time been worked. The risk is at present sufficiently heavy, but it would add nearly one-third more to the liability of Government on account of Mint certificates. In July next, for instance, there would, under the proposed arrangement, and on the assumption contained in paragraph 5, be not less than 200 lacs outstanding on that account.

7. I would further suggest that it would be necessary to take into consideration whether currency notes could not be demanded from the Currency Department in exchange for the certificates under Act XIX. of 1861.

8. The issue of Mint certificates at deferred dates would undoubtedly be an advantage to importers of bullion, inasmuch as such certificates would be negotiable documents.

9. In conclusion, I would respectfully suggest whether the sanction of the Government of India would not be requisite before authorising the Mint Master to grant certificates of the description proposed, there being little doubt but other resources than those of this Presidency would have to be drawn upon to meet them.

From Lieutenant Colonel *J. A. Ballard*, Mint Master, Bombay, to the Deputy Auditor and Accountant General, Bombay (No. 495); dated 15 March 1864.

IN reply to your Memorandum of the 12th instant, and accompanying letter, No. 275, from the Chief Secretary to Government, I have the honour to state that I consider it would be a convenience to importers of bullion to have a certificate, such as is proposed, furnished to them as soon as their bullion could be assayed. The only difficulty attending it appears to be how the number of days which these certificates have to run is to be adjusted. Certificates issued to-morrow, for instance, would be at one day's sight, next day at two days' sight, and I would have to continue increasing the number of days they had to run; this would have to be left discretionary to the Mint Master.

2. These certificates would be a convenience to importers of bullion, enabling them quickly to adjust their accounts, and inform their correspondents in Europe of the exact out-turn of the remittances, but I do not suppose it would affect the money market in any way; whenever bullion is deposited in the Mint, a receipt is given for the number of boxes, and on this, with the invoice, money can be raised at the bank, the receipt being forwarded to me with the view of having it altered in favour of the Bank of Bombay, or whoever advanced the money.

3. If a certificate of the kind proposed may be given, I do not see why a Mint certificate payable at so many days' sight might not be issued at once.

No. 348, dated 15 March 1864.

Adverting to the passage that "it would be a convenience to importers of bullion to have a certificate, such as proposed, furnished to them as soon as their bullion could be assayed," the Mint Master is requested to be so good as to state below at what rate per day further bullion could be assayed without interfering with the Mint out-turn, or unduly taxing the powers of the Assay Department.

(signed) *S. D. Birch,*
Deputy Auditor and Accountant General.

Memorandum, by Lieutenant Colonel *J. A. Ballard*, Mint Master, Bombay, dated
16 March 1864.

WITH reference to the Deputy Auditor and Accountant General's Memorandum, No. 348, the Mint Master has the honour to state that the Assay Department could, on an emergency like the present, dispose of from five to six lacs of merchants' bullion daily, or about a third more than they are now doing. It would take about six weeks to dispose of the merchants' bullion now in the Mint at the rate we are receiving it, which keeps pace with our coining powers, and about a month, if six lacs a day were assayed, allowing for Sundays or interruptions.

ABSTRACT.

THE following is an abstract of the replies to the confidential circular addressed to the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and to the agents of the several banks in Bombay, requesting their opinion as to whether, were Government to issue receipts for bullion tendered to the Mint for coinage payable within a period to be fixed from time to time according to the Mint's power of coining, and providing for the return of the bullion in the interim if demanded, such documents would be negotiable; and whether the adoption of such a measure would be generally acceptable to the mercantile community:—

Bank of Bombay,
1 April.

2. The Secretary and Treasurer, Bank of Bombay, states that the issue of negotiable documents immediately on the deposit of bullion in the Mint would be "received generally by the mercantile community as a great boon," and that the receipt at present granted until the bullion is assayed is utterly valueless as far as negotiation is concerned.

Commercial Bank,
1 April.

3. The Chief Manager of the Commercial Bank of India thinks the measure would afford accommodation to the mercantile community, and states that such accommodation is already afforded in nearly the same way, and probably to a greater extent, by the existing practice; but he deprecates the adoption of it in consideration of the effect it would have on the money market. He calculates that before the rainy season, the demand for money will increase to an enormous extent, so as to lead to the recurrence of the crisis which was felt in November and December last, and that the bank of Bombay will be in a position worse than it was during the last pressure.* He anticipates that the cash balance of the bank will be reduced to 45,64,000 rupees, a sum, he observes, "far too low to prevent alarm for the safety of the institution."

4. The Chief Manager goes on—

"Now it would only precipitate the evil which I foresee were such an amount of negotiable paper placed on the discount market as the suggestion† offered to Government would imply: unless the receipts could be discounted, the possession of them by the owners of the silver could give no relief; but the fact is that they would

* The Chief Manager shows by figures that before the middle of June the demand for money on account of opium, cotton, wool, &c. &c., will amount to - - £. 16,000,000

Deduct:—

Imports to be sold to the up-country (a) - - - - - 2,000,000

To be paid for in Bombay - - - - - 14,000,000

While the assets from all sources, including the Secretary of State's bills, he estimates at - - - - - £. 5,400,400

† Relative to the issue of Mint receipts.

would be favourite securities with all who had money to lend; they would be offered in the first instance to the Bank of Bombay, and the high rate of discount that would be submitted to would prove a great inducement to that bank to part with its funds largely before the real force of the pressure reaches us; the other banks would next be applied to by mercantile holders, and the surplus funds in the Bank of Bombay would be withdrawn for the discount operations.

"My argument would be weakened were the term of payment to be a short one, but, looking at the amount of silver now in the Mint, and the quantity that may be tendered before the middle of June, and taking into account the power of the Mint to turn it out in the shape of rupees, I conclude that the term must be rather a long one, and the real relief to the commerce of the place, which is only obtained when the silver is actually coined, would not be appreciable, unless Government is prepared to open the Treasury for the discount of the Mint receipts."

5. His objection is to the time when the measure in question is brought forward. In ordinary times he would fully approve of it, but at present, when "we are on the eve of a money crisis," it would, he thinks, be fraught with danger to the bank of Bombay and to the mercantile community.

6. The agent, Oriental Bank, is of opinion that the proposed receipts would be negotiable in the market, and would in ordinary times be an improvement on the existing practice, which obliges the tenderer of silver to wait until it can be assayed, but that at a time of pressure they could not be expected to be advanced upon. Oriental Bank,
1 April.

7. The agent further observes that, in consequence of the delay which necessarily occurs before coined rupees can be obtained from the Mint, a large amount of silver is sold in the market, and is never offered for coinage afterwards, but is sent to the interior, where the bars are cut up into pieces and resold.

8. The manager of the Agra and United Service Bank states that the present form of the Mint acknowledgment for bullion enables the holder to raise money; he, however, thinks that the proposed form would be regarded more favourably by the banks, as it provides for payment within a fixed date. Agra and United
Service Bank,
1 April.

9. The agent of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, is of opinion, that the suggestion if acted upon, would be of material advantage to the exchange banks (the principal importers of silver), as well as to the mercantile community generally. Chartered Bank of
India, Australia,
and China,
2 April.

10. It was, he thinks, evidently intended by Mr. Laing to give additional facilities by providing for the issue of Mint certificates at sight, instead of 21 days after date as previously, but practically the mercantile community are in a worse position than formerly, as the issue of Mint certificates is delayed from 14 to 30 days after delivery of the bullion. A more serious objection to the present system is, that the probable time of payment for silver can only be guessed, while it is of the greatest advantage to have the date fixed.

11. He states that the delay and uncertainty above mentioned led, during the recent monetary pressure, to sales of silver bullion in the market for immediate payment at from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. below what the Mint would have yielded; such forced sales would, in some measure, be obviated by the measure under discussion.

12. Should Mint certificates be granted at postponed dates, the agent suggests that this should be done on the understanding that, as soon as circumstances under which that measure would be adopted permitted, the issue of sight certificates immediately after assay would be resumed.

13. The agent regrets that the Government paper currency has not been so conducted as to admit of those tendering silver to the Mint receiving value for it on its being assayed.

14. The agent of this bank is of opinion that, in ordinary times, the proposed Mint receipt would be negotiable, and as such would not only be acceptable but advantageous to the community. In times of pressure, however, he doubts if it would be of any service; what is required being a receipt that would be immediately available. Chartered Mer-
cantile Bank of
India, London, and
China, 5 April.

15. He protests most emphatically against any sudden change of any nature whatever being made; he considers at least two months' notice should be given, so that the monetary arrangements already made should be allowed to run their course.

Chamber of Commerce, 7 April.

16. The Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce thinks that the proposed form of certificate, if made "payable to order on a certain date, or earlier if practicable," would be of material convenience as "a negotiable security of the highest class."

17. There is, however, he states, a general opinion that Government ought to make the currency notes obtainable as early as the assay can be completed (as was evidently intended by the Legislature in framing the Currency Act); at all events, to the utmost extent which the cash reserve against the notes will permit.

18. The Secretary draws attention to the fact that the investment by the Currency Commissioner in Government securities diminishes the power of Government to issue notes against silver bullion immediately on assay, and entails loss on the mercantile community. He, therefore, suggests that no such investments should be made at a time when the bullion importations exceed the coining powers of the Mint.

19. He states that "if the proposed alteration of the form of the Mint certificate be decided upon, it should be understood as being only an expedient adopted to mitigate the inconvenience sustained by the public in consequence of the inefficiency of the Mint, and not as superseding the right of the importers of bullion to expect that the provisions of the Currency Act should be complied with."

MINUTE by his Excellency the Governor, dated 8th April 1864, concurred in by the Honourable *W. E. Frere*.

THIS may be sent to the Government of India, with copies of such of the letters referred to as are not fully embodied in the abstract.

2. With reference to the calculation given by the Manager of the Commercial Bank, the Government of India may be informed that there seems no reason for sharing the extremely gloomy anticipation of the writer, since the annexed calculation, drawn up by a gentleman who has given the subject much attention, bears intrinsic marks of being founded on a more correct appreciation of the probable liabilities of Bombay commerce, and points to a very different result.

3. As it was proposed that the receipts should be capable of liquidation by a return of the bullion deposited, Government do not share the apprehensions expressed by Mr. Birch, and, of course, may be so framed as to obviate the risk anticipated in Mr. Birch's seventh paragraph. The provision for returning bullion would alone be sufficient. Upon the whole, it appears to this Government that the proposed change in the form of receipts would be acceptable to the mercantile community if the change were made prospective, and notice of at least two months were given; but it is obviously necessary that no steps should be taken without the sanction of the Government of India, to whom the subject is therefore submitted.

ESTIMATE of ASSETS and LIABILITIES in SPECIE up to Monsoon 1864, referred to in Paragraph 2 of His Excellency the Governor's Minute; dated 8th April 1864.

MY belief, formed after very careful inquiry, is that two-thirds of the cotton crop of this season are already paid for in the interior, and that remittances of specie will only hereafter be required for the remaining third. The shipments previous to the setting in of the monsoon will not carry off one-half of the crop. It is evident from this statement, therefore, that I do not believe that any considerable further remittances of coin have to be made against cotton this season.

season. For greater security, however, I shall consider that one-third of the cotton still to arrive this season, which I shall largely estimate, must be paid for.

From Guzerat shipments are made at the new and full-moon springs, and at the outside 40,000 bales may be shipped at each, say—

7th April	-	-	-	-	-	-	Bales.	
22d April	-	-	-	-	-	-	40,000	
7th May	-	-	-	-	-	-	40,000	
22d May	-	-	-	-	-	-	40,000	
							1,60,000	
From Omrawuttee, Berar, &c., &c.							50,000	
From Comptah and neighbouring districts							15,000	
Bales - - -							2,25,000	
One-third = 75,000 bales, 300 rupees each, still to be paid for								Rs.
10,000 chests opium, at 1,200 rupees each								£.
Less half which is payable in Bombay							1,20,00,000	2,250,000
							60,00,000	
Seeds, wool, and all other merchandise (an excessive estimate)								600,000
								1,000,000
								3,850,000
ASSETS:								£.
Payments against manufactures purchased in Bombay							1,000,000	
Bullion in Mint belonging to merchants and banks							1,500,000	
Balance available, Bank of Bombay							1,000,000	
Balance in other 14 banks							1,000,000	
Silver by the next four mails							1,000,000	
Balances in hands of shroffs, and silver in the bazaar							1,000,000	
								6,500,000
Surplus - £.								2,650,000

I believe that I have greatly over-estimated our liabilities and under-estimated our assets, but upon this safe basis it appears that our position is very satisfactory, and, although the insufficiency of our currency for the rapid circulation of commodities during the busy season we are entering may, to a certain extent, lead to inconvenience, it appears to me quite certain that we shall not experience the great monetary pressure which has been expected, and that, as might be safely predicted, the crisis which has been so long anticipated and provided against will not occur. The excessive monetary pressure at the close of last year was in no inconsiderable degree caused by remittances to pay for the cotton, which we are now receiving, and it will not therefore now recur.

8 April 1864.

W. R. Cassels.

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Inverarity*, dated 25th April 1864.

It is proposed that the Mint should issue for silver bullion tendered to it negotiable certificates payable at dates on which there may be grounds to assume that the Mint out-turn will be adequate to meet the certificates so issued.

2. I gather from the Deputy Auditor and Accountant General's letter, No. 2729, dated 21st ultimo, that were Mint certificates at deferred dates issued, Government might not be in a position to cash them at maturity, in consequence of the inadequacy of the Mint's coining power to keep pace with the receipts of bullion tendered to it, and that the most serious results might be expected from the not improbable contingency of accident to the Mint machinery, which has been worked incessantly for a very considerable time. According to present practice, receipts are given for boxes of bullion as tendered, and upon such receipts advances are obtainable in the market. On the completion of the assay, which accommodates itself to the Mint's coining power, certificates are issued, and, upon presentation of these, current silver coin is paid. I presume that the proposed negotiable certificates could not be issued until the assay is completed,

and if this be the case, it appears to me that the necessity for them disappears, inasmuch as on presentation of assay certificate currency notes are demandable at the Currency Commissioner's office. A currency note, the convertibility of which is unquestioned, is undoubtedly a better possession than a Mint certificate payable at a deferred date. It seems to me to be, therefore, a question whether the restriction on assay should not be removed, and fair play be given to the working of the Currency Act. So long as there is confidence in Government, so long will the public faith in the convertibility of currency notes remain unshaken, and, with the existence of this feeling, there can be no necessity for retaining in our coffers an unproductive stock of coined silver equal to the issue of currency notes, for if this were done, our currency notes would not be of the smallest use, their sole object and advantage being the economy of silver. I think, therefore, that before resorting to an expedient for which the public have not applied, and in which the Deputy Auditor and Accountant General sees the element of danger, it would be more prudent to enlarge our assays, and allow the provisions of the Currency Act to be fairly worked.

Further MINUTE by His Excellency the Governor, dated 29th April 1864, concurred in by the Honourable *W. E. Frere*.

OF course, if the Government of India would authorise the payment of the amount of bullion in currency notes as soon as the assay was completed, it would be a great improvement on the plan proposed, always provided that our balances of coin were sufficient to cash the notes if at once tendered for rupees.

2. But this is exactly the point on which we cannot feel sure.

3. However, as the decision must rest with the Government of India, if Mr. Inverarity's opinion remains unaltered, copies of his minutes should be sent with the letter to the Government of India.

MINUTE ON A GOLD CURRENCY for *India*.

Chambers of Commerce and native associations of Calcutta and Bombay.

THE Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, have memorialised the Government of India for a gold currency.

The application of the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta is for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the best mode of introducing gold as an auxiliary currency. They are "strongly in favour of the introduction of gold as an auxiliary currency, and as a tentative measure which they believe will gradually, but surely, lead to the adoption of gold as the general metallic currency of this country, with silver as the auxiliary; but they are opposed to any sudden change being attempted, fearing that any such attempt would prove unsuccessful, and be likely to cause great derangement in the commerce and finance of India, and probably also in the money markets of Europe, if a large quantity of gold were suddenly required to carry out such a change."

The Madras Memorial prays for the extension of the Government paper currency, and the introduction of a gold currency. The Chamber observe that "the comparatively low wages of labour in India, and consequent multitude of small payments, render it desirable that the lowest denomination of note should be reduced to five rupees," and that "a convenient subdivision of whatever gold coin might be adopted into halves and quarters, for the purpose of small payments, would be necessary."

The Memorial of the Bombay Chamber contains an able summary of the reasons for introducing a gold currency, and concludes with earnestly intreating the Government "to take this important question at once into serious consideration, and to effect an amendment which is so loudly called for, by introducing a well-regulated gold currency into India."

There is also a memorial from the Bombay Association, which represents the native mercantile community. This sets forth that, from time immemorial, India possessed an extensive gold currency; that the stringent regulations of the British Government have virtually extinguished this currency, but have by no means extinguished its popularity; that rude attempts are made by some of the natives of India to remedy the defects of the present inconvenient silver currency by circulating gold bars authenticated by the stamp of Bombay banks: and, after

a general

a general statement of reasons, the memorialists pray that the Government "will take this question into immediate consideration and restore a gold currency, which the altered circumstances of the world recommend, and which your memorialists believe would be most popularly received in India, both from ancient associations and present convenience."

The native merchants and bankers of Calcutta had previously, in May 1859, memorialised the Government of India for a gold currency, stating that the natives of India preferred gold to silver on account of its portability, and the facility which it affords for holding large sums in security. The feeling of the native merchants and bankers of Upper India may be seen from the papers in the Appendix. App. No. 1, p. 90.

Minutes have also been recorded by the members of the Government of Bombay. The Governor proposes that we should, in the first place, act on the proviso in the last clause of the 9th section of Act XIX. of 1861, which allows gold bullion or coin to be held to the extent of one-fourth of that on which notes are issued; and he suggests that the next step will probably be to permit the Government revenues above 10 rupees to be paid in sovereigns. He adds that "it will probably be necessary that we should pass through the inconvenient and anomalous stage of a double or alternative standard."

Mr. Frere agrees with the Governor, but Mr. Inverarity thinks the measure proposed by his Excellency totally inadequate for the introduction into India of a well-regulated gold currency, and supports the views contained in a letter from Mr. Walter Cassels to the Governor, of the 1st of January 1864. The practical proposals contained in this able letter are as follows:—

"Placed as India in a manner is between gold-producing countries and Europe, the first consideration must be to fix the Indian mint value of gold so as to preserve a fair mutual equilibrium of value between ourselves, Australia, and England. This value, therefore, should not be so high as to render it profitable for Australia to send gold to be coined at our mints, nor should it be so low as to admit of the advantageous export of our gold coin as bullion to Europe.

"It is likewise highly important that, as much as possible, a gold coinage should for the present be built upon the existing silver currency, so as to introduce the change with as much regard to private interests as may be. I therefore venture to suggest the issue of gold coins similar to the sovereign and half sovereign, and respectively representing ten and five rupees, with subsidiary silver token coins of limited tender, rated seven to 10 per cent. above their real value. The existing silver coin might, for the present, be allowed to continue legal tender, to the extent even of 500 rupees, and this limit might hereafter be reduced according to circumstances. The new gold coins should be of an intrinsic value, which should place them on a safe basis in relation to the old rupees, and they could, by subsequent alteration of the limit of tender, be protected, if necessary, from the effect of any unforeseen fluctuation in value. Possessing as they do a well-known intrinsic worth, the old rupees would no doubt for the present be freely received to a much larger extent, but not being replenished by fresh issues, being retired as rapidly as they came into the Government treasuries, and replaced by new token pieces, I have no doubt that in few years they would disappear from circulation, and that the change of standard and currency would thus be effected without any sacrifice disproportionate to the benefit secured."

Sir William Mansfield, the Commander in Chief of the Bombay Army, has recorded a remarkable Minute, in which the subject is handled in a masterly manner. It concludes with the following recommendations:—

"I would propose, therefore, that the legal tender of gold should be enacted on the basis of equivalents submitted by Act XVII. of 1835.

"That the gold legal tender should not for the present be in substitution of the silver tender, but in aid of it.

"That in accordance with the above, sovereigns should be allowed to run, and to be legal tender at their relative value, including seignorage charge, on the basis of the equivalent established by the Act XVII. of 1835, viz., at Rs. 10. 4. That the issue of notes should take place in exchange for gold and silver bullion alike, without any administrative distinction between the two metals.

"That the mints in India should be directed to coin gold in the coins described in Act XVII. of 1835, in large quantities, and to invite the public to offer it for the purpose."

The nature of the late crisis.

The most striking feature of this movement is its universality. There are differences of opinion as to the mode in which the object is to be attained, but all agree that there ought to be a gold currency. The proximate cause of this unanimity is the painful impression of the crisis through which we have just passed, and the desire to avert its recurrence. The first thing to be considered, therefore, is the nature of that crisis, and how far the means of prevention or mitigation are in our power.

The state of things at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, between November 1863, and March 1864, has been compared with that which prevailed in London in 1847 and 1857, but it had little in common with it. In India, there had been no drain of specie owing to an unfavourable state of the foreign exchanges; neither had there been extensive overtrading. There had been much bold trading in cotton and piece goods, but the market had been continually rising, and large fortunes had been made. There had also been much active enterprise in joint stock companies for the cultivation of tea, and for other industrial undertakings, but the public confidence in their profitable character remained unshaken. Individual shareholders might find it difficult to pay up their calls; but this was the consequence, not the cause of the convulsion.

The root of this great evil lay much deeper. From time immemorial, Europe had been unable to provide merchandise which India was willing to accept in return for the valuable products she had to offer, and the balance had to be paid in the precious metals. This was arrested for a time by the large supplies of cotton cloth sent to India after the opening of the trade in 1814; but the normal state of things soon returned, and since 1847-48, the importation of specie has been continually increasing.

The development given to the export trade of India by the Russian war in 1854, and by the American war which began in 1861, greatly augmented the balance which had to be paid in specie. It was not merely that vast additional quantities of fibres, oil-seeds, and cotton had to be paid for. The increased demand upon the resources of India could not be met at former prices. A large proportion of the cultivated area of India was diverted from raising food to raising exportable produce. A large proportion of the labour of India was diverted from the immediate work of production, to the construction of railroads and roads to convey this exportable produce to the coast. In consequence of this, the price of labour and of every article of domestic and foreign consumption went up together. Cotton, which was the subject of keenest competition, rose in the rural districts to three or four times its former price. The result will be seen in the remarkable return of imports and exports of merchandise and specie in the Appendix.

App. No. 2, p. 98.

The nature of the crisis in the three great Indian ports in 1863-64, will now be better understood. It was not in its origin or true nature a monetary crisis. If the trade between Europe and India had been conducted by an equal interchange of merchandise, it could not have happened. But while the exports of merchandise in 1863-64 amounted to 67,459,795 *l*.* the imports were only 30,384,828 *l*., and the balance amounting to the great sum of 37,074,967 *l*. had, for the most part, to be paid in specie. The exigency, therefore, arose from the peculiar

App. No. 2, p. 98.

* The increase in the value of the merchandize exported from India in 1863-64, is accounted for to the extent of 16,630,368 *l*. by the increased value of the cotton exported. The return for the year 1863-64, appended to my financial statement, has now been completed as underneath. The rest of the difference will, I think, prove to have been chiefly due to the general increase in the price of Indian produce caused by the conversion of land to cotton cultivation, and by the extensive system of works in progress, rather than to an increase in the quantity exported.

Raw Cotton exported from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in 12 months, from the beginning of May to the end of April, in 1862-63 and 1863-64.

	1862-63.		1863-64.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	<i>Cwt.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>Cwt.</i>	<i>£.</i>
Calcutta - - - - -	408,779	1,567,690	574,981	3,080,590
Madras - - - - -	556,760	2,381,288	647,240	4,471,811
Bombay - - - - -	3,257,485	14,834,565	3,616,782	27,911,590
TOTAL - - -	4,223,024	18,783,543	4,839,003	35,463,911

peculiar conditions of the foreign trade of India. The people of India were only beginning to appreciate the articles of comfort and luxury which England was able to supply, and they were totally unprepared to accept as equivalents the manufactures she had to offer for the sudden increase of produce demanded from them. The only article which was in universal demand among them was specie; and as the chief employment of specie is in the manufacture of money, and gold had been excluded by the regulations of the Government of India from this employment, silver had to bear the principal strain. In other words, it was emphatically a mercantile and not a monetary crisis, and silver and gold must be regarded in reference to it, as ordinary articles of the import trade.

The money already circulating in the country was sufficient for carrying on its internal exchanges. Judging from the prevailing high prices, it may be questioned whether it was not more than enough. The means of meeting the additional demand caused by the peculiar state of the foreign trade which has been described, were, however, entirely deficient. There is nothing in India like the Bank of England, which keeps a reserve of cash for the whole country. The produce exported to England is paid for by remittances from England, effected partly by bills upon the Indian treasuries purchased at home, partly by bills upon England or China sold in India, and partly by consignments of specie from Europe or Australia. Every year, at the commencement of the cold weather, a call is made for specie to be sent into the interior to pay for produce to be sent down to the ports, and during the interval money is comparatively abundant.

Towards the close of 1862 this annual craving for specie was greater than usual; but in November 1863 a demand set in which was unprecedented for intensity and duration. Although the banks of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were reinforced by large sums from the cash balances, of which they had the use under their agreements with the Government, their available funds were speedily exhausted. Firms possessed of large resources, provided time was allowed to realise them, must have declared themselves insolvent if they had been pressed to liquidate the claims upon them. Fabulous rates were paid in the bazaar for ready money: Government securities, which had been at par, suddenly went down to 83, not because there was any want of confidence in the Government, but because everybody wanted to sell and nobody had money to buy. With the relaxation of the pressure, Government paper returned nearly to par. The only security which completely held its ground was the Government note currency. It must be also recorded to the honour of these great mercantile communities, European and native, that throughout this period of extreme pressure, when the fall of any one house might have involved wide-spread ruin, the greatest mutual forbearance was exercised. This may have been in part owing to a just perception that the responsible persons in this country were acting on behalf of principals in England, and that every claim would be fully satisfied as soon as the requisite remittances could be made.

The position then is—

The late crisis was not caused by any deficiency of the circulating medium of India. If that medium had been much larger—for instance, if ten of the fifteen millions sterling of rupees deposited in the Treasuries had been put into circulation and the paper currency had been doubled—the crisis would still have taken place. The circulation was rather redundant than deficient according to the existing habits and wants of the people. This is proved—1st, by the abundance of money at all the principal marts on the coast, and in the interior, during the intervals between the annual exceptional demand arising from the peculiar state of the trade with Europe; and 2d, by the universal high prices. The latter are a certain indication of a full state of the circulation, because, whatever may be the causes which create a tendency to a rise of price, they would be held in check if the circulating medium were deficient. The average price of bar gold at Calcutta, per tolah of 22 carats fine, was Rs. 14. 13. in 1853, and Rs. 14. 13. 4. in 1854. It was Rs. 14. 13. in 1862, and Rs. 14. 15. 4. in 1863. At Bombay, the average price of gold bars (98 touch) was Rs. 15. 14. 3. in 1858, and Rs. 16. 0. 5. in 1863. It would seem from this, that there has been a slight fall in the value of silver, measured in gold, in India. But the true comparison is that of gold and silver taken together, with all other articles; and judging by this test, it must be admitted that, after making full allowance for other causes

of the prevailing high prices, the precious metals are abundant and cheap in India.

The late crisis was caused by the unwillingness of the people of India to accept ordinary mercantile equivalents for the large additional value exported last year; and by the regulations of the Government of India, which give an advantage to silver, as an article of merchandize, in comparison with gold. The necessity for this great importation of silver was quite irrespective of the deficiency or redundancy of the Indian currency. It was occasioned merely by the fact, that silver was the only article which the people of India would take in any quantity in exchange for their produce. Vast supplies for silver had been poured into India, under the operation of this exceptional and extrinsic cause. But even if these supplies had been yet more abundant, fresh importations must still have taken place, because no other equivalent would be accepted for the Indian produce which the rest of the world desired to have.

The true remedy.

If this is a true diagnosis of the malady, there can be no doubt about the remedy. India and, through India, the countries trading with her, are suffering from the want of acceptable equivalents for the exportable produce which she furnishes in such richness and plenty. The strain upon silver will be relieved by every addition that can be made to the other articles in demand in India. Piece goods and yarn have become a great staple of the import trade. The increase in the importation of these has been arrested by the scarcity of cotton at Manchester, and the rise in the price of food in India; but as these obstructions diminish, the trade is likely to be greatly developed. The native hand-loom system is collapsing in every part of India; and although English weaving and spinning establishments in India are, to a certain extent, taking up the coarser qualities of the native article, which must always be made in this country, the balance in favour of Manchester is overwhelming. Metal wares of English manufacture are getting possession of the market of India; and in the form of utensils for cooking, eating, and drinking, they are passing from luxuries into necessities, as tea, coffee, and tobacco have done in England. Even Cheshire salt is supplied at prices which is obtaining for it a wide field of consumption in Northern India. But as the use of the precious metals in India is already great, and is rapidly increasing, and as India has no mines of her own, gold and silver must always be the great reserve of the import trade. To husband this reserve therefore, and to make it answer the purpose of an article of import with as little disturbance as possible of the commercial and monetary economy of India, or any other country, ought to be our chief object.

Both the precious metals should be equally available as articles of import.

The first condition for the attainment of this end is, that both the precious metals should be equally available as articles of import.

Before the discovery of the gold-fields of California, the annual production of silver was larger than that of gold. Since that, the case has been reversed. The annual production of silver is now supposed to be about 10,000,000 *l.* sterling, and that of gold about 25,000,000 *l.*, or two and a-half times as much.

England has a southern as well as an eastern empire, and the great staple of that southern empire is gold. Owing to the exclusion of gold from the Indian currency, the trade with Australia is chiefly carried on in this way:—The gold of Australia is sent to England, where it is employed in buying silver; and the silver is sent to India, burdened with the charges of the double voyage and with the additional interest accrued during the prolonged period occupied by it. The cotton and other exports of India are charged with the extra expense arising from this circuitous mode of payment. Even a worse result is, that the trade cannot be carried on in a regular manner. The gold remains in the Bank of England until the Indian demand sets in, and then it is suddenly withdrawn to sweep the Continent of silver for transmission to India. In order to protect themselves, the Banks of England and France raise their rates of discount, and by their so doing, and by the violent oscillations in the foreign exchanges, every description of business is deranged.

If, by an alteration in the regulations of the Indian mints, gold were placed on the same footing as silver, the course of trade would be as follows:—The pastoral and mining population of Australia is supplied with clothes and other necessities of civilised life from England. The proceeds of this trade would be invested in Australian gold and copper, and these would be sent direct to India to pay for the cotton and other produce exported from India to England. The shipping would benefit as much as the mercantile interest. We should hear less

of

of vessels coming out to India in ballast for the sake of the homeward freight. Some ships would make the triangular voyage; others would return to Australia with cargoes of sugar, rice, and other colonial produce. A regulated process, the successive steps of which might be certainly calculated upon, would be substituted for the present fitful and desultory trade, and all parties concerned would profit by the change.

Hitherto the vacuum caused by the deficiency of imports has, for the most part, been filled with silver. Although this has occasioned much loss and inconvenience to India and Europe, there is a worse evil behind. The annual production of the silver mines is estimated at 10,000,000 *l.* sterling. In the last nine years the silver imported into India alone, after deducting re-exports, has amounted to 89,633,792*l.*,* or within half a million of the entire estimated production of the whole world for the same period. There were two great reserves of silver, the currencies of the United States and France. Both these reserves have been exhausted.† The circulation of the United States has been avowedly placed upon the basis of a gold standard with a subsidiary silver token currency. In France, although the law remains unchanged, gold has been coined in vast quantities, and the only silver coins remaining in circulation are those which by wear and tear have become depreciated. The serious character of these facts will be apparent when it is remembered that the balance of trade in favour of India, and consequently her demand for silver, has been greatly increased by the revolution which has taken place in the cotton trade. Nobody can say in what proportions the supply of Manchester with cotton will ultimately be divided among different parts of the world, but it is certain that India will have a large share. It must also be remembered that other countries besides India stand in need of silver. Independently of the use made of it for domestic and artistic purposes in almost every part of the world, that metal still forms the currency of the greater part of Europe. It is also the standard of value in China, and performs the same service of adjusting the balance of trade for that great country as it does for India. The information at command here regarding China is very imperfect, but it is well known that since the opening of the trade the exports of tea and silk have greatly increased without any corresponding demand having arisen for any article of foreign produce or manufacture; that cotton has been added to the exports of China; and that, notwithstanding the help given by the opium trade between India and China in the adjustment of the exchanges, a large annual balance has to be paid in silver. The population of China is twice that of India, and her vast productive powers are even less developed than those of India.

Impending deficiency of the supply of silver.

Even if silver were forthcoming in sufficient quantity, it could not be coined fast enough. Whatever may be the form in which silver reaches India, it must be converted into current rupees. No description of credit based upon the existence of a certain amount of bullion or foreign coin suffices, because rupees are wanted to be sent into the interior to purchase produce. Although the power of the Bombay Mint has been much increased, it is still unable to cope with the large amounts of silver poured in by each packet. In fact, no Indian mint could coin silver as fast as it is wanted, *i.e.* as fast as it arrives. The quantity of bullion remaining uncoined in the three Indian mints, during each month of 1862-63 and 1863-64, will be seen in the Appendix. The average monthly amount remaining uncoined was 2,777,109 *l.*, but this gives no idea of the real loss and inconvenience. At the season when current coin is most wanted for making purchases in the interior, the arrear of uncoined bullion is greatest. The average of the five months from December 1862 to April 1863 was 4,770,467*l.*; and even after the powers of the Bombay Mint, upon which the chief stress falls, had been greatly increased, the average arrear of the same months in 1863-64 was 3,035,092*l.*, notwithstanding that the Bombay Mint was worked by relays, day and night, without cessation, at serious risk to the machinery

Impossibility of coining silver with sufficient speed.

App. No. 3, p. 101.

* The figures for the first eight years are taken from the Parliamentary Return, dated the 16th March 1864, of the "value of bullion, gold and silver, imported into and exported from each Presidency of India, in each year, from 1800 to the latest date for which it can be given;" and the figures of the last year are from the returns in Appendix No. 2, page 98, obtained from the different Presidencies.

† European and American coins have been recoined in the three Indian mints during the last ten years, from 1853 to 1863, to the value of 20,172,950*l.*; besides an unknown amount of foreign silver coin which had been converted into bar silver previously to its being tendered to the Indian mints.

machinery and great exhaustion of the persons employed. After all the pains and cost which had been bestowed upon providing these large sums and sending them to India, they were unavailable for use, because silver is so bulky compared with its value as to be incapable of being converted into coin with sufficient speed to meet the wants of India. Great exertions were made at the London Mint to meet the increased demand for coin consequent on the gold discoveries, but if the metal to be coined had been silver instead of gold, the officers of the Mint would have been utterly unable to cope with the exigency.

Probable consequences of a deficiency of silver.

It is impossible to predicate the consequences of a real deficiency in the supply of silver for adjusting the balance of the Indian trade. So much is certain, that the commercial crisis through which we have just passed would be greatly aggravated. The facts to which I have adverted show that we are not dealing with a speculative or contingent danger. The usual annual demand for the means of paying for produce from the interior will recur next November; and if, as there is reason to expect, the value of the produce will be increased, while the available equivalents for it will be diminished, owing to the exhaustion of the reserve of silver in Europe, the disturbance of the economical system of India and Europe in 1864-65 will exceed that of 1863-64, as much as the crisis of 1863-64 surpassed that of 1862-63. A worse access of the disease is impending, and, if there be a remedy, it ought to be applied without delay.

Gold should be restored to its place in the currency.

I have already said that the most effectual remedy is to put gold on the same footing as silver as an article of import; and this can be done only by restoring gold to its place in the currency.

Although gold has been demonetised by the Government of India, it is held by the people of India in the same esteem, in relation to silver, as it is by the people of every other country in the world. Its superior advantages may be summed up in the fact that it contains large value in small compass. This makes it portable, allows of its being easily secured, facilitates its coinage, and diminishes its wastage. Although the public interests are vitally concerned in the proper management of the finances, we must not measure this question only by the wants of the Government. In silver 100,000 *l.* weigh $11\frac{1}{10}$ tons; in gold only $15\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. In silver, sums of money have to be counted by rupees or two-shilling pieces; in gold, by sovereigns or twenty-shilling pieces. It is difficult to conceive the aggregate loss and inconvenience when these circumstances are applied to the greatly augmented number and amount of transactions compared with former times. Merely in making the remittances which the present state of the trade and industrial development of India requires, the additional expense must be very great. The most serious inconvenience of all, perhaps, is that the nature of the coinage does not allow of money being carried on the person for current use. Twenty sovereigns may be taken in the pocket, but 200 rupees would be an intolerable burden. A book might be written on the obstacles which this state of things opposes to social progress. In a country like India, where it is particularly desirable to facilitate the intercourse between different classes of the community, the want of a convenient medium of exchange is especially objectionable.

In the progress of improvement, nations advance, by successive steps, from the rude instruments of exchange of primitive time, to the use of silver and gold money; and, at last, they attain to paper as the representative of gold. India had arrived at the gold period. Without going back to the history of former times, gold pagodas and fanams formed the bulk of the circulation of the South of India within the memory of persons still living; and, in the North of India, although the gold mohur was overvalued with reference to silver, its superior convenience obtained for it a considerable circulation. The trade of India with the countries beyond its north-western frontier has always been carried on by means of gold coins of various kinds. Much interesting information relating to this part of the subject will be found in Mr. McLeod's and Mr. Melvill's papers in the Appendix.

App. No. 1, p. 94.

The action of the Government upon this state of things was, first to exclude gold from the circulation, and then to introduce a paper currency based upon silver. The result is that India has attained the last step *per saltum*, with the omission of the one which ought to have preceded it. Retrogression has been followed by irregular advance.

The paper currency has been attended with a fair measure of success. The note circulation already amounts to upwards of 6,000,000 *l.* sterling, of which rather

rather more than 3,000,000 *l.* has been invested in Government securities. The time was come for furnishing this great accommodation to the Europeans and to the native mercantile classes in towns; and, as the body of the people become educated to the use of paper money, it will gradually answer the objects intended by it. The currency circles have been extended to the rest of India, and a more popular character ought now to be given to the system by issuing five-rupee notes, as was originally intended.

But the people of India have never acquiesced in the exclusion of gold from the currency, nor have they accepted paper as a substitute for it. The plan of locking up reserves of the precious metals in strong rooms and representing them by convertible paper, belongs to an advanced stage of civilization. The great majority of the people of India must have intrinsic value in their hands before they are convinced that payment has been made to them. This habit is founded upon the experience of ages. Promises to pay are rendered of no effect by bad faith or revolution; bonds and notes are destroyed by damp or eaten by insects; but gold and silver survive every change and re-appear to be enjoyed in better times. As between gold and silver, the preference is decidedly in favour of gold, which having large value in small bulk offers most of the advantages of a paper currency together with the security derived from intrinsic value. Since the improvement of the circumstances of the people, arising from the great increase in the demand for their exportable produce, there has been a corresponding increase on their part in the demand for gold. It will be seen from the returns in the Appendix furnished from the three Indian Presidencies and British Burmah, that, after deducting re-exports, gold to the value of 25,140,768 *l.* has been imported into India since the 1st May 1860, besides what was brought by land across the north-west frontier, and besides the large aggregate amount, chiefly in sovereigns, brought back by the labourers who annually take service in the coffee plantations in Ceylon, and by the emigrants returned from the Mauritius; and that the importations have been according to a continually ascending scale. In 1860-61 the value of the gold introduced into India by sea was 4,242,441 *l.*; in 1861-62 it was 5,200,432 *l.*; in 1862-63, 6,878,130 *l.*; and in 1863-64, 8,819,765 *l.** The explanation of this is that the people invest their new wealth in what they like best. In some favoured cotton districts, gold bangles have become almost as common as silver bangles were before. Although gold is not available as a legal tender in payment of debts and taxes in the British dominions in India, the people in some parts of India have endeavoured to remedy the defects of the present inconvenient silver currency by circulating gold bars authenticated by the stamp of Bombay banks. This rude attempt to organise an ingot currency in the face of every discouragement, proves the determination of the people to have gold, and shows that the Government would be cordially seconded by them in any attempt to introduce a gold currency on a sound footing. They would then have what they most desire—absolute intrinsic value in a condensed form, authenticated by the impress of the State, and receivable by law in payment of every obligation.

A still more striking instance is that gold coin is in such request, that real gold mohurs, nearly of standard value, are habitually made by forgers, chiefly to secure the premium at which they sell. The details of four such cases will be found in the Appendix. One of these establishments at Jugadree, a flourishing mart in the Ambala Division, was on the scale of a mint, and the gold mohurs manufactured there have an extensive circulation in the protected Seikh and Hill States and elsewhere.

Many other proofs might be adduced of the popularity of a gold coinage in India. The Native State of Jeypore has long enjoyed a reputation for the purity of its coins; and Jeypore gold mohurs, which were formerly seldom seen, have of late years obtained an extensive circulation. In the Punjab, the use of gold, as a medium of exchange, has greatly increased of late years. In the Seikh time it was chiefly procured from Russia through Kabul; but, to use Mr. Melvill's words, "the facilities of communication with Calcutta and Bombay, which are

* The figures for the first three years have been taken from the Parliamentary Return, and for the last year from the Return in Appendix No. 2, page 98. It will be seen from the last-mentioned Return, that while silver was re-exported in 1863-64 in the proportion of about 1 to 4 of the imports, gold was re-exported only in the proportion of about 1 to 23. There can be no doubt that gold has already released for circulation a large amount of hoarded silver.

App. No. 1, p. 92.

are freely supplied from Europe and Australia, have given the precedence to those markets in the supply of gold." Mr. McLeod reports that the sovereign is now the gold coin most familiar to the people of the Punjab, "being by far the most abundant and almost the only one now employed systematically for equalising the exchange." The prevailing opinion at the other extremity of the empire in British Burmah will be seen from the papers in the same number of the Appendix from two gentlemen of experience and ability, who have been much engaged in mercantile pursuits.

App. No. 5, p. 106.

But the most decisive example of all will be found in the Madras correspondence in the Appendix. Owing to the large number of sovereigns introduced into the districts of Tanjore, Tinnevely, and Madura, partly received in payment for rice exported to Ceylon, and partly the earnings of labourers who had returned from Ceylon and the Mauritius, current silver money became so scarce in 1858, that it was difficult for the landowners to pay the revenue due by them. The Government of Madras therefore authorised the receipt of sovereigns at the Tanjore Treasury at 10 rupees each, and afterwards directed that they should be paid at the same rate to such persons as might be willing to receive them. Although this proceeding was overruled by the Government of India, it had gone far enough to prove that a gold currency, based upon the sovereign at 10 rupees, would rapidly have taken the place of the silver currency, if the Supreme Government had not interfered to prevent it. The unissued coins were sent to Madras to the number of 10,370 sovereigns and 1,865 half sovereigns, where they were sold at a profit of Rs. 2,168. 12. 7. compared with the rate at which they had been received, being an average premium of three annas one pie on each sovereign. The Australian sovereigns, although more valuable than the English to the extent of the silver alloy they contain, sold on an average three farthings each less.

The determination of the people of India to have gold, justifies Lord Liverpool's opinion that "in very rich countries, where great and extensive commerce is carried on, gold is the proper metal of which the principal measure of property and instrument of commerce should be made. In such countries, gold will, in practice, become the principal measure of property and the instrument of commerce, with the general consent of the people, not only without the support of law, but in spite of almost any law that may be enacted to the contrary; for the principal purchases and exchanges cannot there be made in coins of a less valuable metal."

It remains to be considered how this great desideratum can best be attained.

The plan of issuing notes in certain proportion against gold.

Act XIX. of 1861, under the authority of which the Government paper currency was established, contains a provision that notes not exceeding one-fourth of the total amount of issues represented by coin or bullion, may be issued in exchange for gold coin of full weight of the Government of India, or for foreign gold coin or gold bullion computed at rates to be fixed by the Governor General in Council, and not to be altered without six month's previous notice. Mr. Cassel's remarks, that "this important amendment has, for some inscrutable reason, or by mere oversight, been allowed to remain ever since a dead letter," and the Governor of Bombay proposes that it should now be acted upon. "The effect of this," Sir B. Frere observes, "would be to substitute a considerable portion of gold for the silver which is now imported into India; and in proportion to such substitution, to relieve the inconvenience which is now felt by the absolute scarcity of silver in Europe. It would also tend to expand the use of Government Currency Notes, and to set free a corresponding quantity of silver which is now absorbed in various ways in remote parts of the country, and which disappears from the circulation of our great commercial marts."

This provision was borrowed from the parallel case of the Bank of England, which was permitted by the Act of 1844 to issue notes in exchange for a certain proportion of silver.

This was objected to by Mr. Wilson and other high authorities, who considered that the principle of convertibility on demand required that the Bank of England should be allowed to hold in its coffers that metal only in which payment of its notes could be demanded, and that the permission to retain silver as a portion of the reserve introduced a mercantile element into the management of the issue department, and was inconsistent with the theory on which the Act was founded.

The object of holding silver in the issue department of the Bank of England was

was to facilitate the adjustment of the exchanges with France; but after the change in the relative prices of gold and silver caused by the gold discoveries, and the increased demand for silver for transmission to the East, the nearly balanced system of alternative standard in France oscillated in the direction of gold, and it became no longer advantageous for the Bank of England to hold silver in the issue department. Since August 1853, that item has disappeared from its weekly account: and it only re-appeared for a few months at the end of November 1860, under an arrangement adopted for the convenience of the Bank of France.

The corresponding provision permitting the currency department of the Government of India to receive a certain proportion of gold, has never been acted upon, for the following reasons:—

Because, as stated by Mr. Wilson, it is inconsistent with the principle of a Government paper currency. That paper is payable only in the current coin of the country: and its convertibility in times of political distrust or mercantile panic, might be seriously endangered, if any of the uninvested deposits were held in gold which could not be tendered in payment of the notes. The sale of gold for current silver coin would be a precarious resource, for times of panic are exactly the times when money is not to be had.

Besides furnishing a more convenient medium of exchange, a properly regulated paper currency releases, for productive purposes, a portion of the capital of the country which had been employed, without yielding interest, in providing a less perfect medium of exchange; and, with this object, such portion of the deposits as is not likely to be required to meet demands for coin, ought to be invested in Government securities. The effect, therefore, of keeping any portion of the deposits in a form which is not available for the payment of the notes, is to interfere to the same extent with the beneficial operation of the paper currency system. The full amount required to maintain the convertibility of the notes has to be kept in current coin, in addition to the uncurrent coin or bullion. In other words, the latter is pure loss.

There are other practical difficulties which I will describe in the words of Mr. George Arbuthnot, of Her Majesty's Treasury, to whose mature experience and excellent judgment in this difficult class of subjects, I have often been deeply indebted. "It would be easy to imagine cases in which the Government of India would be placed in great difficulty in attempting to manage, on its own immediate responsibility and discretion, the issue of notes in exchange for a limited amount of gold coin or bullion. The advertisement of a price would be an invitation to parties to tender gold; but individuals, not acting in concert, could not ascertain the quantity which it would be safe for them to remit. When it arrived in India, the limit might have been reached to which the proportion of gold is restricted by the currency law; and confusion, instead of facilities, in the adjustment of exchanges, would be the result. Again, the sale of gold when its price might be higher than that at which it was received into the currency chest, could hardly be undertaken by Government with a view to profit. However skilfully such transactions might be conducted, it is hardly to be conceived that any Government official could so conduct them as to avoid the risk of censure by those whose interests might be affected by the disturbance of prices occasioned by the sales; and the probability is, that no official would have sufficient experience of business of this nature to enable him to manage it with safety."

And, after all this difficulty and hazard, the end attained would not be "to substitute a considerable proportion of gold for the silver which is now imported into India," nor to "set free a corresponding quantity of silver which is now absorbed in various ways in remote parts of the country," as supposed by the Governor of Bombay, but to lock up a certain quantity of gold in an unproductive state, without any diminution of the current silver coin which must be kept in deposit to provide for the payment of the notes.

This seems the proper place for calling attention to the extraordinary and dangerous complication which has arisen from the adoption into the Indian paper currency system of the mercantile principle of issuing notes in exchange for bullion as well as coin, which was retained in England by the Act of 1844. I am speaking now of silver bullion, which by the 9th Section of the Act of the Government of India, No. XIX. of 1861, must be received in exchange for notes to any extent to which it may be offered, with a proviso that, in places where there is no mint, it shall be optional to receive coin only, in exchange for notes.

Complication arising from the practice of issuing notes against silver bullion.

This option has been acted upon in the case of the currency circles recently established in the interior, by directing that notes shall be issued only in exchange for coin.

The Indian mints have always been open for the receipt of silver bullion ; and, while the amounts tendered for coinage were moderate, and the mint certificates were payable at thirty, and afterwards at twenty days' sight, no inconvenience was felt.

But in July 1861, the paper currency system was introduced, one of the conditions of which was that notes invested with the character of legal tender might be obtained at once in exchange for silver bullion.

This made it necessary that the mint certificates also should be payable on demand ; for, otherwise, the bullion would all have been sent to the currency department to be exchanged for notes, and the notes would have been immediately returned to be exchanged for coin. The result of this would have been, that the currency department would have become filled with bullion and emptied of coin ; in other words, that department would have had to suspend cash payments and declare itself insolvent.

The obligation to pay the mint certificates upon demand, involved the Government in a formidable responsibility. The entire financial machinery had to be strained to meet the vast amounts of bullion poured in to pay for the enormously increased exports. For some months, while the usual receipts from opium were suspended and our reserve at Calcutta was locked up by the investments made by the Bank of Bengal on its own account, under its agreement with the Government, the anxiety was very great. It will be seen from the return in the Appendix, that 6,310,550*l.* was remitted in aid of the Bombay Treasury, between the 1st May 1862, and the 20th May 1864. Since the beginning of last April, we have had to remit 1,220,000*l.* to Bombay, besides 460,000*l.* in coin obtained from the currency department in exchange for bullion.

In order to keep the Bombay Mint at work at the rate of 40,000*l.* a day, it is necessary that there should be 940,000*l.* of bullion in its several departments, and 17 days intervene between the receipt of bullion and its issue as coin. If, therefore, there was little or no bullion in the Mint, and a large amount was tendered for coinage, at least 600,000*l.* would have to be paid before the Mint could deliver any new coin into the Treasury. That this is not an improbable contingency is evident from the fact that, during the last three years, the silver bullion tendered monthly has ranged from 874*l.* to 2,295,552*l.*, and that, in the same month in the three years, the amounts have varied from 577,709*l.* to 2,295,554*l.*, and from 874*l.* to 437,481*l.*

The same state of things prevails at Calcutta and Madras. "If the balance of bullion in the Mint," the Master of the Mint at Calcutta reports, "is reduced to a minimum, as is now being done, it will be necessary, in the case of any sudden influx of silver, for the Treasury to be prepared to meet Mint certificates at the rate of four lakhs a day, for 20 days, without counting on any remittances from the Mint."

All idea of husbanding the public balances for the public benefit must be cast aside, if they are to be answerable for any amounts of bullion which the new necessities of the Indian trade may bring to our shores. So large and unexpected are the demands, that concurring, as they may do, with other exigencies, we may at any time be thrown by them into a state of temporary insolvency. Merchants are entitled to have their bullion converted into coin at the earliest possible period, but they cannot expect advances to be made upon it out of the public purse.

Although we have been forced, for a time, to pay the Mint certificates on demand, owing to the complication already explained connected with the paper currency, we have never conceded the principle which regulates every mint in the world, that of being liable for the value of the bullion only after it has actually been made into coin. We ought, therefore, to adopt the true basis of a paper currency, by issuing notes only in exchange for coin ; and we shall then be able to return to the former practice of granting, as fast as the bullion can be assayed, Mint certificates payable after an interval fixed with reference to the average time occupied in coining.

Returns will be found in the Appendix, showing—

1st. The total amount of silver bullion received at each of the three Indian mints, in each month, from 1st May 1862 to the 30th April 1864.

2dly. The

App. No. 6, p. 118.

App. No. 3 C,
p. 103.

App. No. 3, p. 101.

2dly. The total amount coined in each month.

App. No. 3, p. 101.

3dly. The balance remaining uncoined at the end of each month.

App. No. 3, p. 101.

4thly. The silver bullion tendered for coinage to the Bombay Mint in each month from the 1st May 1861 to the 30th April 1864; and,

App. No. 3, p. 103.

5thly. The remittances made from the 1st May 1862 to the 30th April 1864, to reinforce the Government balance at Bombay to meet the Mint certificates and the Secretary of State's bills.

App. No. 6, p. 118.

Previously to the Act of the Government of India, No. XVII. of 1835, by which an uniform coinage was established for the British dominions in India, the gold mohur of Bengal, and the star pagoda and other gold coins of Madras and Bombay were a legal tender, being valued relatively to silver in the proportion of one to 15.

Past proceedings in reference to the gold coinage in India.

By the Act of 1835, and a contemporary resolution of the Government of India, gold coins, representing respectively, 5, 10, 15, and 30 rupees, were directed to be coined at the Indian mints; and, although they were not to be a legal tender, they were to be received "and issued" at the public treasuries at rates to be fixed, from time to time, by proclamation.

The rates were those denoted by the names of the coins; but it was afterwards perceived that the issue of these coins at a prescribed rate was inconsistent with the fact that they were not a legal tender, and a proclamation* of January 1841, authorised them to be freely received at the previous rate of 15 to one, and "to be disposed of as might be ordered by the accountant-general or the accountant of the Presidency."

In May 1844, in order to encourage the coining of gold, the reduction of the seignorage on gold bullion tendered for coinage from two to one per cent., which had previously taken place at Calcutta in November 1837, was extended to the mints at Madras and Bombay; and it was declared that persons delivering in gold for coinage were entitled, as a matter of right, to have gold coins returned to them. The seignorage on silver coin remained, as before, at two per cent.

In January 1850, the sub-treasurer at Calcutta reported that the market price of the gold coin had gradually fallen to the price at which the Government received that coin from the public, and that there appeared to be a tendency to a further fall. This was the first notice of the effect upon the currency of India of the increased production of gold in California; but the Government did not at that time consider it necessary to direct any alteration in the terms on which gold coin was receivable into the public treasuries. After this came the discovery of gold in New South Wales; and the Government of India was alarmed by rumours that arrangements were in progress for forming connections with Australia for the purpose of bringing up gold, by a direct line of steam communication, to take advantage of the proclamation by which gold was receivable at the rate of 15 to one compared with silver of equal weight and fineness.

In order to avoid the embarrassment of an excessive stock of coin which was not re-issuable and could not be disposed of except at a loss, notice was given on the 22d of December 1852, that gold coin would no longer be received in the public treasuries.

The course which ought now to be adopted, is to retrace our steps, and to declare gold to be a legal tender in addition to silver, at a rate carefully calculated with reference to the relative value of the two metals.

We ought now to retrace our steps.

To the adoption of this course, Mr. Wilson objected that "a contract to pay a given sum of money is nothing more or less than a contract to deliver a given weight of that metal which is the standard at the time the contract is made, and that to alter or vary the standard, and to adopt another metal because it is cheaper, is simply to enable the debtor to break faith with the creditor."

Mr. Wilson's objection.

This

* "No gold coin will henceforward be a legal tender of payment in any of the territories of the East India Company; but the gold pieces to be hereafter coined will circulate at whatever rate of value relatively to the legal silver currency of the country they may bear to currency. The Governor General in Council will, from time to time, fix the rate by proclamation in the *Calcutta Gazette*, at which they shall be received and issued at the public treasuries, in lieu of the legal silver currency of British India. Until further orders, that rate will be, as the names of the tokens denote, the gold mohur, for 15 rupees; the 5-rupee piece, for five rupees; the 10-rupee piece, for 10 rupees; and the 30-rupee piece, for 30 rupees."—*Letter from the Government of India to the Court of Directors, 24th of June 1835.*

This argument has been ably and successfully answered by Sir W. Mansfield, in the 3d and 4th chapters of his *Minute*. He shows that money is the measure and representative of value; and that, whatever may be the current coin in which contracts are expressed, the intention is that the creditor should receive value, without depreciation, in any form which may be most convenient to the community to which he belongs; otherwise, the State would not be able to change its legal tender or expression of value, the effect of which would be, under different circumstances, to do real injustice to debtors or creditors. If a change of value is taking place by which an ounce of silver will, at some future time, be worth more than an ounce of silver now is, we ought not to increase the value of debts by declaring that, for all time to come, they shall be paid in coins constantly gaining a higher value than was originally attributed to them; and the reverse of this would be the case if silver was in a course of depreciation. Including the Local Revenue, the Government of India is annually a creditor to the extent of nearly fifty millions sterling, more than two-fifths of which depend upon permanent obligations expressed in the legal silver money of the time, or upon obligations similarly expressed for long terms of years. The same Government is also a debtor to the extent of rather more than twice its annual revenue. According to this view, the State is chiefly interested in maintaining the rights of creditors. But, according to the broad and just view, the real concern of the State is to maintain the integrity of all contracts, public and private, and to promote general confidence and good faith, by so regulating the circulating medium, that, as far as possible, no enhancement or depreciation of value shall take place to the advantage of debtor or creditor.

Closely connected with this, is the question of the double standard of value.

The question of the double standard.

The popular sentiment coincides with the opinion of Mr. Locke, Mr. Harris, and Lord Liverpool, that the principal measure of property should be made of one metal only.

And, in fact, although it may be necessary for a time that two metals should be legal tender, only one metal can practically be the standard of value.

However accurately the value of two metals may be adjusted to each other, the vicissitudes of production, the necessities of commerce, and the convenience of daily life, ever cause slight variations between the market value of the two, and the cheaper metal becomes the principal medium of exchange and the standard of value.

It would seem to be a result of general experience, that nations must pass through this stage before they arrive at a satisfactory state of their currency.

British currency went through a series of alternations between gold and silver until a gold standard, with a subsidiary silver token coinage, was finally established in 1816 by the 56 Geo. III. c. 68.

The experience thus acquired was employed in 1838, and the following years, in reforming the metallic money of the British Colonies, which had fallen into a confused and unsatisfactory state, and peremptorily required the interference of the Government. This was done by rating the foreign gold and silver coins current in the different colonies at their proper relative value to sterling money; and making them legal tender in common with sterling money. The discoveries of gold in California followed after an interval of some years, and silver then ceased to circulate, except as tokens for the fractional parts of the pound sterling, and the British sovereign was established as the sole standard. The first of these changes was an administrative operation. The second was a natural result. They were both eminently advantageous. The whole process is described in the extract in the Appendix from a memorandum by Mr. George Arbuthnot, dated in August 1858. It will be seen that he speaks of the proceedings for the "concurrent use of the British with the foreign coins at the rates assigned to them," as having been "attended with perfect success;" and says that the subsequent transition from a silver to a gold standard "was effected without disturbing contracts, and without detriment, therefore, to the community at large."

App. No. 7, p. 121.

Our example was followed by the United States. By the law of 1849, golden dollars of a certain weight and fineness were legally declared to be equal to the silver dollar. In 1853, the old full weight silver coin having been in great part absorbed as a commodity of trade, and the national reserves now consisting almost entirely of gold, the intrinsic value of the silver coins was reduced (the dollar from 412½ grains to 384 grains), so as to make them tokens, like the English silver coins, limiting their tender to five dollars, and thus adopting a single standard of gold.

A similar

A similar change has taken place in France. Since the decree of Napoleon in 1801, a double legal tender has prevailed. From 1801 to 1850, gold had a tendency to rise, and it consequently disappeared from the ordinary circulation and commanded a premium; but the price having fallen somewhat below the fixed rates since the discoveries in California and Australia, the standard currency of the country and its reserves now consist of gold, and the silver coin, which has not been exported, in consequence of its having been reduced by wear below its full value, is fast passing into the state of a subsidiary token coinage.*

As in the British Colonies, so in the United States and France, the alternative legal tender caused no inconvenience in measuring values; and the accession of gold, as the sole standard of value, did not affect, in any perceptible manner, prices, obligations, or interests of any kind whatever.

It will be seen from the papers describing the currency of Ceylon, which form the last number of the Appendix, that Ceylon, which is an integral part of India, is considered to owe to its double standard its comparative immunity from the severe monetary crisis through which India has lately passed. App. No. 10, p. 129.

I have no further argument to urge for the adoption of gold in British India as an auxiliary currency. Monetary science is eminently experimental; and if the point has not been established by the examples which have been adduced, no *a priori* reasoning would suffice.

If the expediency and safety of the first step has been proved, I do not care to follow the process through its subsequent stages. The change should, of course, take place with the utmost attention to the habits and feelings of the people, as recommended by the Chambers of Commerce. What I propose is, not an immediate or entire substitution of gold for silver money, but the gradual addition of gold money to the existing silver money. Both metals are held in esteem by the people on account of their intrinsic value, and for a long time they would have a concurrent circulation. The first effect of the admission of gold into the currency would be to raise the value of gold, because it would release an equivalent amount of silver. In other words, a tendency would be created to lower the value of silver, and, so far, an advantage would be given to silver in maintaining its place in the circulation. The ultimate effect would, probably, be that, partly from a slight additional fall in the price of gold in India, arising from causes which will be hereafter more fully explained, and partly from the superior convenience of that metal in making the larger payments, the currency and reserves of the country would become gradually filled with gold, and the time would then arrive for considering the propriety of converting the silver coinage into a subsidiary token coinage. Perhaps, as in France, the silver coinage, not being renewed, and becoming by wear less than its full nominal value, would of itself subside into a token coinage, and the people of India would be gradually educated to receive such a coinage as representing a value which it did not intrinsically possess. Subsequent steps of the process.

Commerce would be greatly facilitated by the establishment of one uniform standard medium of exchange throughout the British Empire. This is an advantage of a uniform standard of exchange.

* Since this was written, I have seen from the newspapers that the French Government has determined to reduce the half and quarter francs from 900 parts of pure silver and 100 alloy, to 835 pure and 165 alloy; in other words, to make them avowedly tokens, which they had really already become by wear. The five-franc pieces of the coinage of the years till 1830 were always better than standard, but from 1844 to the present time they have been below their standard, and the coins of the present day are worse than any. The following is an abstract statement of five-franc pieces received into the Calcutta Mint during 1863-64:—

Weight in Tolahs.	Assay.	Nett value in Rupees issued in Mint Certificate.	Nett value at French standard 900 Touch, or 4 dwts. in the Pound Troy, worse than Indian standard.	Loss to importers from difference between actual assays and French standard.
<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
57,98,291 9 -	4 dwts. worse.	55,73,318 1 2	55,73,318 1 2	Nil.
40,40,187 14 -	4½ ditto.	38,74,439 2 8	38,83,428 9 5	8,989 6 9
11,933 - -	5 ditto.	11,416 14 5	11,469 5 11	52 7 6
13,238 2 -	5½ ditto.	12,607 7 9	12,695 10 5	88 2 8
98,63,620 9 -	—	94,71,781 10 -	94,80,911 10 11	9,130 0 11

tage of extensive empire, including dependencies in different parts of the world, which ought to be utilised for the public benefit. A similar advantage was formerly derived from the general currency which the Spanish dollar obtained. Owing to its superior convenience and other causes, the British sovereign would, if fair play were given to it, come into more extensive use than the Spanish dollar ever did.

Assimilation of the
English and Aus-
tralian sovereigns.

One of the first results of the discovery of the Californian gold fields was, that the Mediterranean and Levant were swept of dollars for transmission to the East, and sovereigns were substituted for them. After the discovery of the Australian gold fields, a branch of the Royal Mint was established at Sydney for the coinage of gold in accordance with the standard of weight and fineness of the currency of the realm. The superscription, however, was different, and the coin was made a legal tender only in the Australian Colonies. Its currency has since been extended by Royal Proclamation to other possessions of the Crown, viz., Mauritius, Ceylon, and Hong-Kong.

In May 1862, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider and report on the expediency of legalising the circulation in the United Kingdom of the sovereigns coined at the branch of the Royal Mint at Sydney. The Committee reported that, although the sovereigns coined at the Sydney Mint might "be considered perfect as regards fineness and weight," and were, in fact, more valuable than the Tower-hill sovereigns, because, whatever silver there was in the gold found in Australia, it remained in the coin as part of the alloy, the sovereign made at the Royal Mint had a preference over the Sydney sovereign wherever both were in circulation; that this was entirely due to the fact that the Sydney sovereign was current in Australia alone and in a few of Her Majesty's distant possessions, while the English sovereign had a circulation throughout the realm; and that "the inconvenience resulting from this limit on the circulation of the Australian sovereign is particularly experienced in the large trade carried on between Australia and our possessions of Ceylon and Mauritius, where this coin has been declared current by Royal proclamation. In this commerce with our possessions, and also with India, Manilla, Java, and other countries, into which Australian gold coin largely enters, there is no doubt but that the Imperial sovereign is more highly valued than the sovereign issued at the Sydney Mint." The committee, therefore, recommended—

"1st. That gold coin should be issued from the branch mint at Sydney, having currency in all parts of the British dominions where gold coin minted in London is current.

"2d. That the coin struck at the Sydney Mint should have, as nearly as possible, the same alloy, and the same quality of execution and durability as that struck at the Royal Mint in London.

"3d. That the coin should also have a mint mark sufficient to indicate, at least to bankers and others, the mint whence it issued.

"4th. That an adequate mint charge or seignorage should continue to be levied, and that the Imperial Government should stipulate for its being kept at such an amount as to prevent any undue inducement to the importation into the United Kingdom of gold in coin rather than in bars.

"5th. That arrangements should be made for withdrawing from circulation, as speedily as possible, the existing Sydney gold coinage.

"6th. That the charge for the branch mint should be provided for by permanent appropriation by the Legislature of New South Wales, rather than by an annual vote."

These recommendations were accepted by Her Majesty's Government, and a Treasury Minute was recorded on the 22d of June last, stating that "My Lords are satisfied with the disposition shown by the Legislature of New South Wales to pass an Act for this purpose, the Bill introduced this year having been withdrawn only on account of a technical objection not affecting the principle of the measure; and they are willing to submit a Bill to Parliament, as proposed by the Governor of New South Wales, conditionally, enabling Her Majesty to declare, by proclamation, coins to be issued from the branch mints of New South Wales, corresponding in the essential particulars regarding the standard of value and denomination with those issued from the Royal Mint of London, a legal

legal tender of payment in the United Kingdom. The effect of such an enactment will be to enable Her Majesty to give currency to the Sydney gold coins in all parts of her dominions in which gold coins issued from the Royal Mint in London are a legal tender."

The Minute then states that this measure must be guarded by the precautions recommended by the Committee, of which the imposition of an adequate mint charge is one of the most immediate importance. This charge is proposed to be fixed at 3*d.* an ounce of gold coin, which is the estimated cost of coinage on all gold returned in coin to the importer; and it is explained that this is to be over and above—1*st.* The charge made at the Sydney Mint for prompt returns, whether in coin or bar gold, analogous to the charge of 1½*d.* allowed by law at the Bank of England for immediate returns in exchange for bullion; 2*d.* The charge, if any, which may be incurred for assay and refining; 3*d.* The duty, if any, imposed, by Colonial Act, on gold imported into the Mint as the equivalent of an export Customs duty.

The second and third recommendations, the Treasury Minute proceeds, will be the subject for future consideration when the necessary statutory powers shall have been obtained; but, although identity in quality of execution and durability between the coin struck at the Sydney Mint and that struck at the Royal Mint of London, may probably be kept in view as an object of ultimate attainment, it would not be expedient to lay down any positive regulation regarding the character of the alloy to be employed.

It will thus be seen that the only external obstacle to the supply of India with the standard gold coin of the British Empire is about to be removed. Australia is the greatest existing source of supply of gold; and, both from proximity and from the course of trade, she ought to be bound up with India in a peculiar relation.* The perfected authenticated produce of the Australian gold fields ought to have the same advantage as the Spanish dollars coined at the mine's mouth had in former days. But, instead of this, it must either be sent to England to be re-coined and forwarded to India charged with all the expenses of this circuitous route, or, if sent direct to India, it must be disposed of at a loss compared with the British sovereign. For the future, there is to be only one sovereign, distinguished merely as to its place of manufacture by a mint mark, which will require a magnifying glass to be detected.

The Committee abstained from entering into the question "whether the mint would have been better placed at Melbourne than at Sydney; or if a mint should not also be established at Melbourne;" but in another part of their Report, they gave the following indication of what their decision would have been: "The character of a coinage, whether produced at one or at many establishments, must depend on the honesty and integrity of those charged with its superintendence, and there is no reason to doubt that, with a well-regulated establishment and proper control, mints conducted for the advantage of the subject, and not for the exclusive benefit of the Crown, may usefully be established wherever there exists an extended market for bullion." The Treasury Minute contains the following reference to this part of the subject:—"My Lords would have been ready to have entered into this question if required to do so, as preliminary to any measure for declaring sovereigns and other gold money, coined in Australia, a legal tender of payment in the United Kingdom; but, as it has not been raised by the colonies immediately concerned, though ample time has been offered for its consideration since the publication of the report, their Lordships feel themselves warranted in passing it by, and applying themselves to the proposition now before them from the Colony of New South Wales."

India

* There are political and moral, as well as economical relations involved in the connection between Australia and India which were alluded to by me in a letter published in the *Times* on this subject in February 1850. "England has a southern as well as an eastern empire. One empire is Christian, the other is heathen. One is young, self-governed, full of vitality, composed of men of our own nation and language; the other is the oldest existing community in the world, abounding in latent resources, but helpless, dependent, and requiring the aid of a more energetic race to rise to a higher state of social and moral existence. That these two empires should be closely connected with each other, as well as with the metropolitan country, greatly concerns the interests of all. The tropical productions of India meet with a ready sale in Australia, but the great staple of Australia is excluded by mint regulations from India. Australian men would come in the wake of Australian gold, and another branch of the Anglo-Saxon family singularly adapted for the work by experience and genius, would co-operate with us in the organisation of Indian industry."

India has no slight interest in this question. The precious metals are imported at a particular season of the year to meet the urgent necessities of trade. They are wanted in the form of coin, to be sent at once into the interior, to pay for produce; and every day's delay is a loss to the holder and an injury to trade. But, as the precious metals are received in vast quantities at a time, it is impossible that any mint, however powerful, can convert them into coin as fast as they are required. One of the advantages of adopting the sovereign as the standard gold coin of India, will be that, as it is the sole standard coin of the rest of the British Empire, it may be imported ready for use; but this advantage will be in a great degree lost if the principal Australian gold field is unprovided with a mint.

Major Ward, the Master of the Sydney Mint, wrote to me in February last,—“Your acceptance of our coin, or, as it then will be, the Imperial sovereign, as a legal tender in India, would increase our work, and we could produce for your circulation alone some 4,000,000 *l.* sterling per annum; and if a mint be established at Melbourne, three times that quantity.” This supposes that nearly the entire annual produce of the Australian gold fields would be coined and sent to India. Such, I believe, would be the case, if a mint were established at Melbourne, and if the legal restrictions existing in India and Australia were removed. The proximity of Australia makes that country the natural source of supply for the east, as California and Russia are for the west.

The produce of the Australian gold fields has of late shown a decided tendency to fall off. Universal experience proves that, owing to the nicely balanced state of the market for the precious metals, they are not a fit subject for an export or import duty. The steady diminution of the gold supplied from the Victoria fields will be seen from the following extract from the Report of the Registrar General of the Colony on the quantity of gold exported during the last 12 years:—

Year.	Ounces.	Value.	Year.	Ounces.	Value.
		£.			£.
1851	145,147	580,587	1857	2,761,528	11,046,113
1852	2,724,933	10,899,733	1858	2,528,188	10,112,752
1853	3,150,021	12,600,083	1859	2,280,676	9,122,702
1854	2,392,065	9,568,262	1860	2,156,661	8,626,642
1855	2,793,065	11,172,261	1861	1,967,420	7,869,758
1856	2,985,669	11,942,783	1862	1,658,285	6,685,192

And it appears from another source that during the first half of 1863 gold was exported only to the value of 3,298,936 *l.*, which shows a still decreasing rate.

How the sovereign
should be rated in
reference to the
rupee.

Assuming the basis of the change to be that the sovereign and half-sovereign are to be made legal tender in India, the only remaining question is how they are to be rated in reference to the rupee.

Certain general principles may be confidently laid down.

The first and most essential of these is, that the rate fixed should be rather below than above the present price of gold. The danger to be avoided is an undue interference with existing contracts. If the rate were fixed too high, debts could be paid with a smaller value than that for which they had been contracted; silver would be practically demonetised; a large quantity of gold would be suddenly required to carry out the change; and the result apprehended by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce would be realised, “of great derangement in the commerce and finance of India, and probably also in the money markets of Europe.” The rest would right itself in time; but the fraud committed upon creditors would be irremediable, for, when contracts have once been interfered with by an alteration of the measure of value, there can for them be no return to the former standard. On the other hand, the worst that could happen from rating the sovereign too low, would be that the operation of the measure would be retarded; but no other harm would be done, and the object might

might still be attained by a revised rating in which the sovereign would be placed somewhat higher.

The sovereign must be rated, not with reference to its value in England, but solely with reference to the cost at which it can be obtained from the cheapest source of supply, that is, from Australia.

It is very desirable that the rate should, if possible, be so fixed as to avoid an inconvenient fraction. The countless repetition of the calculations involved in the existence of such a fraction would seriously detract from the advantages of the measure. For a long time the exchange between India and England has been so near two shillings for the rupee, that this has been fixed, from year to year, for the adjustment of the accounts between Her Majesty's Indian and Home Governments. The same rate has been adopted in the financial accounts, and is extensively used in private transactions. The public mind is, therefore, already accustomed to this rate of converting the rupee into sterling, and it is in itself the most convenient possible. It offers the following simple decimal proportion :—

$$\begin{array}{rclcl} \text{£.1.00} & = & \text{£.1, or one sovereign} & - & = & \text{Rs. 10} \\ & & \text{.50} & = & \text{10 s., or half-sovereign} & - & = & \text{,, 5} \end{array}$$

The Madras fanam, which, not long ago, was the favourite coin of the south of India, was worth Rs. 5. 6. 6. When Mulraj was besieged in Mooltan, being short of silver to pay his troops, but having 40 lakhs of rupees hoarded in gold, he coined the whole of it into pieces which passed for one rupee. These have since been in great request.

Sir C. Wood attached so much importance to the possibility of adopting a convenient mode of converting the sovereign into rupees, that, in a Despatch dated the 2d of May 1861,* he stated the question of the introduction of a gold currency into India as depending upon it—"I am not insensible to the possible advantage which might arise from the introduction of the sovereign as the current coin of India (as it is, I believe, in Ceylon); but at the present relative intrinsic value of gold and silver, no combination of Indian coins can express the value of the sovereign. If, by any change in the relative value of the two metals, a sovereign and 10 rupees were to become of equal intrinsic value, the sovereign might readily be introduced, and become the standard coin of India; but at present it can only be taken at its value as gold, and that value will vary from time to time, according to the demand at the moment for that metal."

The reform of the currency of the West India Colonies was much facilitated by what Mr. Arbuthnot calls "a fortunate coincidence of principle and convenience," *i. e.*, the rating of the Spanish and Mexican dollar for circulation at 50 *d.* This valuation afforded a simple rule for the "conversion of the dollar into the denomination of British money, and it equally facilitated the conversion of British money into the decimal system of account founded on the dollar, as the half-penny represented the 100th part of that coin."

I am disposed to think that, although a sovereign and 10 rupees have not become of equal value, they have sufficiently approximated to allow of an auxiliary gold currency being successfully introduced at that relative valuation.

We have seen that, for the ordinary computations of public and private transactions, the sovereign and 10 rupees have actually been accepted as being of the same value.

A rupee contains 165 grains of fine silver, which, at 5 *s.* per oz. of standard silver, is worth 1 *s.* 10 $\frac{3}{10}$ *d.* This was the official valuation of the rupee, according to the prices prevailing in the London market before the gold discoveries. In the years 1862 and 1863, the average price of bar silver in the London market was 5 *s.* 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ *d.*, at which rate the rupee is worth 1 *s.* 10 $\frac{8}{10}$ *d.*

But the real practical question is, not what the rupee is worth in London, but what it is worth at Calcutta. According to the calculation contained in the valuable paper in the Appendix, entitled "Remarks on the Importation of Bullion into India, with Quotations," which has been kindly furnished to me by Mr. Dunlop, the manager of the Calcutta Branch of the Agra Bank, 5 *s.* 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ *d.* per oz. cost in London gives the rupee at Calcutta at a cost of 24.05 *d.*, after computing freight, brokerage, &c., at 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and duly allowing for the mint seignorage.

Mr. Dunlop elsewhere says—"If a gold currency were to be introduced into India, and the Calcutta Mint purchasing price was fixed at the same figure as that of the Bank of England, 3 *l.* 17 *s.* 9 *d.*, or Rs. 38. 14 per oz., or Rs. 14. 9. 3

* *Vide* Return on Paper Currency for India, ordered to be Printed on the 6 May 1862.

per tolah, an importer from Australia would obtain his coin at a cost of $2\text{ s. }-\frac{7}{16}d.$ per rupee from Sydney, and $2\text{ s. }-\frac{3}{16}d.$ per rupee from Melbourne, whilst an importer from England would obtain his rupee at a cost of $2\text{ s. }-\frac{3}{4}d.$

“The importers of coin, if the sovereign were accepted in India as a legal tender for 10 rupees, would obtain their rupee at $2\text{ s. }-\frac{3}{4}d.$ from London, and at $2\text{ s. }-\frac{7}{16}d.$ from Australia.”

Appendix No. 9,
page 128.

As the experience of practical men is of the highest value in such a question as this, I have inserted in the Appendix a letter from the Honourable Claud Brown, of the house of Jardine, Skinner & Co. The facts stated in this letter furnish reliable data; but Mr. Brown will judge, after reading this minute, how far his inferences ought to be modified.

Appendix No. 8,
page 126.

Australian sovereigns can be laid down in Calcutta at *Rs. 10. 2. 9* each. The actual rates at which they were sold, from the 6th of January 1859 to the 8th of June 1864, will be seen in the Appendix. They vary from *Rs. 9. 15* to *Rs. 10. 10*. The average of the year 1859 is *Rs. 10. 5. 4½*; of 1863, *Rs. 10. 3. 5*; and of the first six months of 1864, *Rs. 10. 1. 4*. The latest information I have is contained in the following extract from a letter from the Honourable Claud Brown, dated Calcutta, 28th of June:—“The arrivals of gold in this market still continue so much in excess of demand, that 22 carat fine is not saleable at better than *Rs. 14. 7* to *Rs. 14. 7. 6*, a price which would admit of the sovereign being turned out at the Mint at the required cost of 10 rupees.”

It will be seen from the interesting papers which form the first number of the Appendix, that the rates at which the sovereign passes in Upper India scarcely exceed those which prevail at the ports. This is explained by the fact that gold is so much easier of transport than silver, that its relative value to silver is rather less at Lahore than it is at Calcutta.* It will also be seen that everybody is agreed at Delhi, Lahore, and Umritsur that the sovereign ought to be made a legal tender at 10 rupees.

In Australia a duty of $1\text{ s. }6d.$ is payable at the Customs for every oz. of gold exported, for which a duty of $1\text{ s. }3d.$ for every oz. of standard fineness is substituted upon that portion of the gold which is brought to the Royal Mint at Sydney. This difference is intended to equalise the charge upon two descriptions of metal: the raw gold, as produced from the mines, being considered generally better than standard gold, to the extent of $3d.$ per oz. Besides this, a charge is made at the Sydney Mint for melting, assaying, and coining, of one per cent. upon quantities below 1,000 ozs., and of three-quarters per cent. upon larger quantities. If it shall be determined to adopt an alternative legal tender of gold and silver in India, hanging on an uncertain balance, the expediency of maintaining these charges will probably be reconsidered. No revenue which the Australian Colonies are likely to obtain from them can be compared with the advantages they would derive from the unlimited demand for their great staple, which would be the consequence of its really becoming a component part of the currency of India. The $1\text{ s. }6d.$, or $1\text{ s. }3d.$ the oz. is an ordinary export duty upon gold, treated as an article of merchandise. The additional Mint charge of one per cent. was described by Mr. Miller, of the Bank of England, in his evidence before the Select Committee on the Sydney Branch Mint, as “very extravagant indeed.”

The establishment of a regular trade, embracing England, India, and Australia in a connected process, would also somewhat reduce the price of gold in India, and would give increased steadiness to it. Up to the moment of its absorption into the currency, every ounce of gold which reaches the shores of India is an article of merchandise, affected by all the conditions which influence commercial transactions; and it is a well-known rule that, while high profits are necessary for isolated, exceptional, one-sided operations, a low average rate suffices for a settled trade in which several profits and freights are obtained in a connected series.

While Australian sovereigns can now be laid down at Calcutta at *Rs. 10. 2. 9* each, English sovereigns can only be delivered at *Rs. 10. 4. 10*. This shows how completely

* This opens to view another important result of a gold currency. Combined with railways and the paper currency, it will have a great effect in equalising the internal exchanges. The substitution of gold and paper money for the cumbrous silver medium will also allow of the public expenditure being carried on with a smaller average balance, and a large amount of silver will be thereby set free.

completely this is an Indian and Australian question in its practical details. Although England is deeply concerned, it is only through the interest she has in her commercial and other relations with India and Australia.

After making all these allowances, the sovereign at 10 rupees would probably still be undervalued as compared with silver; but the use of gold as money is attended with so many advantages, that it would, notwithstanding, be preferred in all but petty transactions. If I am right in this conclusion, the object we all have in view will be attained. When sovereigns are tendered at 10 rupees, creditors will get something more than they are entitled to, and yet sufficient motives will not be wanting to maintain sovereigns in circulation.

My proposal, therefore, is, that sovereigns and half-sovereigns, according to the British and Australian standard, 11-12ths fine, and 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* an oz., coined at any properly authorised Royal Mint in England, Australia, or India, should be declared legal tender in India at the rate of one sovereign for 10 rupees; and that the Indian Mints should be open to the receipt of gold bullion on the above-mentioned terms, to be re-delivered in coin at a charge merely sufficient to cover the cost of manufacture, which is much below the present charge of one per cent. The Mint charge on silver should be maintained at the existing rate of two per cent. The Government currency notes would be payable either in rupees, or in sovereigns at the rate of 10 rupees. No bullion, either gold or silver, should, for the reasons already explained, be received in exchange for notes.

Mr. Claud Brown remarks, "that under such an arrangement sovereigns would be readily and rapidly received into general circulation I have little doubt, but the first and most essential condition is that some one must provide the sovereigns, and my difficulty is that I do not think it can be done at the price." My answer is, that gold in general, and the sovereign in particular, are already provided in vast quantities, and that the motives which have produced this great importation are likely to be increased by making the sovereign a legal tender at 10 rupees.

The view I take has rendered it unnecessary for me to enter upon some considerations which have usually been much dwelt upon in the discussion of this subject. Concluding observations.

I freely admit the hoarding propensities of the people of India, arising from habits induced by ages of misgovernment. The Government of India has been a still greater offender, owing to the enormous cash balances held by it, which, taken together with the numerous and large reserves kept by the native states, probably amount to more than is hoarded by all the ryots and other private persons throughout the country. Mysore, which is under our own management, had upwards of 1,000,000 *l.* until a portion of it was lately invested in Government securities; the petty principality of Kirwee had a treasure amounting to more than 600,000 *l.*, which was never heard of until it was captured by our troops; Saadat Ali's Lucknow treasure was about 8,000,000 *l.*; and the third-rate State of Scinde had 470,000 *l.* These last have disappeared; but their recent existence is illustrative of the prevailing practice of native states.

I also entirely agree with the position which has been so clearly established by Captain Lees, in his valuable and interesting book on "The Drain of Silver to the East, and the Currency of India," that, partly owing to the change from a Native to an European form of Government, partly to the substitution of money for barter in remote districts, but chiefly to the general increase of prices and wages, and the vastly augmented amount and number of transactions, the requirements of India for coin for Currency purposes are only beginning to be felt, and that, notwithstanding every aid that can be given by the extension of paper money and credit, the ultimate demand will exceed anything of which we have yet had experience.

The channels of circulation, according to the actual habits of the people and their existing modes of transacting business, have, for the moment, been filled by the enormous amounts of silver which have, of late years, been poured into the country, and this is one of the causes of the great increase in prices which has taken place. Nevertheless, the craving of this great population for the precious metals remains unsatiated, and silver and gold are the only articles they are willing to accept, in unlimited quantities, in return for their immense supplies of valuable produce. The basis of the question is, therefore, a mercantile one, and it is only incidentally a monetary one. The people of India will have the

precious metals in return for their produce ; and the point for decision is, whether, owing to our Mint regulations, their demand shall continue to fall in undue proportion upon silver, or shall be proportionally divided between silver and gold ; the value of the annual production of gold being two and a half times that of silver, and gold being about fifteen times more efficient, as a circulating medium, than equal quantities of silver. I mean that, if a given price has to be paid, the quantity required to be used will be less by about 15 times if it is paid in gold than if it is paid in silver.

When the power which India has of absorbing the precious metals shall be turned in equal proportion in the direction of gold, there will no longer be any solid ground for apprehending a progressive depreciation of the value of that metal throughout the world. The new demand for gold will then be fully on a level with the new supply. I agree with Mr. Jevons in thinking that "the ultimate effect of the late gold discoveries will be to render gold more than ever the pre-eminent and natural standard of value. The greatly multiplied mass of gold in use, the increasing area of production, and the greater variety of nations which share in its production, will finally render it far more steady in value even than it has been. In becoming more abundant, gold will become more than ever the natural international currency, by the flow of which the balances of the exchanges of nations will be adjusted. It will become more generally the money of the world."

Simla, 20 June 1864.

(signed) *C. E. Trevelyan.*

APPENDIX, No. 1.

From *J. C. Parry, Esq., Delhi Bank Corporation (Limited)*, to *Sir C. Trevelyan*; dated 5 May 1864.

BEFORE replying to your letter, I thought the subject of a gold currency of sufficient importance to invite the principal native bankers and dealers to a conference on the subject this morning. I will not trouble you with the variety of opinions advanced; but the general feeling, in which I concur, is, that there will be no doubt of the success of the scheme, provided gold be the standard and not a subsidiary currency. Several of us think that it may be left optional to pay up to 100 rupees, either in gold or silver; but one banker who is very intelligent, and has agencies in every large town in India, thinks that payments in silver should only be legalised as fractional parts of a sovereign. This will show you how anxious the people are to have gold as a currency, and they are confident of success, if freely received and paid at all Treasuries. I still think that for five years or so, till the silver is absorbed in the country, which it will be in the manufacture of jewellery and deposits under ground, silver may be made legal to the extent of 100 or 200 rupees.

The sovereign is considered the most convenient coin and in general favour.

As far as we can judge, from 250,000 *l.* to 300,000 *l.* in sovereigns have been received in Delhi, and two-thirds remitted to Umritsur and the Punjab, the remainder used in ornaments and brocade work. The market value fluctuates almost daily, ranging from *Rs.* 10. 1 to *Rs.* 10. 5 each; the rate to-day is *Rs.* 10. 1. 6. Two days ago it was *Rs.* 10. 2.

Seeing the difficulties into which the country may be thrown for want of a gold currency and the readiness of the people to receive it, I would beg leave to venture the hope that no half measures be adopted, or, as in 1833, it will probably prove a failure.

There seems to all practical men no injustice whatever, when the magnitude of the question is considered, and its importance to the well-being and advancement of the empire, that all contracts and engagements existing should be legalised in gold at the equivalent of 10 rupees to each sovereign.

It seems to me that holders of Government paper and securities of every kind will rather benefit by this arrangement, inasmuch as gold will be more valuable than silver, till an absorption of the latter takes place; and then, if silver should for the nonce rise in value, fresh importations will keep it at an average rate.

From *Mr. Neale Porter*, Sinde, Punjab, and *Delhi Bank Corporation (Limited)*, Umritsur, to *Sir C. Trevelyan*; dated 20 May 1864.

At the request of *Mr. Macleod*, the manager of this branch has lately been collecting information about the gold coinage known and in use here. All the particulars he has obtained will, no doubt, with much official information, reach you through the Financial Commissioner. I will merely state this much, viz., that two days ago I had at the bank a great gathering of city notables, town councillors, honorary magistrates, &c., men all interested in trade and banking; and on the same day an equally numerous attendance (of course by invitation) of marwarries and bankers generally.

I told them that, for the general convenience of trade and commerce, and for the good of the

the empire at large, for they must understand all creation did not consist of merchants and shroffs, the Government had determined to extend, by a system of circles, the Government paper currency, and in addition, to establish a gold coinage, which should be a legal tender; that this gold coinage was not to displace, but to assist the silver coinage, and that it would be gradually issued; that it was to be introduced because it was impossible the increased and increasing transactions connected with the enormous agricultural and commercial (internal and external) business of the country could continue to be carried on satisfactorily unless assistance was given to the one silver currency.

"If," I remarked, "a man has a cart heavily laden with grain and cotton, and his horse can no longer draw it, he hooks a donkey on to help, and the cart and its valuable load get to market. Now the trade of India is in that condition; it requires the gold coinage to be hooked on to help the silver currency."

My homely illustration had much effect.

To sum up—the wealthy and intelligent native bankers and merchants here are quite satisfied as to the goodness of the intentions of the Government in this matter; and although they may not see as clearly as we do the urgent necessity of the measure in question, and are by nature disposed to let well alone, they will most willingly and cheerfully see a gold currency supplementary to the present silver currency introduced; and I may add, they are quite alive to its numberless minor conveniences and advantages. The coin they would prefer is the sovereign; it is to them an old acquaintance, hitherto consigned to the melting pot, but they quite understand the more dignified position it will take when made a legal tender for a given number of rupees. They do not seem to care about the half and quarter-sovereign, but I think these might at once be introduced with advantage. Sovereigns are now selling here, scarce as money is, at Rs. 10, 3 to be made into ornaments after the extraction of the alloy; but as soon as they got into general and extensive use as a circulating medium, they would never, I think, be at a premium, except for exchange purposes.

From Mr. *L. C. Probyn*, Deputy Auditor and Accountant General for the Punjab; dated Lahore, 20 May 1864.

WHEN you spoke to me about making the English sovereign a legal tender in this country, and asked me to ascertain the probable effects of the measure in the Punjab, I was in hopes that I should have an opportunity of consulting some of the Umritsur bankers on the subject. I am sorry to say, however, I have been unable to go over to Umritsur, and my inquiries have therefore been confined to the bankers of Lahore.

Of course the market value of the sovereign up here fluctuates considerably. So far as I have been able to ascertain, it sometimes, though very rarely, gets down to Rs. 9. 14; and sometimes, though very rarely, gets up as high as Rs. 10. 8; but its general price is Rs. 10. 4, Rs. 10. 5, or Rs. 10. 6. The present rate is Rs. 10. 4. The fact appears to me that though gold up here is in itself more valuable than gold in Calcutta, just in the same way as silver is its relative value to silver, which constitutes its money or market value, is a trifle less here than in Calcutta and Bombay. The immense amount of gold which has lately been imported into the Punjab is not owing to gold being worth more money here than there, but to money itself being dearer, and to gold, which has, moreover, peculiar facilities for being converted into money, being so much easier of transport than silver. To illustrate my meaning, the banker who last February got up 5,000 sovereigns from Bombay to Umritsur, did so, not because those sovereigns were worth more rupees in Umritsur than in Bombay, but because the rupees, they were worth in Umritsur, were of greater value to him than the same, or even a little larger, number of rupees in Bombay. I mention this because I think you talked of the sovereign being dearer here than in Calcutta and Bombay. On some occasions, indeed, the sovereign, with all other gold coins, acquires quite a fictitious value. I was told that, when Lord Canning was up here, gold coins were in so great demand for nuzzurs, &c., that the sovereign rose even beyond Rs. 10. 8, but of course this was purely temporary; and immediately the durbars, &c., were over, the sovereign went down very low.

It is difficult to say what the precise effect of the introduction of the sovereign, as a legal tender, will be in the Punjab. It is, however, I think, certain that if the plan be successful in the Presidency cities of Calcutta and Bombay, it cannot fail to succeed up here. I mean, that if you succeed in establishing a large gold currency in those cities, the drain of gold up to these parts will, in a very great measure, supplant the drain of silver that has been taking place during the last few years. (The Government alone has been importing into the Punjab more than 50 lakhs of rupees, 500,000 *l.* worth of silver per annum, and this in addition to immense importations by private parties.) Even now, although there is no gold coin a legal tender, the convenience of importing gold is so great, that large quantities are brought up, much more, I suspect, than the actual requirements for ornaments, &c., or, rather, I should say, were brought up three or four months ago; the demand for money up here has quite gone down, as you can see by the result of our sales of supply bills on Calcutta. In fact, the people themselves are establishing a gold currency; an inconvenient one, however, because its value fluctuates. The facilities for keeping and for carrying about gold coins are very great, and they are, therefore, very popular with all classes.

From *D. F. McLeod*, Esq., c.B., Financial Commissioner in the Punjab, to *Sir C. Trevelyan* ; dated Lahore, 24 May 1864.

I HAVE deferred replying to your letters until I could reply with some confidence in regard to the prospects of a gold currency if introduced here, and I now proceed to reply to your several queries, in the order in which you have asked them.

1st. Whether a gold currency, in addition to the existing silver one, would be acceptable? This is a question to which it is exceedingly difficult to elicit a satisfactory answer, as the ideas, even of the banking classes, are exceedingly hazy on the subject; and, in so far as I can penetrate their thoughts, they cannot realise the effects likely to spring from gold being declared a legal tender, at a fixed value with reference to the rupee. Assuredly, however, they evince at present no dislike or apprehension when the suggestion is made to them; but, on the contrary, seem rather to like the idea of gold becoming abundant, from whatever cause. They seem incredulous as to the possibility of the relative value of the two metals being maintained at an absolutely uniform rate by the fiat of authority, instancing, as proof to the contrary, the fact that, although we issue copper at the rate of 64 copper pice for the rupee, their money changers invariably realise batta, on giving change for a rupee, and the amount of this batta varies with the abundance, or otherwise, of copper current coin available in the market at the time. The same, they conceive, must take place, when change is given for a current gold coin, and they are probably not far wrong; but past experience does not lead them to anticipate that the fluctuations in relative values will ever be very great or permanent.

2dly. What form and value would be most suitable for the gold currency? They all unhesitatingly prefer the sovereign at 10 rupees; and half-sovereign at five rupees, both here and at Umritsur. The quarter-sovereign they do not seem to fancy much. Their reasons for the above preference are, that it is the coin now most familiar to them, being by far the most abundant, and almost the only one now employed systematically for equalising the exchange; and that, as their system of enumeration is by decimal progression, like our own, (though the fractional portions of the coins, weights, and measures are not so graduated), this value of coin will be more convenient than any other. It is also a handy and hardy description of coin, the merits of which, in this respect, they appreciate.

I will now proceed to enumerate the several kinds of gold coin now circulating in the Punjab. There are some varieties, of old coins chiefly, procurable to some extent, but so comparatively rare, that they need not be taken into account.

Serial Number.	Popular Name.	Weight in Tolas, Mashas, and Ruttees.	Present Value.	Alloy in Ruttees (1.96) per Tola.	REMARKS.
		<i>T. M. R.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		
1	Bokhara Tila (old)	0 4 4	5 6 -	5 Ruttees	These coins are imported exclusively by Cabool merchants to an average extent of 10,000 to 20,000 pieces per annum, or upwards; the new description being now the most abundant. These coins used formerly to be largely melted down, but this is not now the case. Some are probably hoarded, but the greater number are said to be sent from hence towards Mooltan, whence it is believed that they largely find their way back to Cabool.
2	Bokhara Tila (new)	0 4 4½	6 7 -	4 Ruttees	
3	Babookhani Tila -	?	4 12 -	?	This coin is mentioned by Mr. Melvill as a Persian coin, but was not mentioned by my informants. The entire yearly import appears not to exceed 1,000 or 2,000. There is also a Kokani Tila, equally rare.
4	Bûlkhi (old)	0 3 4	5 8 - (if entire)	4 Ruttees	The import of these is now very inconsiderable. What is imported comes chiefly from Calcutta or Bombay; some are said to come from Shikarpoor, and some are brought into circulation from old hoards. They are chiefly valued for necklaces, and realise Rs. 19.4 per tola, being much above their intrinsic value, but are usually so much cut about, that they usually sell by weight, and not by the piece. Much of what reaches Lahore is said to go on to Jummoo, where the Maharajah is believed largely to hoard them.
5	Bûlkhi (new)	0 3 4	5 2 - (if entire)	6 Ruttees	
6	Russian Mohur?	0 6 4	8 4 -	9½ Ruttees	Mr. Melvill speaks also of an Austrian Bûlkhi, but what this may be I am not aware. This, like the Tilas, is introduced exclusively by Cabool traders, to the extent of 5,000 to 10,000 per annum; though, of late, it has come in to a smaller extent than heretofore. The whole of what is brought is said to be melted down, as the large quantity of alloy in this and the other European coins depreciates it in general estimation in comparison with the rest, and below its intrinsic value. Some information in regard to the gold coins imported from Cabool and the countries beyond will be found in Appendix, No. 1, to Mr. Davies' Report on the trade with countries beyond our North-Western Frontier, where, it is said, that two lakhs of rupees' worth of Butkies or Venetian ducats are expected yearly into Hindoostan; but I fancy the above coin and the Bokhara Tilas are really intended, and not the Bûlkhi, which, now, at all events, appears never to be imported from that quarter unless what is said to come from Shikarpoor may be so considered.

* 8 Ruttees = 1 Masha. 12 Mashas = 1 Tola.

Serial Number.	Popular Name.	Weight in* Tolas, Mashas, and Ruttees.	Present Value.	Alloy in Ruttees (1.96) per Tola.	REMARKS.
7	Old Kaldar Mohur or Asharfee.	T. M. R. 1 0 3	Rs. a. p. 20 4 -	Pure -	This is exclusively used for necklaces, &c., and so much valued for this purpose that it sells for Rs. 2. 12 above its intrinsic value. Being no longer coined, it is more than ever appreciated, and it is said that 2,000 or 3,000 are brought and sold annually in Lahore and Umritsur. Besides the foregoing old gold mohur, Mr. Melvill enumerates in his list (9), the Mahomed Shāhi or Delhi Mohur (No. 9), the Nanak Shāhi or Seikh Mohur (11), Lucknow Mohur (12), and Runjit Singh's Mohur (13); others might be named, but they are so comparatively unfrequent that they need not be specially noticed. In Runjit Singh's time large quantities of these were introduced, their great purity securing for them high estimation; and moneyed men used largely to send gold to Jeypore to be coined. It is now only brought in by travellers, or when the balance of trade with Jeypore is much against Lahore. Probably 2,000 or 3,000 pieces on an average may be bought and sold during the year.
8	Jeypore Mohur	0 10 7	16 - -	½ Ruttee	
9	British Indian Mohur.	0 11 5½	15 3 -	9½ Ruttees	This is largely melted down, so long as the price does not rise above 15 rupees. The amount imported depends mainly on the state of exchange, but does not ordinarily exceed 2,000 or 3,000 per annum. It is imported chiefly from Calcutta. The new and old issues are alike in value, &c. These are now by far the most largely imported gold coins, and, like all the European varieties, the large quantity of alloy depreciates them in popular estimation, so that their market is less than their intrinsic value, and they are in consequence largely melted down for ornaments, &c. The quantity imported depends almost entirely on the state of exchange, which reacts on its selling value. When Government is selling its bills at 1½ or 2 per cent. discount, sovereigns, specially those of Australia, and half-sovereigns, are largely imported. Of late the exchange has been at par, and their import has entirely ceased. It is now rising, and as their selling price in Calcutta is said to be Rs. 10. 1. 6, while here it is Rs. 10. 3, they will flow in rapidly. In the cold weather their value falls to 10 rupees, and at times it rises to Rs. 10. 4. At least 10 lakhs of rupees' worth are said to be imported on an average during the year, and they are pretty widely disseminated through the Province.
10	British Sovereign	0 8 0	10 3 -	9¼ Ruttees	
	Australian Sovereign.	0 8 0	10 3 -	9½ Ruttees	

* 8 Ruttees = 1 Masha. 12 Mashas = 1 Tola.

Besides gold coins, gold is imported in the several forms of gold dust, thin sheets, nuggets, and bars or bricks.

Of the former, or gold dust, Mr. Davies (*vide supra*) says, that 1,30,000 rupees' worth is imported annually from the mountainous parts of Tartary and the banks of the Oxus. The small quantity is produced in the Punjab, and large quantities are doubtless imported from Australia and other countries.

Of gold plates, those stamped No. 100 contain 1.96 of alloy, those marked No. 90, 1.24; and some 20,000 or 30,000 tolas weight per annum are said to have been imported of late years, though recently their import has fallen off.

The quantity of gold in nuggets and bars annually imported I have not ascertained, but the import of all these is from Calcutta, and dependent on the state of exchange. While Mr. Melvill's list of gold coins bought and sold during the year shows an aggregate value of 17,14,930 rupees, my informants at Lahore assure me that the yearly value of gold in all shapes, bought and sold at Lahore and Umritsur, amounts to two lakhs of tolas, or 34,00,000 rupees in value.

The average selling price of gold seems to be from Rs. 17. 2 to Rs. 17. 4 per tola, and, in the long run, it appears to have always kept pretty steadily at this, although it is always subject to periodical rise and fall, and to more considerable fluctuations when special disturbing causes occur.

In the cold weather, owing to large importations from Cabool and elsewhere, it always falls. Thus last year it fell as low as Rs. 16. 12.

During Holkar's invasion in 1862 Sumbut, it is said that all his expenditure was carried on in gold, and it fell in consequence to Rs. 14. 6 per tola. In Maharajah Shere Singh's time, the desire for hoarding raised its value to Rs. 18. 8. After annexation, when Government sold off the gold collected in the Durbar Toshakhanah, the value of gold fell to 16 rupees. In the great famine of 1840, its value is said to have risen to 20 rupees per tola, and to have been largely conveyed to Jummo in exchange for grain.

During the Governor General's visit in 1860, when nuzzurs were in demand, the old Kaldar Ashrafee is said to have sold for 24 rupees.

The conclusion which I draw from the foregoing is that, with the exception of what is brought into the Punjab or Sindh from Cabool, which is brought by the Lohani and other merchants, as being the most portable article available, all the gold which finds its way into

the Province is brought to equalise the balance of exchange, being procured by bankers with the utmost facility and confidence by Dawk Banghy parcels, showing how much more available our cash balances would be if a gold currency were introduced, and how greatly the general adoption of a paper currency would be facilitated.

I gather, too, that, in the long run, the relative value of gold, as compared with silver, has continued surprisingly uniform—no sensible deterioration having resulted from the large importations now taking place from Australia. I have no doubt whatever that a much larger quantity of gold is used for making up jewels than formerly, but much less is hoarded.

I have not sent you specimens of any of the foregoing coins, as I think it probable that most of them you will be quite indifferent about seeing. If, however, you will mention which of them you would like to see, they shall be immediately sent.

In the meantime I send you one of Mûlrâj's gold rupees, which you particularly wished for. It was some time before I succeeded in getting it, as they are now very rare. He had in Multan some 40 lakhs of rupees hoarded in gold, and, being short of cash wherewith to pay his troops, he is said to have coined the whole into these pieces, which passed for one rupee. On one side, the legend is Sat-Gûr-Sabai, and on the other an emblem which I suppose is intended for a spearhead, with the Sumbut year 1905 above it, and a legend below, which reads like Sûndar Kâl.

On receiving your letter, I wrote to Mr. Melvill, the Commissioner at Umritsur, which is our great commercial mart, to make inquiries for me, and report the result, while I made others independently here. I annex, in original, the memorandum and list which he has sent me, which contain more details than I have given you before.

MEMORANDUM on Gold Currency, by *P. S. Melvill*, Esq., Commissioner at Umritsur; dated 20 May 1864.

I CONVENED about a dozen of the best-informed merchants and shroffs of Umritsur on the 19th instant, and made inquiries from them regarding the introduction of a gold currency in addition to the silver currency.

2. They were decidedly in favour of the measure, provided it was introduced generally. The bases of the measure must, I told them, be—

1st. That Government would take payment in either coin, at the option of the payer; the Government, when in the position of payer, exercising the like option.

2d. That gold would be a legal tender equally with silver, at the option of the payer.

3. As to the form of the gold coinage, it was immediately decided that the sovereign was in every respect the most desirable, whether as regards its sterling value, or as regards its exchange value. It was also thought, without hesitation, that the sovereign should be a legal tender for 10 rupees. Half and quarter-sovereigns were also thought necessary; but the quarter sovereign was evidently named in an uncertain way, under the idea that, if Government chose to coin it, they might as well have it.

4. A statement of the gold coinage at present in the market is annexed. From this it appears that sovereigns, to the value of a lakh of rupees, are imported into Umritsur each month from Calcutta; and that the total value of the gold coins brought to the Umritsur market yearly is 17,14,930 rupees. (*See Paper of Calculations appended.*)

5. This value is about four times what it was in the Seikh time, and is to be attributed to the general increase of trade; the demand for gold having increased with the demand for commodities generally.

6. The tables, however, have been completely turned against Cabool, whence the mass of gold was procured in the Seikh times. The facilities of communication with Calcutta and Bombay, which are freely supplied from Europe and Australia, have given the precedence to those markets in the supply of gold.

7. The general demand for gold which is now ascribed to the zemindars is a very satisfactory proof of the progress of the country in wealth.

8. No doubt that the greater freedom with which jewels and prosperity are now openly displayed has a good deal to do with the augmented desire for gold, apart from the advance of the people in material wealth.

9. It would appear that, in the event of a double currency being established, a large quantity of silver will be brought to the surface in lieu of the gold that will be hoarded. Facilities will also be offered to trade, which at present, so far as I can learn, derives no assistance whatever from the presence of gold. In other words, gold is nowhere used in the Punjab as a medium of exchange.

10. The evils of a double currency being a single standard value, are not likely to be seriously felt in this country, so long as the universal love of hoarding and ornaments continues, provided only that the sovereign be declared a legal tender for 10 rupees. Exchange operations would, of course, be carried on as at present, subject to the fluctuations of the market,

market, the holder of silver desirous to change it for gold, being obliged to meet the requirements of the holder of gold, and *vice versa*. The demand for the precious metals is likely to continue for some time to meet the balance of trade in favour of India. The most acceptable form is that of money; and it would appear that the sovereign will be taken as readily as the rupee, provided it has a fixed value assigned to it as a legal tender.

STATEMENT of Gold Coins in the Umritsur Market; dated 20 May 1864.

1. *Sovereign*.—STERLING value, 10 rupees; average selling price, 10 rupees; monthly import from Calcutta direct, 10,000 sovereigns, received by mail cart by daily packages. The sovereigns have been imported at this rate for the last four or five years; merchants import them and sell them to shroffs, who pay for them after 11 days from time of purchase. The merchants pay for them by Government Bills or Hoondees on Calcutta. The shroffs distribute the largest proportion to different towns, as Lahore, Wuzeerabad, Sealkote, and the like, and a large quantity is taken to Jummoo. The chief use made of the sovereign is for conversion into bullion, for ornaments, and wire for working. The zemindars in villages are large purchasers for the former object. The sovereign is also used extensively for hoarding; silver coin being exhumed in favour of the more easily kept gold coin. The Jummoo and Cashmere purchasers require it for wire-drawing principally. The Australian sovereign is imported as well as the English sovereign. No discrimination is exercised between them. Occasionally sovereigns are sent to Peshawur from Umritsur, but this only occurs when there is a lull in the flow of gold coins from Cabool.

2. *Bokhara Tilla*.—Sterling and selling value, Rs. 6. 8; monthly importation into Umritsur, 2,000 coins from Peshawur. This and the Russian piece (No. 3), and the Babookhane mohur, are brought to the Peshawur market by the Cabool merchants, who have received them in payment for merchandise sold to the people of Bokhara and Persia. At Peshawur they sell them and procure Hoondees on Bombay, Calcutta, and other places. Some merchants carry the gold coins about with them in India, selling them at various places; but this is the exception. The Peshawur shroffs dispose of them partly by local sale for conversion into ornaments and for hoarding, and partly by transfer to Umritsur. The gold of the Bokhara Tilla is very pure, being next to the Jeypore mohur in this respect, and superior to the sovereign.

3. *Russian Gold Coin*.—(Name unknown, called "Roossee" by the Natives.) Sterling value, Rs. 8. 6; present selling price, Rs. 8. 6; monthly import into Umritsur, 1,000 coins from Peshawur; contains a great deal of alloy. These coins are disposed of all over the country, almost entirely for conversion into ornaments after being melted, and after the removal of the alloy. (See preceding remarks.)

4. *Bootkee*.—(Belgium Coin.) (A.) Large. — Sterling value, 5 rupees; selling price, Rs. 5. 10; monthly import, 1,000 coins. This coin is chiefly brought out from old hoards. It was much approved in the Seikh time by chiefs for hoarding, and it is from their treasures that they now find their way into the market. They are not much melted, but are extensively used for ornaments, such as necklaces, &c.; the design being much approved. The principal purchasers are zemindars.

(B.) Small.—Monthly import, 200; sterling value, Rs. 4. 14; selling price, five rupees; used as above, but not so much approved of.

5. *Jeypore Mohur*.—Sterling value, Rs. 15. 8; selling price, 16 rupees; monthly import from Jepore, 500 coins. Is the purest coin of all, and varies but little in price at different places. Is extensively used by travellers, particularly sepoys on their journeys, and is also much converted into ornaments, after melting, by zemindars.

6. *British Indian Mohur*.—Sterling value, 15 rupees; average selling price, 15 rupees; monthly import from Calcutta, 200 coins. Is bought chiefly by zemindars, who get their money's worth in sterling gold, and is generally melted.

7. *Babookhane Tilla*.—Sterling value, Rs. 4. 12; selling price, Rs. 4. 12; monthly import from Peshawur, 200 coins. Is a Persian coin. (See remarks under No. 2.)

8. *Austrian Bootkee*.—(Name unknown.) Sterling value, five rupees, and sells for the same; monthly import, 100 coins from Calcutta. Is suspended as an ornament, and is not melted.

9. *Mohur Mahomed Shahee*.—Sterling value, Rs. 15. 8; sells at Rs. 15. 14; monthly import, 50 coins; chiefly procured from old hoards, and is bought by travellers.

10. *Farukhabadee Mohur*. (A.) Old.—Sterling value, 18 rupees; sells for 20 rupees; being much approved of for pendant ornaments. Monthly importations, 50 coins.

(B.) New.—Sterling value, 18 rupees; sells at the same; monthly import, 10 or 20; used for ornaments.

11. *Nanukshahee Mohur*.—Sterling and selling value, 14 rupees; 10 or 20 coins find their way into the market each month. This is an "Ushrufee," and as such is available for presents

presents at marriages, and for payment of dowry. Being cheap, it is sought after for this purpose. Is not melted for ornaments.

12. *Lucknow Mohur*.—Sterling and selling value, *Rs.* 16. 8; 10 or 20 are brought into the market each month. The gold is good, and it is converted into ornaments.

13. *Runjeet Singh's Mohur*.—Sterling and selling value, 16 rupees; is very rare.

(signed) P. S. Melvill.

MEMORANDUM OF CALCULATIONS.

1. Sovereign - - - -	10,000 × 10	= 1,00,000	× 12	= 12,00,000
2. Bokhara Tilla - - - -	2,000 × 6. 8	= 13,000	× 12	= 1,56,000
3. Russian Gold Coin - - - -	1,000 × 8. 6	= 8,375	× 12	= 1,00,500
4. A. Bootkee, Belgium Coin - - - -	1,000 × 5. 10	= 5,625	× 12	= 67,000
B. Ditto ditto - - - -	200 × 5	= 1,000	× 12	= 12,000
5. Jeypore Mohur - - - -	500 × 16	= 8,000	× 12	= 96,000
6. British Indian Mohur - - - -	200 × 15	= 3,000	× 12	= 36,000
7. Babookhanee Tilla - - - -	200 × 4. 12	= 950	× 12	= 11,400
8. Austrian Bootkee - - - -	100 × 5	= 500	× 12	= 6,000
9. Mohur Mahomed Shahee - - - -	50 × 15. 8	= 775	× 12	= 9,300
10. (A.) Old Furruckabadee Mohur - - - -	50 × 20	= 1,000	× 12	= 12,000
(B.) New - ditto - - - -	15 × 18	= 270	× 12	= 3,240
11. Nanukshahee Mohur - - - -	15 × 14	= 210	× 12	= 2,520
12. Lucknow Mohur - - - -	15 × 16. 8	= 247-8	× 12	= 2,970
TOTAL - - - -		15,345	TOTAL - - - -	17,14,930

20 May 1864.

(signed) P. S. Melvill.

EXTRACT from a Letter from the Kurrachee Manager of the Sindh, Punjab, and Delhi Bank Corporation, Limited, to the Managing Director in India (dated 2 June 1864).

"GOLD currency has existed in Cutch for the last seven years. The coin is called 'Koree,' and is of the value of *Rs.* 6. 12 to seven rupees. Cotton farmers take back the proceeds of their cotton from the ports of shipment in this currency, and it is sold by them to dealers in gold. Much of the gold coin has disappeared, some is supposed to have been melted, but the bulk to be buried and hoarded."

MEMORANDUM.

My opinion is, that the introduction of a gold coinage, confined to the English London Mint sovereigns and half-sovereigns, would be a highly beneficial and economical measure for British Burmah. When an Act of Parliament shall have been obtained, making the Australian sovereign, struck at the Sydney Mint, and which is of precisely the same assay as the London sovereign, a legal tender, then the Australian coin can be received into British Burmah at the same value as the other, but not otherwise, for at present the Australian sovereigns seldom sell for more than two annas each premium, while London sovereigns have gone up occasionally as high as 11 rupees each, and usually hold a premium in this market of eight annas each, except when a large number is thrown suddenly on the market, as is sometimes the case during the height of the rice export season, when many ships from Europe are here together; even then, they seldom or never fall below a premium

premium of four annas per sovereign. Such I know to have been the state of things from 1857 until now.

I would on no account introduce any other gold coins than the sovereign; others are unknown to the Shans and Burmese, who buy our manufactured goods, and I think it would in every way be preferable to introduce the English (and at the proper time the Australian) sovereigns only, rather than gold mohurs or any other gold coins that might be struck at the Calcutta Mint.

There can be but little doubt, I think, that the effect of introducing a gold currency, limited as I have before said, would be to release much, if not all, of the hoarded and buried silver throughout British Burmah; by sovereigns being made a legal tender for all sums in excess of 10 rupees, those who bring down large quantities of rice would be enabled, in a small compass, and about their persons, to take back the realizations of their sales more easily than in rupees.

The effect upon trade generally, I conceive, would be decidedly beneficial in every way; I think it would partially check the improvidence of the Burmah, who thinks little of 10 or 12 rupees for many purposes, but who would reflect somewhat before he changed or parted with his golden coins.

I think, moreover, it would be a measure favourable to the country, so far as its exchange operations are concerned, and by increasing the circulating medium, would ease mercantile operations generally at every busy and pressing season of the year.

To Europeans there can be no question that it will be a benefit. They, too, will reflect a little before parting with a sovereign or the half in gold, and as assuredly as the establishment of one or two banks has done much for Rangoon, so do I believe that all such imperceptible yet real pressures to economy, as are to be found in the drawing of a cheque,—inducing, as I say, economy,—will be beneficial to all classes of the community. I submit my views with the utmost deference, as the subject is one on which I write rather as a practical man in the business of life than as a Political Economist, to which science I have given no sufficient study.

(signed) *Donald Macleod.*

Rangoon, 20 June 1864.

MEMORANDUM.

THE question as to whether a gold currency is desirable for India generally has been so fully discussed in the Presidency Towns, and the affirmative so well sustained, that it is not necessary to re-open that question here. Suffice it to say that British Burmah is no exception to India generally in this matter, and the introduction of a gold currency is highly desirable. This being admitted, I have no hesitation in saying that I consider the English sovereign the most suitable coin that could be introduced. In the first place, its appearance and intrinsic value are already well known to the community (who buy great numbers of them to convert into jewellery), and has therefore great advantages, or, at all events, is free from the disadvantages which attend the introduction, in a country like this, of a new and unknown coin. In the second place, its intrinsic value is considered here as a trifle over 10 rupees, and I have no doubt when made a legal tender for that amount, it would be readily accepted, not only for currency purposes, or for conversion as above mentioned, but its comparative smallness of bulk and extreme portability, would render it more highly prized than silver coin for hoarding, or conveying from place to place. In this way there can be no doubt it would set free much of the silver coin which has disappeared in past years, and which is doubtless stored away by the cultivators and others in the interior. The boon to commerce would be very great, for not only would it increase the circulating medium, but as the trade of the country is carried on entirely now by means of hard rupees, and must, for many years yet to come, be carried on by means of the precious metals, to make the sovereign a legal tender would be to substitute a light and valuable medium in place of a ponderous and unwieldy one,—a change the full value of which can only be fully appreciated by those who come daily in contact with the trouble and inconvenience connected with a silver currency.

(signed) *J. C. Todd.*

Rangoon, 27 June 1864.

APPENDIX, No. 2.

Value of the Imports of Merchandise and Treasure into the several Presidencies of British India from the United Kingdom and other Countries in each Year, from 1847-48 to 1863-64.

Value of the Exports of Merchandise and Treasure from the several Presidencies of British India to the United Kingdom and other Countries in each Year, from 1847-48 to 1863-64.

Year.	Merchandise.	Treasure.	GRAND TOTAL.	Merchandise.	Treasure.	GRAND TOTAL.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1847-48 - -	8,59,76,170	1,97,33,914	10,57,10,084	13,31,23,970	1,42,60,380	14,73,84,350
1848-49 - -	8,34,48,042	4,20,45,033	12,54,93,075	16,08,85,018	2,53,97,425	18,62,82,443
1849-50 - -	10,29,98,886	3,39,68,074	13,69,66,960	17,31,22,993	97,12,441	18,28,35,434
1850-51 - -	11,55,87,888	3,81,18,088	15,37,05,976	18,16,41,496	54,12,891	18,70,54,387
1851-52 - -	12,24,04,902	5,05,20,590	17,29,25,492	19,87,92,537	91,90,889	20,79,83,426
1852-53 - -	10,07,08,616	6,83,13,776	16,90,22,392	20,46,46,330	1,05,52,299	21,51,98,629
1853-54 - -	11,12,26,589	4,87,19,560	15,99,46,149	19,29,51,406	1,48,32,962	20,77,84,368
1854-55 - -	12,74,26,704	2,02,82,582	14,77,09,286	18,92,72,234	1,26,70,346	20,19,42,580
1855-56 - -	13,94,76,570	11,30,12,883	25,24,89,453	23,03,92,682	60,11,769	23,64,04,451
1856-57 - -	14,19,45,867	14,41,36,988	28,60,82,855	25,33,84,531	1,25,34,280	26,59,18,811
1857-58 - -	15,27,75,062	15,81,43,590	31,09,18,652	27,45,36,923	82,24,374	28,27,61,297
1858-59 - -	21,72,85,790	12,81,70,709	34,54,56,499	29,86,28,710	66,94,275	30,53,22,985
1859-60 - -	24,26,51,400	16,35,69,635	40,62,21,035	27,96,02,030	92,90,068	28,88,92,089
1860-61 - -	22,72,00,471	10,67,93,506	33,39,93,977	32,97,71,739	1,11,26,857	34,08,98,596
1861-62 - -	22,15,88,981	14,80,93,506	36,96,82,487	35,58,51,285	68,13,862	36,26,65,147
1862-63 - -	22,58,64,557	20,52,34,598	43,10,99,155	47,69,80,561	1,10,19,040	48,79,99,601
1863-64 - -	30,38,48,285	24,81,69,932	55,20,18,217	67,45,97,959	4,03,67,842	71,49,65,801

THE Details of the last Year, 1863-64, are as follows:—

I M P O R T S.					E X P O R T S.			
	Value of Merchandise.	TREASURE.			Value of Merchandise.	TREASURE.		
		Gold.	Silver.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Total.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
Bengal - -	9,64,57,219	2,97,93,198	3,32,76,970	15,35,27,387	18,48,18,060	5,99,212	1,78,95,137	20,33,12,409
Burmah - -	1,73,79,199	4,89,518	99,78,655	2,78,47,372	2,64,65,966	9,312	39,12,589	3,03,87,867
Madras - -	2,14,45,800	1,08,23,900	83,95,300	4,06,65,000	7,21,43,100	52,000	8,93,500	7,30,88,600
Bombay - -	16,46,55,132	5,30,86,926	10,83,07,813	32,60,49,871	38,32,44,903	30,56,590	1,39,01,902	40,02,03,395
Sinde - -	39,10,935	4,115	13,537	39,28,587	79,25,930	-	47,600	79,73,530
TOTAL - - -	30,38,48,285	8,81,97,657	15,99,72,275	55,20,18,217	67,45,97,959	37,17,114	3,66,50,728	71,49,65,801

With the exception of Burmah the preceding Returns relate only to the Foreign Trade of India. Those which follow include, for the most part, also the interportal or Coasting Trade.

No. 2 A.

STATEMENT, in Rupees, of the Imports and Exports of Merchandise and Treasure of the Bengal Presidency from 1860-61 to 1863-64.

I M P O R T S.					E X P O R T S.			
YEAR.	Value of Merchandise.	TREASURE.			Value of Merchandise.	TREASURE.		
		Gold.	Silver.	TOTAL.		Gold.	Silver.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1860-61 - -	12,68,06,714	1,58,08,533	2,74,87,941	4,32,96,474	14,85,97,352	15,17,937	1,65,13,610	1,80,31,547
1861-62 - -	11,28,80,064	1,79,96,828	3,83,10,352	5,63,07,180	15,46,08,553	13,48,827	89,13,009	1,02,61,836
1862-63 - -	11,41,46,185	2,01,01,273	3,02,85,235	5,03,86,508	18,27,08,727	15,61,982	1,18,01,459	1,33,63,441
1863-64 - -	10,87,33,001	2,62,20,957	3,66,72,414	6,28,93,371	22,71,33,744	19,37,825	2,95,11,140	3,14,48,965

Calcutta Custom House, }
23 May 1864.

J. A. Crawford,
Collector of Customs.

No. 2 B.

RETURN of the Exports and Imports of Merchandise and Treasure of the Madras Presidency.

I M P O R T S.				E X P O R T S.		
	Value of Merchandise.	TREASURE.		Value of Merchandise.	TREASURE.	
		Silver.	Gold.		Silver.	Gold.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1860-61 -	3,16,55,812	1,33,02,362	74,23,525	4,45,98,338	59,43,935	19,435
1861-62 -	3,44,94,149	1,28,44,799	94,41,101	5,42,92,250	35,38,250	1,20,236
1862-63 -	3,03,30,148	1,83,53,243*	1,20,33,647	6,35,58,990	55,08,415†	1,42,136
1863-64 -	^A 4,02,65,192	^B 2,26,20,699	1,31,62,752	^C 8,77,77,118	^D 2,17,01,186	3,42,098

	<i>Rs.</i>
* Private Treasure - -	1,32,50,410
Government Treasure - -	51,02,833
TOTAL - -	<u>Rs. 1,83,53,243</u>

	<i>Rs.</i>
† Private Treasure - -	25,08,415
Government Treasure - -	30,00,000
TOTAL - -	<u>Rs. 55,08,415</u>

	<i>Rs.</i>
A Includes Government Stores, &c.	17,46,920
B Private Treasure - -	1,86,20,699
Government Treasure - -	40,00,000
TOTAL - -	<u>Rs. 2,26,20,699</u>

	<i>Rs.</i>
c Includes Government Stores, &c.	49,781
D Private Treasure - -	59,98,186
Government Treasure - -	1,57,03,000
TOTAL - -	<u>Rs. 2,17,01,186</u>

No. 2 c.

STATEMENT of Imports and Exports of Merchandise and Treasure of the Bombay Presidency,
from 1860-61 to 1863-64.

		IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
		Value of Merchandise.	Treasure, i.e., Coin and Bullion.		Value of Merchandise.	Treasure, i.e., Coin and Bullion.	
			Silver.	Gold.		Silver.	Gold.
		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1860-61	- -	12,32,47,119	3,88,60,999	2,50,32,294	18,46,52,390	1,09,39,324	25,45,152
1861-62	- -	12,46,13,327	6,64,76,313	2,85,49,425	19,83,24,526	1,32,51,528	37,18,424
1862-63	- -	15,14,53,917	9,99,24,515	4,02,41,498	27,86,98,601	2,11,60,250	41,20,165
1863-64	- -	19,47,62,591	11,78,23,362	5,31,16,726	39,54,71,058	1,64,78,469	40,43,683

P.S.—This includes the whole foreign trade of the Presidency, along with the trade between the latter and other Indian Presidencies, excluding, however, the interportal trade of the Bombay Presidency, and the entire trade of Sind.

Camp Matheram;
Office of the Commissioner of Customs, }
12 May 1864.

G. Inverarity,
Commissioner of Customs.

No. 2 d.

ABSTRACT RETURN showing Value of Imports into and Exports from the undermentioned Sea Ports of
British Burmah for the Four Years ending 1863-64.

Name of Custom House.	Years.	IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.			REMARKS.	
		Merchandise.	Treasure.		Merchandise.	Treasure.			
			Value.	Gold Value.		Silver Value.	Value.		Gold Value.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
RANGOON	{	1860-61	1,11,10,823	1,06,750	20,14,054	60,38,073	18,400	17,73,808	
		1861-62	1,06,81,375	2,35,568	31,09,814	86,48,249	6,900	37,32,534	
		1862-63	1,10,12,370	1,79,636	34,76,770	1,05,67,139	-	27,38,097	
		1863-64	1,09,28,308	3,23,340	56,49,387	1,46,75,070	3,200	26,65,167	
BASSERIN	{	1860-61	1,90,762	-	97,909	6,33,744	-	-	
		1861-62	2,08,884	-	96,700	10,72,970	-	-	
		1862-63	1,64,800	-	3,44,000	11,39,528	-	-	
		1863-64	1,33,276	-	1,56,487	12,11,880	-	-	
MAULMAIN	{	1860-61	33,80,714	1,80,386	17,41,241	43,36,397	-	1,27,019	The entries for the Port of Akyab have been made in the Office of the Commissioner of Arrakan.
		1861-62	37,97,452	2,43,132	41,95,903	76,99,667	-	1,13,313	
		1862-63	34,23,279	2,26,784	18,86,177	60,64,901	-	76,348	
		1863-64	33,32,070	1,66,178	13,86,181	53,22,962	6,000	90,276	
AKYAB	{	1860-61	9,86,754	29,515	19,00,400	47,98,275	-	2,02,893	R. D. Ardagh, Offg. Commr. of Arrakan. Akyab, } 2 June 1864. }
		1861-62	30,82,290	12,900	25,32,305	41,05,919	-	4,95,612	
		1862-63	29,57,129	30,590	21,84,625	44,71,502	5,000	5,42,134	
		1863-64	29,85,545	-	27,86,800	52,56,054	112	11,57,143	

Rangoon,
28 May 1864. }

H. N. Davies,
Secy. to Chief Commr. of British Burmah,
and Agent to the Govr. Genl.

STATEMENT of the Silver Bullion Received, Coined, and remaining Uncoined in the Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay Mints, from May 1862 to April 1864.

MONTHS.	Silver Bullion Received in each Month.	Amount Coined in each Month.	TOTAL Remaining Uncoined.	MONTHS.	Silver Bullion Received in each Month.	Amount Coined in each Month.	TOTAL Remaining Uncoined.
1862:	£.	£.	£.		£.	£.	£.
May - -	1,111,066	791,056	3,264,781	June - -	61,688	1,318,959	2,771,295
June - -	479,376	703,911	2,886,232	July - -	628,694	1,170,670	1,852,835
July - -	279,637	955,947	2,094,756	August - -	37,309	705,289	1,184,809
August -	160,879	784,501	1,427,293	September -	31,586	483,798	887,720
September -	142,976	759,228	1,187,615	October -	476,428	372,890	1,264,318
October -	1,030,353	463,253	1,431,874	November -	992,973	347,162	2,282,649
November -	441,178	378,031	1,473,165	December -	1,140,821	824,588	2,292,328
December -	1,182,627	503,707	3,605,894				
1863:				1864:			
January -	2,500,031	777,029	4,808,093	January -	1,750,847	1,248,111	2,513,951
February -	1,519,779	806,435	5,307,521	February -	970,752	1,137,948	2,828,849
March -	1,702,663	1,188,446	5,584,533	March -	2,087,428	1,335,563	3,978,077
April -	862,672	1,139,932	4,546,296	April -	1,378,841	1,707,144	3,562,255
May -	186,468	827,559	3,653,380	TOTAL - £.	21,157,072	20,731,157	66,650,519

No. 3 A.

STATEMENT of Silver Bullion Received, Coined, and remaining Uncoined in the Calcutta Mint, from May 1862 to April 1864.

		Silver Bullion Received in each Month, Value Rupees.	Amount Coined in each Month, Value Rupees.		The Balance remaining Uncoined at the end of each Month divided into											
					Bullion belonging to Merchants, Declared Value, Rupees.			Bullion belonging to Government, Value Rupees.			Bullion belonging to the Currency Department, Value Rupees.			TOTAL Remaining Uncoined, Rupees.		
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		
May 1862	-	32,54,212 9 1	30,40,378 10 -	-	9,85,514 - -	-	83,37,991 9 9	-	-	-	-	-	93,23,505 9 9			
June "	-	24,01,489 2 7	21,27,967 10 -	-	15,29,611 5 -	-	86,18,842 6 11	-	-	-	-	-	1,01,48,453 11 11			
July "	-	25,14,065 15 2	39,61,642 - -	-	12,117 7 -	-	71,65,156 - 8	-	-	-	-	-	71,77,273 7 8			
August "	-	5,12,900 8 1	39,61,142 10 -	-	90 14 -	-	46,19,996 6 10	-	-	-	-	-	46,14,087 4 10			
Sept. "	-	7,53,616 7 6	23,94,000 6 -	-	2,94,885 14 -	-	29,71,927 9 3	-	-	-	-	-	32,66,813 7 3			
Oct. "	-	12,09,612 10 4	3,06,419 4 -	-	1,210 - -	-	38,77,796 8 7	-	-	-	-	-	38,79,006 8 7			
Nov. "	-	2,38,801 3 5	1,18,528 - -	-	- - -	-	40,00,860 9 8	-	-	-	-	-	40,00,860 9 8			
Dec. "	-	21,28,512 10 8	15,18,071 - -	-	2,45,617 5 -	-	46,10,276 6 10	-	-	-	-	-	48,55,893 11 10			
Jan. 1863	-	92,81,748 12 -	19,81,267 - -	-	5,75,608 12 -	-	1,19,17,067 1 10	-	-	-	-	-	1,24,92,675 13 10			
Feb. "	-	39,70,822 9 6	17,77,350 - -	-	11,24,100 15 -	-	1,41,24,073 6 11	-	-	-	-	-	1,52,48,174 15 3			
March "	-	28,21,456 7 2	31,72,802 8 -	-	5,87,189 15 -	-	1,37,72,032 - 3	-	-	-	-	-	1,43,59,221 15 3			
April "	-	9,82,310 - 8	16,54,956 - -	-	1,170 12 -	-	1,30,92,451 7 6	-	-	-	-	-	1,30,93,622 3 6			
May "	-	695 14 4	21,74,028 - -	-	- - -	-	1,09,22,965 5 -	-	-	-	-	-	1,09,22,965 5 -			
June "	-	81,755 - 8	53,37,363 - -	-	- - -	-	56,53,818 14 10	-	-	-	-	-	56,53,818 14 10			
July "	-	4,04,549 7 8	34,04,158 8 -	-	233 12 -	-	27,35,462 2 4	-	-	-	-	-	27,35,695 14 4			
August "	-	44,042 2 3	712 8 -	-	- - -	-	27,76,739 13 9	-	-	-	-	-	27,76,739 13 9			
Sept. "	-	1,997 6 1	87,806 - -	-	- - -	-	26,89,281 10 9	-	-	-	-	-	26,89,281 10 9			
Oct. "	-	1,231 1 5	59,852 - -	-	- - -	-	26,30,671 6 11	-	-	-	-	-	26,30,671 6 11			
Nov. "	-	13,16,193 3 -	1,34,347 12 -	-	10,857 - -	-	38,12,278 13 -	-	-	-	-	-	38,23,135 13 -			
Dec. "	-	10,50,147 12 11	1,40,788 8 -	-	4,05,223 4 -	-	47,26,444 5 1	-	-	-	-	-	51,33,667 9 1			
Jan. 1864	-	28,74,006 12 11	32,78,811 - -	-	3,000 - -	-	43,20,174 - 1	-	-	-	-	-	43,23,174 - 1			
Feb. "	-	27,82,736 12 9	15,94,389 - -	-	6,544 11 -	-	55,13,142 1 6	-	-	-	-	-	55,19,686 12 6			
March "	-	1,11,55,109 15 -	34,67,906 8 -	-	14,61,529 3 -	-	1,32,08,052 10 3	-	-	-	-	-	1,46,29,581 13 3			
April "	-	42,47,025 6 6	62,99,986 8 -	-	1,61,588 15 6	-	81,52,439 12 3	30,00,000 - -	-	-	-	-	1,13,14,028 11 9			
TOTAL - Rs.		5,41,28,639 15 8	5,10,94,673 12 -	-	73,96,094 - 6	-	16,42,45,942 10 1	30,00,000 - -	-	-	-	-	17,46,42,036 10 7			

Calcutta Mint, }
17 May 1864. }

J. Bridgnell,
Accountant.

E. E. *H. Hyde,*
Mint Master.

No. 3 B.

STATEMENT of SILVER BULLION Received, Coined, and remaining Uncoined in the
Madras Mint from May 1862 to April 1864.

	Amount of Merchants' Bullion Received.	Amount of Public or Government Bullion Received.	Total Receipts.	Total Coinage.	Balance at the close of each Month, including Merchants' and Government Bullion.	
1862:	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	
Balance 1 May -	7,50,409	—	—	—	—	
31 May - -	2,59,498	2,041	2,61,539	1,72,184	8,43,738	The balance includes operative gain and loss in each month.
30 June - -	2,21,975	35,033	2,56,998	6,13,144	4,87,507	
31 July - -	2,81,604	226	2,81,830	3,82,900	3,86,212	
31 August - -	3,38,456	- -	3,38,456	4,83,000	2,41,727	
30 September -	4,33,815	7,008	4,40,823	2,98,283	3,84,213	No bullion has been received in the Currency Department.
31 October - -	5,79,118	- -	5,79,118	6,00,516	3,62,874	
30 November -	8,56,814	- -	8,56,814	3,35,000	8,91,427	
31 December -	7,95,869	714	7,96,583	8,19,000	8,69,015	
1863:						
31 January -	12,22,370	1,43,717	13,66,087	6,89,000	15,45,923	
28 February -	2,30,651	2,104	2,32,754	9,87,000	7,91,693	
31 March - -	3,67,793	50,04,497	53,72,290	8,08,000	53,58,964	
30 April - -	4,23,269	- -	4,23,269	5,44,367	52,42,383	
31 May - -	61,463	18,790	80,253	8,00,000	45,22,670	
30 June - -	2,45,589	1,028	2,46,617	11,50,352	36,18,914	
31 July - -	3,55,679	16,871	3,72,550	13,00,648	26,90,583	
31 August - -	2,19,595	25	2,19,620	12,50,386	16,59,541	
30 September -	47,918	669	48,587	8,38,614	8,69,737	
31 October - -	2,73,147	1,060	2,74,207	68,402	10,82,926	
30 November -	67,299	- -	67,299	3,30,000	8,14,243	
31 December -	77,470	- -	77,470	7,02,652	1,88,942	
1864:						
31 January -	3,01,455	40,52,132	43,53,587	17,00,000	28,42,731	
29 February -	26,662	- -	26,662	19,76,000	8,93,311	
31 March - -	18,42,581	- -	18,42,581	8,85,130	18,50,855	
30 April - -	4,86,312	1,514	4,87,826	17,68,518	5,70,276	

Fort St. George Mint, }
6 June 1863.

J. C. Carpendale,
Mint Master.

No. 3 c.

STATEMENT of the Amount in Rupees of Silver Bullion Received by and Coined in the *Bombay Mint*, Monthly, from the 1st May 1862 to the 30th April 1864, and of the Balance Uncoined at the close of each Month.

MONTHS.	The Total Amount of Silver Bullion Received in Each Month since the 1st of May 1862.	The Total Amount Coined in Each Month.	Approximate Amount of Bullion Belonging to Merchants in Course of Receipt.	Bullion belonging to Government.	Bullion belonging to the Currency Department.	Total remaining Uncoined.
1862:			I.	II.	III.	
May - - -	75,96,959	46,98,000	21,27,446	39,65,583	1,63,87,542	2,24,80,571
June - - -	21,70,299	42,98,000	941	40,11,159	1,42,14,265	1,82,26,365
July - - -	702	52,14,936	3,72,320	20,11,759	1,10,00,000	1,33,84,079
August - - -	7,57,396	43,00,877	-	64,758	93,52,367	94,17,125
September - - -	2,42,333	49,00,000	34,65,666	69,847	46,89,612	82,25,125
October - - -	85,14,800	37,25,602	5,28,211	2,48,658	93,00,000	1,00,76,869
November - - -	33,16,165	33,26,791	3,01,336	16,38,032	79,00,000	98,39,368
December - - -	89,01,182	27,00,000	1,45,94,827	78,39,214	79,00,000	3,03,84,041
1863:						
January - - -	1,43,52,478	51,00,030	90,50,673	1,40,91,661	1,09,00,000	3,40,42,334
February - - -	1,09,85,217	53,00,000	63,58,473	1,76,76,878	1,30,00,000	3,70,35,351
March - - -	88,32,887	79,03,658	45,21,041	1,86,06,017	1,30,00,000	3,61,27,148
April - - -	72,21,154	92,00,004	25,02,536	1,16,24,428	1,30,00,000	2,71,26,964
TOTAL - - Rs.	7,28,91,572	6,06,67,898	4,38,23,470	8,18,48,084	13,06,43,786	25,63,15,340
Monthly Average	60,74,297	50,55,658	36,51,955	68,20,673	1,08,86,982	2,13,59,611
1863:						
May - - -	17,63,736	53,01,571	-	80,88,174	1,30,00,000	2,10,88,174
June - - -	2,88,511	67,01,875	37,57,985	16,82,236	1,30,00,000	1,84,40,221
July - - -	54,19,846	70,01,895	-	1,02,082	1,30,00,000	1,31,02,082
August - - -	1,09,493	58,01,793	-	2,11,515	72,00,000	74,11,515
September - - -	2,65,278	39,11,566	15,51,964	66,218	37,00,000	53,18,182
October - - -	44,88,846	36,00,647	42,81,243	4,48,343	42,00,000	89,29,586
November - - -	85,46,244	30,01,273	76,57,064	3,32,087	1,02,00,000	1,81,89,151
December - - -	1,02,80,593	74,02,440	45,25,492	13,75,180	1,17,00,000	1,76,00,672
1864:						
January - - -	1,02,80,881	75,02,306	62,20,426	41,53,185	77,00,000	1,80,73,611
February - - -	68,98,123	78,09,092	1,09,30,786	32,44,715	77,00,000	2,18,75,501
March - - -	78,76,593	90,02,596	1,34,49,027	21,21,308	77,00,000	2,32,70,335
April - - -	90,52,965	90,02,943	1,38,63,978	21,74,273	77,00,000	2,37,38,251
TOTAL - - Rs.	6,52,71,049*	7,60,39,997	6,62,37,965	2,39,99,316	10,68,00,000	19,70,37,281
Monthly Average	54,39,254	63,36,666	55,19,830	19,99,943	89,00,000	1,64,19,773

* Besides this, Silver Bullion of the value of about 86 lakhs of rupees was withdrawn after tender at the Mint, doubtless for the purpose of being sent up the country, and Bullion of the value of about two lakhs of rupees was rejected as unfit for coinage.

Note.—The amount of "Bullion Received" represents the amount of Mint certificates granted *plus* Mint-duty, refining charges, &c. The amount "Tendered" in the three years from the 1st May 1861 to the 30th April 1864 was as follows:—

STATEMENT in Rupees of SILVER BULLION tendered for Coinage to the *Bombay Mint*, Monthly, from the 1st May 1861 to 30th April 1864.

YEARS.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	January.	February.	March.	April.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1861-62 - -	35,18,838	43,74,813	19,760	13,000	12,53,589	35,06,193	40,76,631	57,77,098	36,65,359	84,19,420	81,20,234	58,91,914	4,80,30,840
1862-63 - -	60,62,933	8,741	3,72,320	2,91,200	36,97,547	53,44,011	29,09,096	2,29,55,541	84,19,616	80,15,106	63,17,219	39,53,782	6,88,48,012
1863-64 - -	3,79,473	40,69,965	15,80,061	1,12,911	18,11,964	69,24,371	1,25,19,336	61,94,425	1,16,31,674	1,15,59,094	1,00,41,999	*40,00,000	7,08,35,293
TOTAL - -	99,61,244	84,53,539	19,82,141	4,17,111	67,63,100	1,57,75,475	1,95,05,063	3,40,27,061	2,37,16,649	2,79,93,020	2,49,79,452	1,38,45,696	18,83,20,154
Average - -	33,20,415	28,17,846	6,60,714	1,39,037	22,54,367	52,58,492	65,01,688	1,16,42,355	79,05,549	93,31,207	83,26,484	46,15,232	—

* Estimated.

25 May 1864.

S. D. Birch,
Deputy Auditor and Accountant General.

APPENDIX No. 4.

From Captain *H. Hyde, R.E.*, Master of the Calcutta Mint, to Sir *C. Trevelyan*; dated 7th June 1864.

I ENCLOSE you a copy of the proceedings of the Magistrate of Howrah in the case to which the statement you enclosed referred. You will see that no gold mohurs were found, though dies, of which I send you a *fac simile*, were.

I can give you all the information you require from two other cases that have come under my notice, and of which all the coining material was sent to the Mint.

In May 1861, the Commissioner of Police sent to the Mint 953½ counterfeit gold mohurs. These coins appear to have been counterfeits of new standard Sicca gold mohurs, and were nearly standard weight. The assay gain 4½ worse, and the intrinsic worth was 946. 7. 10. gold mohurs=*Rs.* 14,197. 5. 6.

In July 1863, the Commissioner of Police sent 162½ counterfeit gold coins, the assay of which was found to be six better. The coins appear to have been counterfeits of the old standard Sicca Gold Mohur, and were nearly standard weight; and their value was 179. 13. 5 gold mohurs, or *Rs.* 2,697. 9. 3.

The coiners stood to gain in their transactions, as follows:—

May 1861. 953½ counterfeit new Sd. S. G. M., assay *Rs.* a. p.
4½ W.=Co's. G. M. - - - 946 7 10 at 15=14,197 5 6
953½ genuine ditto, standard=ditto - 1,002 0 0 at 15=15,030 0 0

Gain to coiner - - - *Rs.* 832 10 6

But the market value of these G.M.=*Rs.* 17. ∴ 953½

at 17= - - - - - *Rs.* 16,205 4 0

D. D. standard value = - - - - - 15,030 0 0

Additional gain on enhanced price - - 1,175 4 0 = 1,175 4 0

TOTAL Gain - - - *Rs.* 2,007 14 6

July 1863. 162½ counterfeit old standard S. G. M.,

assay 6 B.=G. M. - - - 179 13 5 at 15=2,697 9 3

162½ genuine ditto, ditto - 7½=B. do. - 182 15 0 at 15=2,761 14 0

Gain to coiner - *Rs.* 64 4 9

But the market value of these G. M.=*Rs.* 20. ∴ 162½

at 20 = - - - - - 3,255 0 0

D. D. standard value - - - - - 2,761 14 0

Additional gain on enhanced price = - - 493 2 0 = *Rs.* 493 2 0

TOTAL Gain - - - *Rs.* 557 6 9

Thus

Thus showing a gain on the transaction of May 1861 of *Rs.* 2,007. 14. 6., and on that of July 1863 of *Rs.* 557. 6. 9., calculating the *tolah* of standard gold at 15 rupees; but if something more were paid, *i. e.*, market rate, the first transaction would only be affected to about 150 rupees, and the second to about 25 rupees.

I do not doubt but that Gold Mohurs of ancient date that bear fictitious value are constantly counterfeited in their full intrinsic value.

(The following is that part of the Proceedings of the Magistrate of Howrah, in the Suburbs of Calcutta, which relates to this subject.)

SOME short time afterwards, one of the constables observed the prisoner Sreedhur's wife moving in a manner which apparently excited their suspicions, and following her, found her hands covered with dust; on being charged with attempting to conceal something, she produced from behind some bricks in the wall four different dies, and a number of implements used for the purpose of sinking dies; all these dies are intended for coining mohurs. The evidence of the witness Ram Kisto, who states that he has worked for the prisoner Sreedhur for four years, appears to prove that the coining of mohurs was the business chiefly carried on by the prisoner.

From Captain *Tighe*, Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ambala, to Colonel Sir *Herbert Edwardes*, K.C.B.; dated 24th June 1864.

I MEANT before this to have reported officially on the Jugadree coining case, but the report was delayed owing to your kindly allowing me to stay up here a few days.

As, however, you will no doubt be besieged by numerous petitions from the parties concerned, it is right you should have a sketch of the proceedings as soon as possible.

About six months ago there was a squabble among the principal coiners of Jugadree, and one of the number gave certain imperfect information to the Tehseeldar, Burkut Ali, who told Parsons and myself. There appears to have been some suspicion among the parties concerned that all was not right, as for some time we could get no information of any more mohurs coined or sent away. On the 11th, however, Parsons received a message from the Tehseeldar, begging him to come to Jugadree. He went accordingly, unknown to any one, and posting sentries about, cleared the houses of the suspected parties in the morning, making a simultaneous search. The result of the search showed that the parties had been warned. In only one house were any of the alloyed mohurs found, and no dies were produced. We believe this information to have been given by one Deputy Inspector Sungut Sing to Daveechund, who, the night Parsons came in, made a precipitate retreat into Puttialah, hardly halting at Amballa. The Tehseeldar had, on sending for Parsons, received information of the despatch of a consignment of 163 mohurs to Simla, and arrangements were made to arrest the messenger. This was done at Kalka, and the mohurs found on the messenger; they were examined and all found alloyed.

Immediately on receiving Parsons's information, with a request that I myself would come to Jugadree also and conduct the investigation on the spot, I did so, and examined the witnesses and tools in presence of the accused.

The result of this examination shows clearly:

That for the last 10 years gold mohurs have been regularly manufactured at Jugadree by several different parties; that these mohurs are made to resemble the old Jeypore mohur of the years 8 to 13, but instead of being of the value of 16 rupees to *Rs.* 16. 2. are really worth little more than 14 rupees to *Rs.* 14. 8, the profit being divided thus:—

Goldsmith	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 annas fixed fee.
Coiner shroff	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	„ to 10 annas.
Utterer	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	„ to 10 „

There are four principal coiner shroffs at Jugadree—Zahiroo, Narayundás, Deen Dyal, and Adjoodhia; the three first are all under trial, the fourth is the original informer.

All these men have regular dealings with the more respectable bankers, to whom the coining is well known, and who accordingly buy mohurs from these men, for the purpose of uttering them principally in the hills.

Whilst the price of a real Jeypore mohur is from 16 rupees to 16 rupees 2 annas at Jugadree itself, they buy these alloyed mohurs for prices ranging from 15 rupees 3 annas to 15 rupees 12 annas, selling them for 16 rupees at Simla and Mussoorie, where there is a great demand, owing to the number of servants and men employed on the Thibet Road, who save their wages to purchase mohurs as more portable, and also to the hoarding propensities of the Hill Rajahs. I cannot yet calculate the exact amount coined; but Deen Dyal, one of the coiners, who has confessed with the hope of saving his sons, states that a profit of 4,000 rupees a month is easily made. This would give an out-turn of about

2,000 mohurs a month, but I doubt quite so many being coined; at the same time, I believe 1,000 may be calculated on.

These mohurs are principally made out of British sovereigns, technically called by the shroffs áthmáshás, and this is, I think, the most important feature of the case, as pointing to the absolute necessity of some Government gold coin.

Surely, if it is worth while for the Jugadree people to mutilate sovereigns and turn them into gold mohurs, Jeyporee, which pass throughout the plains for 16 rupees, with very slight fluctuations, it would not be difficult to make the sovereign itself a legal tender at 10 rupees.

The coining, as far as I can learn, is not confined to Jugadree, but is also practised at Delhi, Shamlee of Saharunpoor, Roorkee, and other places, perhaps Umritsur.

During the examination the accused implicated each other and many confessed; and with regard to the principal people arrested, the following are the heads of evidence. It must be remembered that the books have not fully been gone into yet:

Daveechund, banker (Durbaree*), not present at original inquiry, having bolted to Puttialah, returned on the evening of the second day.

Mootasuddee Mul, brother and partner of Daveechund, present. Books examined; show regular dealings with the coiners Zahiroo and Adjoodhia, and purchase of (on a cursory examination) 500 mohurs at low rates from the same, transmitted to Simla to Mohun Lal, the agent there, also a brother and member of the firm.

In December 1861, Mahomed Rusheed, then Kotwal of Simla, now Tehseeldar of Kurrur, got information that Daveechund's firm at Simla were in the habit of dealing in alloyed mohurs. He, in consequence, purchased 16 of these Jugadree mohurs, and brought them to his superiors; the matter at the time was hushed up, and nothing more was said about it. But it is important now, as proving the guilty knowledge of Daveechund's firm, who, after this warning, continued their dealings with the coiners.

The next principal person concerned is Futteh Sing, Khatree, head of one of the chief families represented by Daveechund, Futtehchund, and the Amballa Treasurer. This man's books show distinctly the delivery of sovereigns to the coiners and the receipt per contra of Jeypore mohurs. They also show a particular transaction in which Futteh Sing went partners with Deen Dyal, coiner shroff, in a particular remittance of mohurs to Teeree, in Mussooree, which proved a loss.

Dogar Mul, Khatree, brother-in-law of Daveechund, admits knowingly giving a certain number of sovereigns to the coiners, and receiving back the same in Jeypore mohurs made upon the spot.

The Amballa Treasurer's son's books at Jugadree also show regular transactions.

I have permitted several of those concerned to turn Queen's evidence, and the case is now nearly complete against the principals.

The Amballa Treasurer admitted to me that he had known of this coining some time, but did not report it as he thought I had no time to hear him!! He is a very respectable old man, and I do not believe himself concerned, though all his family are.

When Parsons had searched the houses and returned to the bungalow, the people of the city, headed by Futteh Sing, were most insolent and tried to intimidate him. They behaved excessively badly. None of the dies, save three of Narayundáss's, have been delivered up, and these were got by the informer by stratagem. I accordingly sent for the whole punch, consisting of some 30 to 40 of the principal Bunnyas and Khatrees, and told them I considered them all equally concerned, and if the dies were not produced in four days, I would recommend an extra police force, at the cost of 150 rupees a month, being quartered on them. As there are at least 17 to 18 dies in the town, and they have not been delivered up yet, I shall, when I go down, make the threatened report.

I have above principally alluded to Jeypore mohurs uttered in the hills; but Moorshe-dabad mohurs are also made up and uttered in the plains.

APPENDIX No. 5.

Fort St. George, Revenue Consultation of 2 July 1858.

From *H. D. Phillips*, Esq., Collector of Tanjore, to *G. S. Forbes*, Esq., Secretary to Board of Revenue, Fort St. George; (No. 108), dated Tanjore, Point Calimere, 10 June 1858.

OWING to the apparent scarcity of silver coins in the market, the Merassidars of this district feel considerable difficulty at present in meeting the usual demand on account of their monthly kists. Several complaints have already reached me on the subject, and I have reason to think that the collections are impeded from this cause.

2. There

* That is, a person of such consideration that he is on the list of those admitted to the Governor General's Durbar.

2. There seems to have been a great influx of sovereigns in the district, the grain exported from the Tanjore Ports to Colombo and other places being generally paid for in gold. These coins, which heretofore were seldom or never procurable unless at a premium, appear now to be selling at a discount, or from one to two annas a piece.

3. Under these circumstances, the Merassidars have requested that my Tehsildars may be allowed to receive gold sovereigns at par, *i.e.* at the value of ten rupees each, in payment of the Government revenue.

4. The notification of the Government of India, republished in the "Fort St. George Gazette," page 2, of 1853, prohibits "the receipt of gold coins into the public treasuries of Government." But as it is of the utmost importance that every facility should be afforded to the ryots in a season like the present, in the payment of the public revenue, I have deemed it necessary to lay the subject before the Board of Revenue, in order that they may take such steps in the matter as may seem to them called for.

5. It has occurred to me that the Board might desire to know how many sovereigns on the aggregate have been proffered for payment of the ordinary kists, and I have sent a circular to the Tehsildars to endeavour to ascertain the total, should they have kept a note of the matter. But to await the result of my application to them would have delayed this communication, and, after all, the needful information might not have been obtained.

(No. 10.)

READ the following Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue,
(No. 2168); dated 22 June 1858.

Read letter from the Collector of Tanjore, dated 10th June 1858, recommending that, In Cons., 22 June 1858.
owing to the scarcity of silver coin in the province, sovereigns may be received in payment of revenue.

(Here enter No. 108.)

The Collector states that sovereigns have been received by the Merassidars in large numbers, from Ceylon, in return for rice exported.

2. The Board resolve to forward Mr. Phillips' letter for the orders of Government, and recommend that he be permitted to receive sovereigns at par till further orders.

(A true Extract.)

(signed) J. D. Sim, Sub-Secretary.

(No. 11.)

Order thereon; (No. 870), dated 24 June 1858.

Referred to the Accountant General for immediate report.

(signed) W. H. Bayley, Acting Secretary to Government.

(No. 45.)

READ again Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 22d, and recorded in Diary to Consultation, 29 June 1858 (No. 998).

Read also the following Letter from G. L. Prendergast, Esq., Accountant General to Acting Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, in the Revenue Department; (No. 72), dated 25 June 1858.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the order of Government, dated 24th instant, No. 870, referring to me for report Extract of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue on a letter from the Collector of Tanjore, in which he requests permission, in consequence of the scarcity of silver coin in his district, to receive payment of revenue in sovereigns. The Board also recommend that he be permitted to receive them at par, till further orders.

2. Under the notification of the Government of India, dated the 22d December 1852, to which the Collector of Tanjore has referred, the receipt of gold coin into the public treasuries of Government is prohibited, and it may therefore be proper to communicate with the Supreme Government on the matter; but, under the circumstances represented by the collector, I think he may safely be permitted, as a special case, to receive sovereigns into his treasury in payment of revenue, pending the proposed reference to the Supreme Government; I would also suggest that they be received, as recommended by the Revenue Board, at the par rate, *i.e.* ten rupees each.

3. These sovereigns, when received by the Collector of Tanjore, cannot, under the existing rules, be issued by him, and will therefore form part of the specie remittances to

the General Treasury at Madras. On being received into the General Treasury here, I would beg to recommend that the sub-treasurer be authorised to sell them, but not at a less rate than that at which they may be received by the collector. As the market rate of sovereigns has not, within my recollection, been lower here than ten rupees per sovereign, I do not anticipate that there will be any difficulty in realising ten rupees each. The present rate of sovereigns in the Madras market is about Rs. 10. 2. 6. each. The excess may be credited to "Profit and Loss" in the accounts of the sub-treasurer.

(No. 46.)

Order thereon; (No. 888), dated 29 June 1858.

RESOLVED; that a copy of the Accountant General's letter be furnished to the Collector of Tanjore, through the Board of Revenue, for his information and guidance.

2. Before addressing the Government of India on the subject, as suggested by Mr. Prendergast in para. 2 of his letter, the Government are desirous to know if the present contingency is likely to continue for any length of time. The Board will furnish full information on the point, and state also what has contributed to the peculiar scarcity of silver coin in Tanjore at the present time.

(signed) *W. H. Bayley,*
Acting Secretary to Government.

From *H. D. Phillips*, Esq., Collector of Tanjore, to *G. S. Forbes*, Esq., Secretary to Board of Revenue, Fort St. George; (No. 115), dated Kodicutarray, 23 June 1858.

10 June 1858,
No. 108.

ADVERTING to my letter of the marginal date, I have the honour to enter below a statement of the number of sovereigns which appear to have been offered in payment of kists due for the current Fusly in 14 of the 16 talooks which compose this district.

2. I have not yet received a return from Talooks Tritrapoondy and Puttoocottah, but a representation has reached me from certain merchants in the latter division, asking why the gold coins which are current across the Bay in the limits of the Ceylon Government should not also be received here by Government officers in liquidation of Government dues for salt and sea customs. They assert that the exception taken to the sovereigns is productive of much pecuniary loss to them, and beg that it may be abandoned:

	Sovs.		Sovs.
Numullum - - - -	2,000	Myaveram - - - -	1,000
Keevalore - - - -	6,000	Codavassel - - - -	500
Traquebar - - - -	100	Papanassem - - - -	200
Munnargoody - - - -	2,500	Sheully - - - -	1,000
Trivalore - - - -	6,000	Combaconum - - - -	100
Trivady - - - -	200	Coottalem - - - -	7,000
Parellum - - - -	1,000		
Velungamaun - - - -	870	TOTAL - - - -	£. 28,470

From *H. D. Phillips*, Esq., Collector of Tanjore, to *G. S. Forbes*, Esq., Secretary to Board of Revenue, Fort St. George; (No. 117), dated Kodicutarray, 25 June 1858.

23 June 1858, No. 115.

In continuation of my letter marginally noted, respecting the extensive circulation of sovereigns, which, however, I am precluded from accepting in payment of the ordinary revenue demand, I have the honour to state that the amount which appears to have been offered in Talook Tritrapoondy is 3,000 £, and that in Puttoocottah it may, I think, from what the Tehsildar states, be calculated at a similar figure.

	Sovereigns.
Amount reported - - -	28 470
Add—	
Tritrapoondy - - -	3,000
Puttoocottah - - -	3,000
Total - - -	34,470

Fort St. George, Revenue Consultation of 20th July 1858.

(No. 1.)

READ the following Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue;
(No. 2288), dated 2 July 1858.

In Cons., 2 July 1858.

Read letter from the Collector of Tanjore, dated 23d June 1858, sending, with reference to his former letter, a statement of sovereigns offered in payment of kists for the current Fusly.

(Here enter No. 115.)

Read

Read also letter from the same officer, dated 25th June 1858, reporting the amount of sovereigns offered in payment of kists at Tritrapoondy and Puttoocottah Talooks. In Cons., 2 July 1858.

(Here enter No. 117.)

Submitted to Government with reference to the Board's proceedings, dated 22 June 1858, No. 2168.

(A true Extract.)

(signed) *G. S. Forbes*, Secretary.

(No. 2.) Order thereon; (No. 960), dated 14 July 1858.

THE Collector of Tanjore in one* of the letters submitted with the Board's proceedings above recorded, states that certain inhabitants represent that the exception taken to the receipt of sovereigns in liquidation of Government dues is productive of much pecuniary loss to them, and beg that the restriction may be abandoned. The Government will take the subject into consideration on the receipt of the report called for in Extract Minutes Consultation dated 29th June 1858, No. 888.

* Dated 23 June 1858
No. 115.

(signed) *T. Pycroft*, Chief Secretary.

From *A. Hathaway*, Esq., Acting Collector of Madura, to *G. S. Forbes*, Esq., Secretary to Board of Revenue, Fort St. George; (No. 164), dated Madura, 9 July 1858.

WITH reference to the Board's proceedings of the 1st instant, No. 2278, I have the honour to inform you that no sovereigns have been tendered in payment of revenue, as the order prohibiting the receipt of gold coin in the public treasuries is generally known among the community. Gold coin has certainly been introduced into this district to a large extent, inasmuch as a sovereign can be procured for Rs. 9. 14. in the Madura market.

From *D. Mayne*, Esq., Acting Collector to *J. D. Sim*, Esq., Secretary to Board of Revenue, Fort St. George; (No. 236), dated Tencausy, 16 July 1858.

WITH reference to paragraph 4 of extract from the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated the 1st instant, requesting to be informed whether sovereigns have been tendered to any extent in payment of revenue, and whether they are known to have been largely introduced into this district, I have the honour to inform you that sovereigns are imported from Ceylon, and introduced largely in the first six, and to a small extent in the last three talooks named in the margin. If not prohibited by law, sovereigns, it appears, would be tendered in payment of revenue, but they are now sold for the current silver coins.

2. It is reported that sovereigns do not abound in four of the talooks* in this district.

Nelliambalum.
Vullyoor.
Streenyeoontum.
Punchamahli.
Bremmadasum.
Ottapedarum.
Sauttoor.
Sreevilypoottoor and
Shenkerninareoil.
* Vedooogramnum.
Tencausy.
Sharenmadavy, and
Nangoonary.

From *H. D. Phillips*, Esq., Collector of Tanjore, to *J. D. Sim*, Esq., Secretary to Board of Revenue, Fort St. George; (No. 150), dated Point Calimere, 24 July 1858.

I HAVE had the honour to receive an extract from the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated the 1st instant, No. 2278, making certain inquiries in connection with the present scarcity of silver coin in the Tanjore province.

2. The Board are aware that the great staple produce of this district is paddy, and that a large trade in it is carried on with Ceylon. The shipments were usually paid for at Colombo by hoondies on merchants at Madras, who again remitted the money to this district by Accountant General's bills, which were cashed at the local treasury. From all the inquiries I have been able to make on the subject, it appears that, owing probably to the late failures in the commercial world, and the consequent general depression of trade, bills are no longer preferred, but that payment is received at once in cash for the exports, and that thus sovereigns, the coin in which those payments are made, find their way in large quantities into this district. This belief seems so far correct, that there is actually a great falling-off in the aggregate amount of the Accountant General's bills drawn on my treasury, which is *pro tanto* specie withdrawn from local circulation.

3. Another main cause of the scarcity of silver in the district may be traced to the extinction of the Tanjore Raj, and with it the disappearance of numerous sources of expenditure.

Amount of bills drawn.

	Co.'s R
1852-53	- 19,67,47
1853-54	- 16,66,10
1854-55	- 21,39,46
1855-56	- 13,96,38
1856-57	- 14,15,00
1857-58	- 13,45,31

expenditure. Ten lakhs of rupees used to be annually disbursed as the Punjum Hissah from the public treasury, all or almost all which money was of course expended in the district, and thus thrown into circulation. This, under the existing state of Tanjore affairs, is no longer the case to the same extent.

4. Latterly, too, the outlay on account of public works has been greatly curtailed owing to the restrictive orders on expenditure; an important change of the kind seems to me to be another of the causes which have tended to produce the present scarcity of the usual circulating medium.

5. In proportion to the diminution from these causes in the local expenditure is the increase in the remittances to Madras of public cash.

6. It is very difficult to form a safe opinion whether the influx of sovereigns is likely to be constant, but as the export trade of the province is carried on chiefly with a Crown settlement, where that coin is the medium of exchange, and as a large portion of the lower classes of the population emigrate from this district to Ceylon and the Mauritius, and usually return with their accumulated earnings in gold, there must at all times be a large quantity of sovereigns in circulation in Tanjore; and I have no doubt, therefore, that a complete removal of the restriction which the Government have now only temporarily relaxed would prove beneficial, and facilitate the collection of the revenue.

7. The withdrawal of the prohibition already sanctioned will lead native merchants freely to receive payments in gold, and will, I conclude, have the effect of keeping up the value of the sovereign at par, even if it does not rise above that figure.

From *H. D. Phillips*, Esq., Collector of Tanjore, to *J. D. Sim*, Esq., Secretary to Board of Revenue, Fort St. George; (No. 162), dated Negapatam, August 1858.

ADVERTING to my letter of date the 24th ultimo, No. 150, I have the honour to state that the collections of public arrears made in sovereigns, in the Keevalore Talook, of which the Cusbah is Negapatam, during the past month, amounted to 10,400 rupees.

The whole arrear realised in that period was Rs. 51,723. 15.

Fort. St. George, Revenue Consultation of 14th September 1858.

(No. 62.)

READ the following Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue; (No. 3086), dated 14th August 1858.

Read the following letters:—

From Acting Collector of Madura, dated 9 July, in Consultation 14th August 1858.

“	“	of Tinnevely	“ 16	“	“
“	“	of Tanjore	“ 24	“	“
“	“	of Tanjore	“ 6	“	“

(Here enter Nos. 164, 236, 150, and 162.)

Resolved, that the above letters be submitted for the information of Government, with reference to Extract Minutes Consultation, 29th June and 14th July 1858, Nos. 888 and 960 R. D.

2. In his letter above recorded, the Collector of Tanjore furnishes the information required by Government, regarding the scarcity of silver coin in that district and the influx of sovereigns.

3. Mr. Phillips states that considerable trade is carried on between Tanjore and Ceylon in paddy, the staple product of the former province; and that the shipments have hitherto been usually paid for in hoondies on merchants at Madras, who again make their remittances by Accountant General's bills on the Tanjore Treasury. Mr. Phillips' inquiries lead him to believe that, owing probably to the recent commercial failures and depression of trade, this mode of receiving payments is no longer preferred, and the exports are paid for in sovereigns (the current coin of Ceylon), which thus find their way largely into Tanjore.

4. This belief, Mr. Phillips adds, is to a certain extent confirmed by the falling off in the amount of the Accountant General's bills drawn on his treasury. The marginal abstract shows the amount of these bills for the six years ending with 1857-58, and it will be seen from it that there has not been much variation during the last three years, when compared together; but a great decrease appears when the comparison is made with the three preceding years, the average of the former (1855-56 to 1857-58) being only 13,85,747 rupees, while that of the latter (1852-53 to 1854-55) is 19,24,368 rupees. It is clear from this that of late a considerable amount of silver has been withdrawn from circulation in Tanjore.

		Co's Rs.
1852-53 -	-	19,07,470
1853-54 -	-	16,66,166
1854-55 -	-	21,39,467
1855-56 -	-	13,90,329
1856-57 -	-	14,15,600
1857-58 -	-	13,45,311
Revenue from all sources.		
usly 1264 A. D. 1854-55	Rs. 54,75,000	
“ 1265 A. D. 1855-56	“ 58,55,000	
“ 1266 A. D. 1856-57	“ 56,29,000	

5. Another

5. Another cause assigned for the scarcity of silver is the extinction of the Raj. Ten lakhs of rupees were formerly disbursed as the fifth share of the Rajah in the revenue of Tanjore, and almost the whole of this was expended in the district.

6. The recent restriction in expenditure on public works is cited by Mr. Phillips as another cause of the scarcity of coin.

7. The Board have no information regarding the Government remittances from Tanjore in coin by land, but the statements of imports and exports of specie by sea on their account are blank, with the exception noted in the margin. Mr. Phillips, however, states that the remittance of public cash from Tanjore has increased in proportion to the diminution in the local expenditure.

September 1857,
Rs. 3,08,000 to
Bombay.

8. Mr. Phillips is unable to affirm with any degree of certainty that the influx of sovereigns is likely to be permanent, but as the trade of the district with Ceylon is extensive, and a large portion of the lower classes emigrate to that island and Mauritius, and usually bring back their savings in gold, a considerable number of sovereigns must always be introduced into the district.

9. In a subsequent letter the Collector reports that in the Keevalore Talook 10,400 rupees have been paid in sovereigns out of a total sum of 51,724 rupees collected during last month.

10. It will be seen from the letters of the Collectors of Tinnevelly and Madura that sovereigns are largely introduced into those provinces also, and that in the latter their present market value is only Rs. 9. 14. each. This depreciation in value Mr. Hathaway ascribes to their abundance, but it is, no doubt, owing also in some degree to their not being accepted in payment of the public revenue, which, including all sources, is about 25 lakhs per annum.

11. The Board append an abstract, showing the total imports and exports of sovereigns for the Presidency by sea during the last three years, according to the Customs Returns:—

SOVEREIGNS VALUED IN COMPANY'S RUPEES.

Imports by private Individuals.

DISTRICTS.	1855-56.	1856-57.	1857-58.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
Rajahmundry - - - -	- -	4,000	24,500	28,500
South Arcot - - - -	- -	- -	120	120
Tanjore - - - - -	72,210	2,25,500	1,22,450	4,20,160
Tinnevelly - - - - -	41,375	94,810	1,99,200	3,35,385
Canara - - - - -	9,122	9,950	14,929	34,001
Malabar - - - - -	3,400	38,785	1,02,865	1,45,050
Madras - - - - -	9,11,665	13,91,551	25,61,323	48,64,539
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>	10,37,772	17,64,596	30,25,387	58,27,755

Exports of Sovereigns by private Individuals.

DISTRICTS.	1855-56.	1856-57.	1857-58.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
Rajahmundry - - - -	- -	2,500	- -	2,500
Madras - - - - -	700	- -	60,000	60,700
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>	700	2,500	60,000	63,200

No imports or exports of gold by Government.

(A true Extract.)

(signed) J. D. Sim, Secretary.

Ordered, in consequence, that the following letter be dispatched :—

(No. 63.)

From *T. Pycroft*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, to Secretary to Government of India (No. 1250); dated 14 September 1858.

WITH reference to the financial notification of the Government of India, dated 22d December 1852, No. 26, prohibiting the receipt of gold coins into the public treasuries, I

From Collector of Tanjore to Board	-	-	10 June 1858.	
Proceedings of Revenue Board to Government	-	22	"	No. 2161.
Order thereon	-	24	"	" 870.
From Accountant General to Government	-	25	"	" 72.
Order thereon	-	29	"	" 888.
From Collector of Tanjore to Board	-	23	"	
From - - ditto - - ditto	-	25	"	
Proceedings from Board of Revenue to Government,			2 July 1858, No. 2288.	
Order thereon	-	14	"	" 960.
From Acting Collector of Madura to Board	-	9	"	
From - ditto - of Tinnevely to ditto	-	16	"	
From - ditto - of Tanjore to ditto	-	24	"	
From - ditto - ditto to ditto	-	6	Aug. 1858.	
Board's Proceedings to Government	-	14	"	

have the honour, by desire of the Governor in Council, to submit copies of the correspondence noted in the margin, which will show that silver coin is becoming scarce in Tanjore, and that sovereigns are largely introduced into that district as well as into Tinnevely and Madura, and to request that permission may be granted for departing from the terms of the notification alluded to in such of the districts of this Presidency in which the Government may find it necessary for the punctual collection of the public revenue. It will be observed that in Madura the present market value of the sovereigns is stated to be Rs. 9. 14, and this depreciation in value is (though the Acting Collector ascribes it to their abundance) in some degree owing to their not being accepted in payment at the Government Treasuries.

2. In Tanjore the scarcity of silver coin became so conspicuous that this Government were obliged, as a temporary measure, to authorise the receipt of sovereigns, for it was apprehended that, without such permission, the public revenue might fall largely in arrears. They will be received at par value, viz., 10 rupees, and are invariably to be remitted to the General Treasury at Madras, when the Sub-treasurer will sell them at a rate not less than that at which they were received by the Collector.

FORT ST. GEORGE, Revenue Consultation of 28 September 1858.

(No. 8.)

Read the following Letter from *G. L. Prendergast*, Esq., Accountant General, to Chief Secretary to Government of Fort St. George (No. 192); dated 18 September 1858.

WITH reference to my letter to the address of the Acting Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, dated the 25th June last, and to the order of Government passed thereon, as per Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated the 29th June 1858, No. 888, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a letter from the Collector of Tanjore, dated the 13th instant, in which he requests permission to issue to those who may be willing to receive them the gold sovereigns which he has been temporarily authorised to receive in payment of the public kists in consequence of the scarcity of silver.

2. The Collector of Tanjore has recently sent a remittance of 10 lakhs of rupees to the Presidency, 52,260 rupees of which consisted of sovereigns. Having sent away his surplus silver, it cannot be expected, specially at this season when the revenues are small, if most of such revenues are paid in gold, that the Collector will be able to meet the current demands on his treasury, if his disbursements are confined to silver.

3. Moreover, the object in prohibiting the re-issue of gold and silver uncurrent coins, amongst which sovereigns* have been hitherto classed, is to secure their being sent sooner or later to the General Treasury, and thence forwarded to the Mint for re-coinage. This was not intended in the case of the gold sovereigns, which the Collector was authorised to receive and to send to the General Treasury for the purpose of being sold.

4. Under these circumstances, I beg to recommend that the Collector of Tanjore be permitted, as a special case, to issue the sovereigns received by him, in payment of the demands on his treasury, to parties willing to receive them, in the event of the silver in his treasury proving insufficient for that purpose.

* It may be doubted, now that the East India Company has ceased to exist and India is an English Colony, as much as Ceylon or any other, whether sovereigns can any longer be regarded as "uncurrent."

From *H. D. Phillips*, Esq., Collector of Tanjore, to *G. L. Prendergast*, Esq., Accountant General, Fort St. George (No. 729); dated Vellum, 13 September 1858.

In paragraph 3 of your letter to Government, dated the 25th June 1858, No. 72, you state that sovereigns, when received into the Treasury, "cannot, under the existing rules, be issued" by me.

2. You are aware that, at this season, the collections in the talooks are very limited. The small payments of revenue that are made are mostly in gold coins.

3. Under the present arrangements, nearly all the local disbursements have to be made from the talook treasuries; and the re-issue of gold coins being prohibited, they have to be remitted to the Treasury at Tranquebar, from which silver coins have to be sent to the talooks, thus entailing unnecessary inconvenience and delay.

4. The balance of cash in the Hoozoor Treasury is small; and while the receipt of sovereigns is allowed, if their re-issue is interdicted, it will become necessary that I should apply for a remittance in silver coins, from Madras or other quarters, to meet the current demands on my treasury.

5. Out of the balance of cash in the Hoozoor Treasury at Tranquebar there are at present 10,000 rupees in gold coins, and you are aware that 52,000 rupees and odd in gold formed part of the recent remittance of ten lakhs by the "Coromandel." What quantity of them there is in the talook balances the returns at hand do not show; but some of the tehsildars have applied for a remittance in silver, in place of the gold coins in their hands, to meet the current month's disbursements.

6. Under these circumstances, and as the prohibition to receive gold coins in payment of the public kists has been temporarily relaxed, and I am not aware of any objection to sovereigns being tendered in payment to those who may be willing to receive them, I request you will be so good as to obtain or grant the necessary authority, as a special case, for departing from the rules you refer to.

(No. 9.)

ORDER thereon (No. 1292); dated 22 September 1858.

UNDER the circumstances represented by the Collector of Tanjore, Government grant authority, as a special case, for the issue of gold sovereigns to parties willing to receive them, in payment of demands on the Tanjore Treasury, provided that the silver in that treasury is unequal to the demands upon it. A report of this will be immediately made for the information of the Government of India.

(signed) *T. Pycroft*, Secretary.

Ordered, in consequence, that the following letter be dispatched:—

(No. 10.)

From *T. Pycroft*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, to Secretary to Government of India (No. 1293); dated 22 September 1858.

WITH reference to my letter dated 14th September 1858, No. 1250, reporting that this Government had been obliged, as a temporary measure, to authorise the receipt of sovereigns into the Treasury of Tanjore, in consequence of the scarcity of silver coin in that district, I am directed to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Accountant General, with its enclosure, and to report further for the confirmation of the Supreme Government the orders of this Government in since sanctioning, as a special case, the issue of gold sovereigns from the Treasury of Tanjore to such parties as may be willing to receive them in payment of their demands, provided, however, that the silver in that treasury was unequal to the demands upon it. The Government were induced to authorise this measure, as the Collector apprehended that he would be otherwise obliged to apply for silver from Madras and other quarters, in order to meet the current demands of his district.

18 September 1858, No. 192, with letter from Collector of Tanjore, 13 September 1858, No. 721.

5. Under these circumstances, his Honour in Council cannot but regret that the currency at Tanjore should have been disturbed by the adoption of the measure now reported. The receipt, even of gold coins struck at an Indian mint, instead of the legal currency of his country, is prohibited by the orders in force, which direct that "no gold coin" should "be received on account of payments due, or in any way to be made to the Government in any public treasury within the territories of the East India Company." This order was passed in consequence of the great inconvenience and loss to which the Government had been exposed in consequence of the receipt, at a fixed rate, under a proclamation of the 13th January 1841, of gold coins struck under the provisions of Act 17 of 1835.

Notification of the Government of India, Financial Department, No. 5 dated 22 Dec. 1855.

6. His Honour in Council requests that the further receipt of sovereigns at the Tanjore treasury may be put a stop to. The sovereigns already received may be sold to the best advantage. It is requested that the order noted above in the margin may be strictly observed under the Madras Presidency in future; and that the dealings of the Treasury at Tanjore, as everywhere else, may be restricted to the legal currency of the country.

(No. 55).

ORDER thereon (No. 1497); dated 5 November 1858.

ORDERED to be communicated to the Board of Revenue and the Accountant General for their information and guidance. They will at once put a stop to the receipt or issue of sovereigns into the Tanjore Collector's treasury, under the orders noted in the margin. Mr. Prendergast will furnish the information required in paragraph 2 of the letter above recorded.

Ex. Mins. Cons. 29 June 1858, No. 888. Ditto, 22 Sept. 1858, No. 1292.

(signed) *W. H. Bayley*, Acting Secy. to Govt.

FORT ST. GEORGE, Revenue Consultation of 25 February 1859.

(No. 30.)

Read the following Letter from *G. L. Prendergast*, Esq., Accountant General, to *W. H. Bayley*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, Revenue Department (No. 259); dated 13 November 1858.

WITH reference to the orders* of Government passed on a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India to this Government, dated the 12th ultimo, No. 5641, I have the honour to state that instructions have been sent to the Collector of Tanjore to discontinue forthwith the receipt of gold sovereigns in payment of revenue, and to retain those at present in his treasury until an opportunity offers for sending them to Madras for the purpose of being sold at the general treasury to the best advantage.

* In Ex. Min. of Cons., dated 5 Nov. 1858, No. 1497.

2. In the latter clause of the Government order I am requested to furnish the information required in the 2d paragraph of the above-mentioned letter from the Government of India, as to the grounds on which the 10 rupees have been assigned as the par value of a gold sovereign. I beg to state that that expression is technically erroneous; but that the error is on the side of the interests of Government. According to the Bombay revised assay table, furnished to this office with the order of Government, dated the 12th May 1856, No. 211, the intrinsic value of 100 sovereigns is *Co.'s Rs.* 1,027. 1. 2 $\frac{2}{3}$, or *Co.'s Rs.* 10. 4. 3 $\frac{123}{125}$ each; consequently, when the Collector of Tanjore proposed and the Board of Revenue recommended that the sovereigns should be received at only 10 rupees each, I had no objection to their being received at Tanjore at that rate, being satisfied that at the Presidency they could be sold to advantage, and I at the same time suggested, when brought here, that they should be sold accordingly.

3. In this I have not been disappointed, as by the sale of the gold sovereigns† already received from the Collector of Tanjore, a clear gain has been effected of *Co.'s Rs.* 801. 12. 6., which has been credited in the accounts of the sub-treasurer to "profit and loss," as reported in my letter to Government, dated 14th ultimo.

† Entire sovereigns 5,102. Half-sovereigns, 248.

Ordered, in consequence, that the following letter be despatched:—

(No. 31.)

From *W. H. Bayley*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, to *C. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India, Financial Department (No. 1588); dated 27 November 1858.

I AM directed by the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 12th October 1858, No. 5641, and to forward in reply copy of one from the Accountant General at this Presidency, furnishing the information required by the Government of India as to the grounds on which 10 rupees have been assigned as the par value of the sovereign.

2. The Accountant General explains that the expression is technically erroneous, but that the error is on the side of the interests of Government; the intrinsic value of the sovereign being Rs. 10. 4. 3¹²³/₁₂₅, and the sale at the Presidency of the sovereigns already received from Tanjore having resulted in a profit of Rs. 801. 12. 6.

3. The Government of India will observe from the communication now submitted that, agreeably to their directions, the further receipt of sovereigns at the Tanjore treasury has been discontinued.

(No. 58.)

Read the following letter from *G. L. Prendergast*, Esq., Accountant General, to Chief Secretary to Government of Fort St. George (No. 359); dated 5 February 1859.

IN continuation of my letter to you of the 14th October last, No. 229, I have the honour to report that the Collector of Tanjore lately remitted to the sub-treasurer 34,430 rupees in gold sovereigns, which have been sold at a profit of Rs. 652. 8. 3. Particulars of the sale are subjoined:—

		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
500 gold sovereigns (English coinage)	- - at 10 4 - each	5,125 - -	
2,096 " " "	- at 10 3 3 "	21,353 - -	
697 " " (Australian coinage)	- at 10 2 6 "	7,078 14 6	
139 half sovereigns (English coinage)	- at 5 1 6 "	708 - 6	
161 " " (Australian coinage)	- at 5 1 3 "	817 9 3	
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>			35,082 8 3
Deduct invoice value at 10 rupees per sovereign - - -			34,430 - -
Difference credited to Profit and Loss - - - <i>Rs.</i>			652 8 3

2. The Collector of Tanjore has reported to me that he has received a further stock of sovereigns, since the despatch of the above remittance, from his talooks, which was received by his tehsildars prior to the prohibitory orders of the 5th November last, No. 1497. These sovereigns will be sent to Madras by the first opportunity, and will be disposed of likewise, and the result of their sale duly communicated to Government.

(No. 59.)

ORDER thereon; No. 242, dated 25 February 1859.

Ordered that the foregoing letter be recorded.

(signed) *J. D. Bourdillon*, Secretary to Government.

PROCEEDINGS of the Madras Government, Revenue Department, from 9 to 15 July 1859.

(No. 66.)

Read the following letter from *G. L. Prendergast*, Esq., Accountant General, to Chief Secretary to Government of Fort St. George (No. 88); dated 4 July 1859.

IN continuation of my letter of the 5th February last, I have the honour to report that the Collector of Tanjore has since remitted to the sub-treasurer 631 whole and 420 half-sovereigns, which have been sold for 8,555 rupees, or at a profit of 145 rupees, compared with the rate at which they were received. Particulars of the sale are herewith subjoined:—

		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
410 whole sovereigns (English coinage)	- - - at 10 3 -	4,176 14 -	
50 half " " "	- - - " 5 1 6	254 11 -	
221 whole " (Australian coinage)	- - - " 10 2 6	2,244 8 6	
370 half " " "	- - - " 5 1 3	1,878 14 9	
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>			8,555 - -
Deduct invoice value at 10 rupees for the whole and 5 rupees the half-sovereigns - - -			8,410 - -
Difference credited to Profit and Loss - - - <i>Rs.</i>			145 - -

2. The Collector of Tanjore has more sovereigns, which are expected with the remittance now coming by the "Coromandel." The sovereigns received from the Collector of Tanjore and sold here, up to this date, amounted to 9,026 whole and 968 half-sovereigns; the profit realised thereon, Rs. 1,599. 4. 9., has been placed to the credit of Government.

(No. 67.)

ORDER thereon, No. 944; dated 15 July 1859.

Ordered that the foregoing letter be recorded.

(signed) *J. D. Bourdillon*, Secretary to Government.

PROCEEDINGS of the Madras Government, Revenue Department, from 17 to 23 September 1859.

(No. 50.)

Read the following letter from *G. L. Prendergast, Esq.*, Accountant General, to Chief Secretary to Government of Fort St. George (No. 216); dated 9 September 1859.

IN continuation of my letter of the 4th July last, No. 88, I have the honour to report for the information of Government that the Collector of Tanjore has since remitted to the Sub-Treasurer a further Supply of 1,344 whole and 897 half-sovereigns, which have been sold for Rs. 18,494. 7. 10., or at a profit of Rs. 569. 10., compared with the rate at which they were received. Particulars of the sale are herewith subjoined—

		Rs.	Rs.
Sovereigns, (English coinage) whole	- - - -	907	
" " half 95 or	- - - -	47½	
			954½
" (Australian coinage) whole	- - - -	437	
" " half 802 or	- - - -	401	
			838
			1,792½
		Rs.	a. p.
At Rs. 10. 5 1 each is	- - - -	18,494	7 10
Invoice value	- - - -	17,925	- -
Difference credited to Profit and Loss	- Rs.	569	7 10

2. The total number of sovereigns received from the Collector of Tanjore and sold here, up to this date, amounts to 10,370 whole, and 1,865 half-sovereigns, and the profit realised thereon is Rs. 2,168. 12. 7., which sum has been credited to Government.

(No. 51.)

ORDER thereon; 21 September 1859, No. 1278.

Ordered that the foregoing letter be recorded.

(signed) *J. D. Bourdillon*, Secretary to Government.

MEMORANDUM by the Board of Revenue.

THE Board of Revenue have no information before them, on which they might form an opinion as to the necessity or expediency of introducing a gold currency. No communications have been received from any of the Collectors complaining of inconvenience experienced by the agricultural or mercantile community in the Mofussil, in consequence of the scarcity of silver; any opinion, therefore, that we may give must necessarily be based upon general views as to the necessities of the country, and not on official reports from the local authorities.

2. Agriculture is extending everywhere. There is a great demand for cotton, and indeed for every product of the field. Prices are at the same time exceedingly high. The farmers in consequence obtain large sums of money for their produce; and a great proportion of this money is not returned into other channels, but is buried and hoarded, for the people have no means readily available of employing it. This may be one among other causes why the circulating medium (silver) is daily becoming scarcer, and as long as the present state of things continues to exist, it must remain scarce.

3. The paper currency does not appear to give the relief required; the difficulty of changing the notes at the District Treasuries being, as it would seem, a check on their free circulation.

4. No doubt gold is in requisition and is finding its way into the interior, for packets of sovereigns are constantly sent up-country; and if a gold currency were introduced, we do not doubt that it would be very acceptable, and be eagerly taken in payment for agricultural produce. The surplus would be hoarded as silver now is; but silver coin would be released from the secret stores, and be replaced by the more convenient metal. In those purely agricultural districts where the wants of the simple people are comparatively small, money is accumulating; and there is no sufficient outlet for it in exchange for other things. It must then of necessity be hoarded, and gold is a more convenient metal than silver for that purpose; until a demand springs up in the country for foreign goods to an extent that will balance exports and imports, there must be, with the present demand and high prices for agricultural produce, a large surplus of unemployed money in the agricultural districts. Money must still be imported to pay for the produce. The hoarded stores must go on increasing; and as silver cannot be imported in sufficient quantities, gold may well be brought on, in the hope that it will help to restore some of the silver to circulation.

(signed) *J. Pelly.*
H. A. Brett.

Madras, May 1864.

Mr. Clarke, Member of the Board of Revenue, is not at the Presidency.

APPENDIX, No. 6.

STATEMENT of REMITTANCES received in Aid of the Bombay General Treasury, from 1 May 1862 to 20 May 1864.

From whence.	Date of Receipt.	AMOUNT AND NATURE OF THE REMITTANCES.					REMARKS.
		In Specie.	By Sale of Bills at Bombay.	Produce of Bills on Bombay Purchased elsewhere.	Transferred from Currency Department in connection with Investments in Government Securities at Calcutta.	By Transfers in Account between the Banks of Bengal and Bombay.	
	1862 :	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Calcutta - - -	31 May - -	- -	- -	5,00,000	- -	3,00,000	
Ditto - - -	6 June - -	- -	- -	2,00,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	30 June - -	- -	- -	5,50,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	4 July - -	- -	- -	1,50,000	- -	2,00,000	
Ditto - - -	7 July - -	- -	- -	5,50,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	19 July - -	- -	- -	50,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	21 July - -	- -	5,00,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	22 July - -	- -	3,35,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	23 July - -	- -	1,25,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	24 July - -	- -	30,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	25 July - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,00,000	
Ditto - - -	29 July - -	- -	10,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	14 Aug. - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,00,000	
Ditto - - -	15 Aug. - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,00,000	
Madras - - -	15 Aug. - -	2,99,450	- -	- -	- -	- -	Copper coin.
Ditto - - -	5 Nov. - -	9,40,550	- -	- -	- -	- -	Copper (1,40,550), and small silver
Calcutta - - -	19 Dec. - -	- -	- -	5,00,000	- -	2,00,000	coin (8,00,000).
Ditto - - -	24 Dec. - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	3,00,000	
	1863 :						
Calcutta - - -	9 Jan. - -	- -	1,20,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	2 Jan. - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	3,00,000	
Ditto - - -	13 Jan. - -	- -	- -	1,00,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	16 Jan. - -	- -	- -	10,00,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	17 Jan. - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	7,00,000	
Ditto - - -	19 Jan. - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	8,50,000	
Ditto - - -	21 Jan. - -	- -	- -	50,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	17 Feb. - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	5,00,000	
Ditto - - -	24 Feb. - -	6,00,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	Copper Coin.
Ditto - - -	26 Feb. - -	- -	- -	1,00,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	2 Mar. - -	- -	- -	3,30,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	3 Mar. - -	- -	- -	3,00,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	4 Mar. - -	- -	- -	1,00,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	9 Mar. - -	- -	- -	1,00,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	12 Mar. - -	- -	- -	2,50,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	18 Mar. - -	- -	- -	2,00,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	24 Mar. - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	15,00,000	
Ditto - - -	28 Mar. - -	- -	- -	1,50,000	- -	- -	
Madras - - -	13 Mar. - -	- -	- -	1,15,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	25 Mar. - -	22,00,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	8 April - -	- -	- -	10,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	9 April - -	- -	- -	30,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	11 April - -	- -	- -	10,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	15 April - -	- -	- -	15,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	17 April - -	- -	- -	25,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	30 April - -	- -	- -	95,000	- -	- -	
	Total - -	40,40,000	11,20,000	54,80,000	- -	53,50,000	
	1863 :						
Madras - - -	19 June - -	- -	1,25,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	20 June - -	- -	3,00,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	23 June - -	- -	2,50,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	29 June - -	- -	50,000	- -	- -	- -	
Calcutta - - -	1 July - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	10,00,000	
Ditto - - -	2 July - -	- -	1,00,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	3 July - -	- -	3,00,000	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	3 July - -	- -	- -	85,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	4 July - -	- -	- -	1,50,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	8 July - -	- -	- -	2,10,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	31 July - -	- -	- -	2,70,000	- -	- -	
Madras - - -	6 Aug. - -	- -	- -	50,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	7 Aug. - -	54,00,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	10 Aug. - -	- -	- -	50,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	27 Aug. - -	- -	- -	1,00,000	- -	- -	
Calcutta - - -	12 Sept. - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	40,00,000	
Madras - - -	2 Sept. - -	- -	- -	50,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	4 Sept. - -	- -	- -	20,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	5 Sept. - -	- -	- -	2,95,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	10 Sept. - -	- -	- -	1,00,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	11 Sept. - -	- -	- -	2,40,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	2 Oct. - -	- -	- -	60,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	3 Oct. - -	- -	- -	1,45,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	5 Oct. - -	- -	- -	50,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	8 Oct. - -	- -	- -	2,00,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	16 Oct. - -	- -	- -	1,000	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	22 Oct. - -	- -	- -	6,500	- -	- -	
Ditto - - -	26 Oct. - -	- -	- -	5,000	- -	- -	

STATEMENT OF REMITTANCES, &c.—continued.

From Whence.	Date of Receipt.	AMOUNT AND NATURE OF THE REMITTANCES.					REMARKS.
		In Specie.	By Sale of Bills at Bombay.	Produce of Bills on Bombay purchased elsewhere.	Transferred from Currency Department in connection with Investment in Government Securities at Calcutta.	By Transfers in Account between the Banks of Bengal and Bombay.	
	1863 :	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	
Madras - - -	30 Oct. -	-	-	4,500	-	-	
Ditto - - -	6 Nov. -	4,83,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	7 Nov. -	-	-	4,00,000	-	-	
Calcutta - - -	19 Dec. -	-	8,00,000	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	21 Dec. -	-	2,00,000	-	-	-	
Madras - - -	9 Dec. -	1,00,000	-	-	-	-	Copper coin.
Ditto - - -	10 Dec. -	-	-	3,00,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	11 Dec. -	8,00,000	-	2,00,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	12 Dec. -	7,00,000	-	-	-	-	
	1864 :						
Calcutta - - -	12 Jan. -	-	-	-	40,00,000	-	
Madras - - -	6 Jan. -	5,00,000	-	-	-	-	On account chiefly of a remittance of 40 lakhs of silver bullion sent from Bombay to Madras for coinage, in reference to an investment in Government Securities at Calcutta, on behalf of the Bombay Currency Department.
Ditto - - -	7 Jan. -	7,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	8 Jan. -	6,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	9 Jan. -	7,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	11 Jan. -	10,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	12 Jan. -	7,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	13 Jan. -	4,50,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	16 Jan. -	1,50,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	22 Jan. -	-	-	3,00,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	26 Jan. -	-	-	5,00,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	28 Jan. -	-	-	50,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	30 Jan. -	1,00,000	-	-	-	-	Copper coin.
East Berar - - -	4 Jan. -	-	-	1,00,000	-	-	
Calcutta - - -	27 Feb. -	-	-	-	-	6,50,000	
Madras - - -	1 Feb. -	-	-	5,50,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	4 Feb. -	-	-	3,00,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	6 Feb. -	3,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	8 Feb. -	6,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	9 Feb. -	-	-	2,50,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	10 Feb. -	3,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	11 Feb. -	-	-	2,00,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	15 Feb. -	-	-	1,00,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	23 Feb. -	-	-	1,00,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	27 Feb. -	-	-	1,50,000	-	-	
Ditto - - -	30 March -	30,000	-	-	-	-	
East Berar - - -	12 March -	-	2,00,000	-	-	-	
Calcutta - - -	25 April -	-	-	-	5,00,000	-	
Ditto - - -	26 April -	-	-	-	5,00,000	-	
Madras - - -	8 April -	1,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	11 April -	5,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	20 April -	4,00,000	-	-	-	-	
		1,46,13,000	23,25,000	55,92,000	50,00,000	56,50,000	
	1864 :						
Madras - - -	7 May -	19,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	12 May -	12,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	13 May -	2,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	19 May -	10,00,000	-	-	-	-	
Calcutta - - -	20 May -	-	-	-	-	-	
Ditto - - -	20 May -	-	-	-	40,00,000	-	In Silver bullion.
		43,00,000	-	-	40,00,000	-	
Total - -		2,29,53,000	34,45,000	1,10,72,000	90,00,000	1,10,00,000	
REMITTANCES to subordinate Treasuries, Bombay Presidency.							
	1862 :						
North Western Provinces	May - - -	-	1,29,500	-	-	-	
	June - - -	-	1,39,500	-	-	-	
	July - - -	-	73,500	-	-	-	
	August - - -	-	36,500	-	-	-	
	September - - -	-	84,500	-	-	-	
	December - - -	-	1,27,000	-	-	-	
	1863 :						
	January - - -	-	1,78,000	-	-	-	
	February - - -	-	29,000	-	-	-	
	March - - -	-	25,000	-	-	-	
	April - - -	-	96,000	-	-	-	
	May - - -	-	3,08,000	-	-	-	
	June - - -	-	4,62,000	-	-	-	
	July - - -	-	4,34,400	-	-	-	
	August - - -	-	1,77,300	-	-	-	
							In aid of the Indore Treasury.

STATEMENT OF REMITTANCES, &c.—continued.

From Whence.	Date of Receipt.	AMOUNT AND NATURE OF THE REMITTANCES.					REMARKS.
		In Specie.	By Sale of Bills at Bombay.	Produce of Bills on Bombay purchased elsewhere.	Transferred from Currency Department in connection with Investments in Government Securities at Calcutta.	By Transfers in Account between the Banks of Bengal and Bombay.	
North Western Provinces	1863:	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	
	September -	-	1,32,500	-	-	-	
	October -	-	3,02,500	-	-	-	
	November -	-	2,64,300	-	-	-	
	December -	-	46,000	-	-	-	
Hyderabad Assigned Districts.	1864:						In aid of the Indore Treasury.
	February -	-	6,000	-	-	-	
	March -	-	36,000	-	-	-	
	April -	-	58,000	-	-	-	
	January -	40,000	-	-	-	-	
Punjab	March -	-	15,000	-	-	-	
	April -	12,00,000	35,000	-	-	-	
	April -	12,00,000	-	-	-	-	In aid of the Kurrachee Treasury.
		24,40,000	22,77,000				
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>		24,40,000	31,95,500				

A B S T R A C T.

From Whence.	Date of Receipt.	AMOUNT AND NATURE OF THE REMITTANCES.					TOTAL.	
		In Specie.	By Sale of Bills at Bombay.	Produce of Bills on Bombay purchased elsewhere.	Transferred from Currency Department in connection with Investments in Government Securities at Calcutta.	y Transfers in Account between the Banks of Bengal and Bombay.		
		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
Calcutta - - -	1862-63 -	6,00,000	11,20,000	51,89,000	-	53,50,000	1,22,50,000	} 2,79,00,000
Ditto - - -	1863-64 -	-	10,00,000	-	50,00,000	56,50,000	1,16,50,000	
Ditto - - -	1864-65 -	-	-	-	40,00,000	-	40,00,000	
Madras - - -	1862-63 -	34,40,000	-	3,00,000	-	-	37,40,000	} 2,92,70,000
Ditto - - -	1863-64 -	1,46,13,000	11,25,000	54,92,000	-	-	2,12,30,000	
Ditto - - -	1864-65 -	43,00,000	-	-	-	-	43,00,000	
North Western Provinces	1862-63 -	-	9,18,500	-	-	-	9,18,500	} 31,45,500
Ditto - - -	1863-64 -	-	22,27,000	-	-	-	22,27,000	
East and West Berar -	1863-64 -	12,40,000	2,50,000	1,00,000	-	-	15,90,000	15,90,000
Punjab - - -	1863-64 -	12,00,000	-	-	-	-	12,00,000	12,00,000
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>		2,53,93,000	66,40,500	1,10,72,000	90,00,000*	1,10,00,000	6,31,05,500	6,31,05,500

Note.—Amount of Secretary of State's Bills paid:—

	<i>Rs.</i>
In 1862-63 - - -	2,11,49,775
1863-64 - - -	3,58,59,000
TOTAL - - -	<i>Rs.</i> 5,70,08,775

* Besides this, bullion to the value of 40 lakhs of rupees was withdrawn from the Currency Department at Bombay in further payment for investments made at Calcutta, and was sent to Madras to be minted and remitted to reinforce the Government balance at Bombay. These 40 lakhs are included in the remittances from Madras in January 1864.—See page

25 May 1864.

(signed) S. D. Birch,
Deputy Auditor and Accountant General.

APPENDIX No. 7.

EXTRACT from a MEMORANDUM by Mr. *Arbuthnot*, of Her Majesty's Treasury; dated 20 August 1858.

INTO the West Indies, as into other American Colonies, the British settlers carried with them originally the form of money accounts of the mother country; but, as the supply of coins for circulation was obtained from the Spanish Provinces, it became necessary to adapt them to the system of account in use, by rating each for currency according to its supposed value expressed in the terms of British money. The errors to which this necessity gave rise, and the causes of them, have been so clearly and accurately described in Mr. Pennington's work on the currency of the British Colonies, that it is unnecessary to enter here into particulars. It is sufficient to observe that in each Colony different rates were assigned to the coins of Spain and South America. Arbitrary valuations were adopted without regard to any principle, and the confusion applied, not only to the silver coins, but to the gold coins in circulation. Hence the pound currency represented in no Colony the value of the pound sterling, and in each Colony a different value. The confusion arising from local legislation was further complicated by the proceedings of the Home Government. In the West Indies the doubloon was generally overvalued relatively to the dollar, and gold became therefore practically the standard of value in those Colonies. The Order in Council of 1825, however, referred only to the silver coinage, and declared 4*s.* 4*d.* sterling to be equal to the dollar. A higher rate was thus assigned to that coin than its intrinsic contents of precious metal justified according to the prevailing price of silver relatively to gold; but this was not all, for, as in the West Indies, a silver dollar was deemed to be equal to 1-16th of a doubloon, it was concluded that 4*s.* 4*d.* was also equal to 1-16th of a doubloon. Hence it followed, that not only silver dollars, but also British gold and silver coins (both being undervalued with reference to the doubloon) were practically excluded from the currency of the Islands.

It was the object of the Order in Council and Proclamation of 1838 to reduce this confusion to order by ascertaining and fixing the relative value of foreign coins to sterling money. The gold coins were rated for circulation according to their contents of pure gold as compared with the pure gold in the British sovereign: the silver coins were rated on the same principle; but, as the simple comparison of weight and fineness would not apply in the case of money consisting of different metals, the uncertain element was introduced of rating the silver coins for circulation according to an average of the relative value of gold and silver in the European market. Though fluctuations in the price of one, as compared with the other, were not unfrequent, according to the varying demands arising from the course of exchange between different countries, it was found that, for a long series of years, the price of silver, of British standard quality, in London, had never greatly deviated from 5*s.* the ounce, and on this basis the Spanish and Mexican dollar was rated for circulation at 50*d.*

It is not unworthy of remark that this valuation exhibited a fortunate coincidence of principle and convenience. It afforded a simple rule for the conversion of the dollar into the denomination of British money; and it equally facilitated the conversion of British money into the decimal system of account founded on the dollar, as the half-penny represented the one-hundredth part of that coin.

The measure was followed by Acts of the Legislatures of the several West Indian Colonies for the purpose of adjusting contracts in the local currencies to the new valuation; and finally by the general adoption of the system of account of the United Kingdom corresponding in its terms with the coins of the realm. These proceedings were attended with perfect success. The concurrent use of British with foreign coins at the rates assigned to them was established in the West Indies; but it happened that, although previously to 1838 the currency had been based on a gold standard, the proclamation of that year led in the first instance to the general use of silver dollars, and the circulation was principally maintained by the importation of dollars from the Mexican Mint, until the discoveries of gold in California and Australia led to a new direction of the trade in silver.

Mr. Pennington, whose agency was employed in the arrangements of 1838, was however too sagacious to suppose that any measure for the adaptation of coins of different metals for concurrent circulation could be regarded in the light of a permanent settlement. A true standard of value can only be founded on a single metal. What is termed a double standard can, at best, be only an alternative standard, hanging on an uncertain balance. The Proclamation of 1838 assumed gold, the standard of Great Britain, as the basis to which foreign silver coins should be adjusted according to the then existing relative value of the two metals; but it was observed in Mr. Pennington's book on Colonial Currency that "if the market value of gold and silver should permanently vary from the proportion fixed in the Order in Council and Proclamation of 1838, the cheaper metal will practically become the principal measure of value in the Colonies, and all money contracts will be discharged in that cheaper metal."

This result ensued so soon as the discoveries of gold in California had a sensible effect on silver. It then became no longer a profitable operation for the banks to obtain supplies of dollars from the Mexican Mint, and gold coins, or British silver, the representative of a gold currency, took their place. The transition occasioned probably some inconvenience to the Banks; but it was effected without disturbing contracts, and without detriment, therefore, to the community at large. British silver, which passes as an unlimited tender in the West Indies, fulfilled an intermediate function throughout, for it continued to circulate as tokens for the fractional parts of the pound sterling, whether that pound was considered to consist of 1,776 grains of fine silver, under the Proclamation of 1838, or of 113.001 grains of fine gold contained in the sovereign.

The currency of the other British Colonies in North America has been regulated on the same principle, but owing to local circumstances with some variations of detail. It may be observed that, previously to 1838 the proportions assigned by the Mint laws of the United States to the gold and silver coins of that country had rendered the former the cheaper medium of payment. In Canada foreign silver coins were rated for circulation according to a more strict analysis of the relative value of the two metals, and in consequence there was a tendency to a flow of the silver dollars of the United States from that country, in which they were undervalued, into Canada, where they circulated at their intrinsic value. Some local inconvenience was experienced on the borders of the two countries from this difference in their currency regulations; but if the attempt had been made to reconcile the discrepancy by assimilating the law of Canada to the Mint law of the United States, the consequence would have been that gold would have become, by a forced operation, the principal medium on which contracts would have been based in Canada. This change has been since effected, in the natural course of events, by the rise in the price of silver; and the result of the whole series of proceedings is, that gold has become the measure of value throughout North America, the various currencies of the British Colonies and the United States being adjusted to that standard. Many persons who confound the denomination of money with its representative in coins, the sign with the substance, continue to regard the dollar as the general coin of the world; but the dollar of Spain and Mexico, which may once have claimed this attribute, has been banished to the East.

APPENDIX No. 8.

REMARKS on the Importation of Bullion into India, with Quotations.

INDIA has for many years received large amounts of gold from Australia, partly as returns for direct shipments of produce, and partly through the influence of the Banks in working exchanges with the Colonies and England.

Gold generally finds a ready market in Calcutta. During the past three years sales were only suspended for about a month in December last, when our money market was at its lowest state of depression, and when Government Securities were equally unsaleable.

In December last, sovereigns of English and Australian coinage were in no case quoted under 10 rupees in Calcutta, and although bar gold, standard, was stated at one time to be marketable only at 14 rupees per tolah, I doubt whether any sales were effected at so low a price.

I reckon that India imported from Australia, in the year 1863, gold to the value of 2,000,000 L., and from Europe to the value of 991,112 L., or, in round numbers, three millions sterling in all.

As far as can be judged, all this gold has been devoted to purposes of hoarding and the manufacture of ornaments. It is said that on the Bombay side bars of gold stamped with the names of some of the local Banks, the quality and value, have obtained some currency as tokens for money, but such a system has not been tried in Bengal, although gold similarly marked is imported into Calcutta. The marks alluded to are used to assist sellers, and are much appreciated by the natives.

The Sydney Mint sells gold bar of standard fineness at a price of 3 L. 17s. 10½ d. per ounce, free of export duty. The freight, insurance, &c., on gold from Australia to India is about one and three-quarters per cent., or say 1s. 4d. per ounce; Sydney Mint gold, standard, can consequently be laid down in Calcutta at 3 L. 19s. 2½ d., or Rs. 39. 9. 8. per ounce, equal to Rs. 14. 13. 7½ per tolah.

In Melbourne there is a keen competition for gold, which is bought by the Banks in the open market. Recent prices are somewhat above the average, which may be taken at 3 L. 15s. 6d. per ounce standard. This gold is subject to an Australian export duty of 1s. 6d. per ounce on the actual weight. After allowing for this duty and for freight and

and insurance, the gold can be laid down in Calcutta at 3*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, or *Rs.* 39. 2. 8. per ounce, or *Rs.* 14. 11. per tolah.

The expense of sending gold from England is equal to three per cent. Thus, gold shipped from England at 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce cost the importer in Calcutta 4*l.* -*s.* 2½*d.*, or *Rs.* 40. 1. 8. per ounce, or *Rs.* 15. 0. 7. per tolah.

Australian coined gold (sovereigns) can be laid down in Calcutta at *Rs.* 10. 2. 9. each, and English coined gold at *Rs.* 10. 4. 10. per sovereign.

The rupee in the above calculations has been taken as the equivalent of 2*s.*

If a gold currency were to be introduced in India, and the Calcutta Mint purchasing price was fixed at the same figure as that of the Bank of England, 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* or *Rs.* 38. 14. per ounce, or *Rs.* 14. 9. 3. per tolah, an importer from Australia would obtain his coin at a cost of 2*s.* -⁷/₁₆*d.* per rupee from Sydney, and 2*s.* -³/₁₆*d.* per rupee from Melbourne, whilst an importer from England would obtain his rupee at a cost of 2*s.* -³/₄*d.*

The importers of coin, if the sovereign were accepted in India as a legal tender for 10 rupees, would obtain their rupee at 2*s.* -³/₄*d.* from London, and at 2*s.* -⁷/₁₆*d.* from Australia.

The cost of sending gold from Australia to England is the same as to India, 1 per cent. freight, and ³/₄ per cent. insurance and other charges. Most of the gold sent to England is despatched *via* the Cape in clippers. These clippers are, as an average, 75 to 80 days on the passage. As gold can be realised at once in England, it is reasonable to assume that gold bar can be converted into coin in London 80 days from the date of shipment in Australia.

Gold shipped to India by the Peninsular and Oriental steamers is 38 days in transit, and when the gold is sold, a prompt (or time for taking delivery) of 10 up to 30 days has to be allowed; consequently gold sent to India is not realised till fully 60 days after shipment in Australia.

But most of, if not all, the gold received in India from Australia is for sale and remittance to London. These remittances are made in bills of exchange at usance, or six months' sight; taking, therefore, the time occupied in despatching the gold to India, the sale and remittance of the proceeds, including the "post" and usance of the bills, Australian gold sent through India is not turned into coin in London, until 275 days after its dispatch or shipment in Australia.

The loss of time in realising gold in London, when sent through India, in comparison with direct shipments, is about six and a-half months. At a rate of interest at 6 per cent. per annum, this loss is equal to 2*s.* 6*d.* per ounce. The operators in exchanges generally cover this loss by the rate at which they convert the rupee into sterling by the purchase of bills on England.

The following table will show the results of gold sent to India from Australia for remittance of proceeds to England at various rates of exchange, as compared with direct shipments from Australia to England, the cost of the shipment being identical.

The selling price of the gold in Calcutta is taken at *Rs.* 38. 14. (or *Rs.* 14. 9. 3. per tolah), the equivalent at 2*s.* per rupee of 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, the Bank of England buying price, at which the sale in England is also supposed to be made:—

Rate of Exchange	Equivalent.	Interest 6½ months at 6 per Cent. per Annum.	Net.	Loss on Indian Shipment.	Profit on Indian Shipment.
<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	£. <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	£. <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
2 —	3 17 9	2 6	3 15 3	2 6	—
2 -¼	3 18 6½	2 6	3 16 -½	1 8½	—
2 -½	3 19 4¼	2 6	3 16 10¼	- 10¾	—
2 -¾	4 — 2	2 6	3 17 8	- 1	—
2 1	4 — 11¾	2 6	3 18 5¾	- -	- 8¾
2 1¼	4 1 9½	2 6	3 19 3½	- -	1 6½
2 1½	4 2 7½	2 6	4 — 1¾	- -	2 4½
2 1¾	4 3 5	2 6	4 — 11	- -	3 2
2 2	4 4 2¾	2 6	4 1 8¾	- -	3 11¾
2 2¼	4 5 -¼	2 6	4 2 6¼	- -	4 9¼
2 2½	4 5 10	2 6	4 3 4	- -	5 7

The price at which the gold is taken, as sold in Calcutta, will be found to be under the average when compared with quotations for the last few years.

The amount of gold imported into India from China is inconsiderable, and there is no chance of any large supplies being obtained from thence.

In the present state of Indian currency, the following table may be interesting; it gives the out-turn of bar silver, standard, purchased in London, and sent for coinage to the Calcutta mint.

The charges, such as freight, insurance, brokerage, &c., are computed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the mint seignorage is duly considered.

	s. d.		d.
Cost in London, -	4 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	per ounce, gives the rupee at a cost of -	23·0
"	4 11	" - - - - -	23·1
"	4 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	" - - - - -	23·2
"	4 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	" - - - - -	23·3
"	4 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	" - - - - -	23·4
"	5 -	" - - - - -	23·5
"	5 - $\frac{1}{4}$	" - - - - -	23·6
"	5 - $\frac{1}{2}$	" - - - - -	23·7
"	5 - $\frac{3}{4}$	" - - - - -	23·8
"	5 1	" - - - - -	23·9
"	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	" - - - - -	24·0
"	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	" - - - - -	24·1
"	5 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	" - - - - -	24·2
"	5 2	" - - - - -	24·3
"	5 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	" - - - - -	24·4
"	5 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	" - - - - -	24·5
"	5 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	" - - - - -	24·6
"	5 3	" - - - - -	24·7

and for each additional farthing in the price of bar silver, $\frac{1}{10}$ of a penny should be added to the cost as given.

Calcutta is taken as the place of import.

During the greater part of last year, the council bills on India sold on the Fort William Treasury at 1 s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 2 s. per rupee. This rate may be fairly taken as the equivalent of the price at which there would be a special demand for bar silver for Calcutta, apart from other places, and represents 5 s. to 5 s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per ounce.

The latest rate at which bills were drawn (in January) was 2 s. - $\frac{3}{8}$ d., or equal to bar silver at 5 s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per ounce at the outside.

But remitters from England in the present state of the Calcutta money market would readily give $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ of a penny per rupee more for the council bills than for bar silver, as the bills are payable on demand, and the silver in bars must be coined before it is available. The present rate of council bills may be fairly computed as equal to 5 s. 2 d. per ounce of bar silver in London.

Calcutta,
6 March 1864.

H. G. Dunlop.

SELLING PRICES of Bar Gold and Bar Silver of Standard Quality in London.

	1862.		1863.		1864.	
	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
10 January -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{3}{8}$	78 -	5 1 $\frac{3}{8}$	77 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{3}{8}$
26 January -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{3}{8}$	-	5 1 $\frac{3}{8}$	77 11	5 2
10 February -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$	77 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
26 February -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$	77 11	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to - $\frac{3}{8}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$
10 March -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$	77 11	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
26 March -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$	77 11	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$
10 April -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to - $\frac{1}{4}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 to - $\frac{1}{8}$	77 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
26 April -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{1}{8}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 to - $\frac{1}{8}$	77 11	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
10 May -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{1}{8}$	77 11	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ to - $\frac{1}{2}$		
26 May -	-	5 1 $\frac{1}{8}$	77 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
10 June -	78 -	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	77 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
26 June -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{1}{8}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{8}$		
10 July -	77 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 - $\frac{7}{8}$ to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 to 5 1 $\frac{1}{8}$		
26 July -	77 11	5 1 to - $\frac{1}{8}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 to - $\frac{1}{8}$		
11 August -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1		
26 August -	77 11	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 to - $\frac{1}{8}$		
10 September -	77 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
26 September -	77 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to - $\frac{3}{8}$		
10 October -	77 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$		
26 October -	-	5 1 $\frac{1}{8}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{5}{8}$		
10 November -	78 - $\frac{1}{2}$	5 2 $\frac{1}{8}$	78 -	5 1 $\frac{3}{8}$		
26 November -	78 - $\frac{1}{2}$ to 78 1	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ to - $\frac{1}{2}$		
10 December -	78 - $\frac{1}{4}$	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	77 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ to - $\frac{1}{2}$		
29 December -	77 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 78	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to - $\frac{5}{8}$	77 11	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to - $\frac{5}{8}$		

QUOTATIONS for China Leaf Gold of 100 touch in Calcutta per Tola.

	1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
6 January -	16 4 -	16 8 -	16 10 -	16 8 -	16 8 -	15 12 -
20 January -	16 4 -	16 8 -	16 7 -	16 7 -	16 8 -	15 14 -
5 February -	16 4 -	16 10 -	16 7 -	16 5 -	16 8 -	16 4 -
21 February -	16 6 -	-	16 -	16 3 -	16 8 -	16 6 6
7 March -	16 8 -	16 4 -	16 10 -	16 4 -	16 8 -	16 6 -
21 March -	16 4 -	16 8 -	-	16 5 -	16 8 -	16 6 -
7 April -	16 12 -	16 4 -	16 9 -	16 4 -	16 6 -	16 8 -
21 April -	16 12 -	16 8 -	-	16 5 -	16 9 -	16 7 -
2 May -	16 12 -	16 10 -	16 7 -	16 4 -	-	16 8 -
16 May -	16 12 -	16 12 -	16 6 -	16 3 -	16 12 -	16 6 -
2 June -	16 8 -	16 12 -	16 4 -	16 2 -	16 13 -	16 3 -
16 June -	16 4 -	17 -	16 5 -	16 3 -	16 11 -	
1 July -	16 4 -	16 -	16 3 -	16 3 -	16 11 -	
15 July -	16 8 -	16 14 -	16 3 -	16 2 -	16 8 -	
6 August -	16 8 -	16 12 -	16 1 6	16 2 -	16 7 -	
20 August -	15 8 -	16 12 -	16 5 -	16 4 -	16 11 -	
8 September -	17 -	16 12 -	16 7 -	16 8 -	16 11 -	
21 September -	17 4 -	16 14 -	16 9 -	16 5 -	16 11 -	
6 October -	-	16 12 -	16 5 -	-	16 10 -	
21 October -	17 -	16 12 -	-	16 5 -	-	
7 November -	16 12 -	16 13 -	-	16 9 -	16 7 -	
21 November -	16 8 -	16 12 -	16 7 -	16 9 -	16 2 -	
7 December -	16 8 -	16 12 -	-	16 8 -	16 2 -	
21 December -	16 8 -	16 14 -	16 9 -	16 4 -	15 14 -	

QUOTATIONS for Australian Gold in Calcutta.

	22 CARAT BAR.		24 CARAT BAR.		SOVEREIGNS.
	Per Tola.	Per Ounce.	Per Tola.	Per Ounce.	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
6 January - 1859 -	14 - -	37 5 4	15 4 4	40 11 6 ^{1/2}	10 1 6
20 January - " -	14 - -	37 5 4	15 4 4	40 11 6 ^{1/2}	10 2 -
5 February - " -	14 - -	37 5 4	15 4 4	40 11 6 ^{1/2}	10 3 -
21 February - " -	14 - -	37 5 4	15 4 4	40 11 6 ^{1/2}	10 3 -
7 March - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 5 -
21 March - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 5 -
7 April - " -	15 - -	40 - -	16 5 9	43 10 -	10 6 -
21 April - " -	15 - -	40 - -	16 5 9	43 10 -	10 7 -
2 May - " -	15 - -	40 - -	16 5 9	43 10 -	10 8 -
16 May - " -	15 - -	40 - -	16 5 9	43 10 -	10 4 -
2 June - " -	14 12 -	39 5 4	16 1 5	42 14 5 ^{1/2}	10 3 -
16 June - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 7 -
1 July - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 6 -
15 July - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 5 -
6 August - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 6 -
20 August - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 7 -
8 September - " -	15 - -	40 - -	16 5 9	43 10 -	10 9 -
21 September - " -	15 - -	40 - -	16 5 9	43 10 -	10 10 -
8 October - " -	Doorga Poojah Holidays.				
21 October - " -	15 - -	40 - -	16 5 9	43 10 -	10 9 -
7 November - " -	14 12 -	39 5 4	16 1 5	42 14 5 ^{1/2}	10 6 -
21 November - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 5 -
7 December - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 11 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 3 -
21 December - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 3 -
6 January - 1860 -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 3 6
21 January - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 3 -
7 February - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 4 -
21 February - " -	14 4 -	38 - -	15 8 3	41 6 -	10 2 -
7 March - " -	14 4 -	38 - -	15 8 3	41 6 -	10 - -
21 March - " -	14 8 -	38 10 8	15 13 1	42 2 10 ^{1/2}	10 3 -
5 April - " -	15 - -	40 - -	16 5 9	43 10 -	10 1 -
20 April - " -	15 - -	40 - -	16 5 9	43 10 -	10 4 -
2 May - " -	15 8 -	41 5 4	16 14 6	45 1 4	10 6 -
17 May - " -	15 - -	40 - -	16 5 9	43 10 -	10 6 -
1 June - " -	15 8 -	41 5 4	16 14 6	45 1 4	10 4 -
16 June - " -	15 12 -	42 - -	17 2 10	45 12 10 ^{1/2}	10 4 -
3 July - " -	15 8 -	41 5 4	16 14 6	45 1 4	10 5 -
18 July - " -	15 8 -	41 5 4	16 14 6	45 1 4	10 4 -
7 August - " -	15 8 -	41 5 4	16 14 6	45 1 4	10 4 -
21 August - " -	15 8 -	41 5 4	16 14 6	45 1 4	10 5 -
7 September - " -	15 8 -	41 5 4	16 14 6	45 1 4	10 5 -
21 September - " -	15 8 -	41 5 4	16 14 6	45 1 4	10 6 -
6 October - " -	15 4 -	40 10 8	16 10 2	44 3 1 ^{1/2}	10 7 -
17 October - " -	15 - 2	40 1 -	16 6 -	43 10 8	10 7 -
7 November - " -	14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 6 -
20 November - " -	14 10 8	39 1 9 ^{1/3}	16 - -	42 10 8	10 5 6
7 December - " -	14 10 8	39 1 9 ^{1/3}	16 - -	42 10 8	10 4 -
21 December - " -	14 10 8	39 1 9 ^{1/3}	16 - -	42 10 8	10 4 -
7 January - 1861 -	14 8 10	38 12 10 ^{2/3}	15 14 -	42 5 4	10 4 -
21 January - " -	14 13 5	39 9 1 ^{1/3}	16 3 -	43 2 8	10 4 -
7 February - " -	14 13 10	39 10 2 ^{2/3}	16 3 6	43 4 -	10 6 -
21 February - " -	15 2 5	40 6 5 ^{1/3}	16 8 6	44 1 4	10 5 6
7 March - " -	14 15 3	39 14 -	16 5 -	43 8 -	10 6 -
21 March - " -	14 14 4	39 11 6 ^{2/3}	16 4 -	43 5 4	10 6 -
9 April - " -	14 10 8	39 1 9 ^{1/3}	16 - -	42 10 8	10 6 -
20 April - " -	14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 5 6
7 May - " -	14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 5 6
21 May - " -	14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 2 -
7 June - " -	14 8 10	38 12 10 ^{2/3}	15 14 -	42 5 4	10 2 -
21 June - " -	14 7 -	38 8 -	15 12 -	42 - -	10 2 -
6 July - " -	14 7 -	38 8 -	15 12 -	42 - -	9 15 -
20 July - " -	14 8 10	38 12 10 ^{2/3}	15 14 -	42 5 4	10 - -
7 August - " -	14 7 11	38 10 5 ^{1/3}	15 13 -	42 2 8	10 1 6
21 August - " -	14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 3 -
7 September - " -	14 14 4	39 11 6 ^{2/3}	16 4 -	43 5 4	10 3 -
21 September - " -	14 9 9	38 15 4	15 15 -	42 8 -	10 3 6

QUOTATIONS for Australian Gold in Calcutta—continued.

		22 CARAT BAR.		24 CARAT BAR.		SOVEREIGNS.
		Per Tolah.	Per Ounce.	Per Tolah.	Per Ounce.	
		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
7 October - 1861 -		14 9 9	38 15 4	15 15 -	42 8 -	10 3 -
October - " -	- - Doorga Poojah Holidays.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
7 November - " -		14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 3 -
21 November - " -		14 12 11	39 7 9½	16 2 6	43 1 4	10 3 -
7 December - " -		14 13 5	39 9 1½	16 3 -	43 2 8	10 4 6
21 December - " -		14 13 5	39 9 1½	16 3 -	43 2 8	10 3 -
8 January - 1862 -		14 13 5	39 9 1½	16 3 -	43 2 8	10 4 -
21 January - " -		14 13 5	39 9 1½	16 3 -	43 2 8	10 4 6
7 February - " -		14 15 3	39 14 -	16 3 -	43 8 -	10 4 6
21 February - " -		14 13 5	39 9 1½	16 5 -	43 2 8	10 5 6
7 March - " -		14 15 3	39 14 -	16 5 -	43 8 -	10 4 -
21 March - " -		14 15 3	39 14 -	16 5 -	43 8 -	10 4 -
7 April - " -		14 15 3	39 14 -	16 5 -	43 8 -	10 4 -
21 April - " -		14 15 3	39 14 -	16 5 -	43 8 -	10 4 -
7 May - " -		14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 3 -
21 May - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 1 6
6 June - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 2 -
20 June - " -		14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 2 6
7 July - " -		14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 2 6
21 July - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 2 -
7 August - " -		14 9 9	38 15 4	15 15 -	42 8 -	10 3 -
21 August - " -		14 10 8	39 1 9½	16 - -	42 10 8	10 1 6
6 September - " -		14 9 9	38 15 4	15 15 -	42 8 -	10 2 6
20 September - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 5 -
8 October - " -	- - Doorga Poojah Holidays.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
21 October - " -		14 10 8	39 1 9½	16 - -	42 10 8	10 5 -
7 November - " -		14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 4 -
21 November - " -		14 11 4	39 3 6½	16 1 6	42 14 8	10 3 6
6 December - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 3 6
21 December - " -		14 12 11	39 7 9½	16 2 6	43 1 4	10 2 -
1 January - 1863 -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 3 6
21 January - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 3 6
7 February - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 3 6
21 February - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 3 6
7 March - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 3 6
21 March - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 3 6
7 April - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 1	42 13 6½	10 2 6
21 April - " -		14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 2 6
7 May - " -		14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 4 -
21 May - " -		15 2 5	40 6 5½	16 8 6	44 1 4	10 5 6
6 June - " -		15 2 5	40 6 5½	16 8 -	44 - -	10 5 -
20 June - " -		15 1 1	40 2 10	16 7 -	43 13 4	10 4 -
7 July - " -		14 12 11	39 7 9½	16 2 -	43 - -	10 2 -
21 July - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 3 6
7 August - " -		14 10 8	39 1 9½	16 - -	42 10 8	10 3 6
21 August - " -		14 12 11	39 7 9½	16 2 6	43 1 4	10 3 -
7 September - " -		14 13 10	39 10 2½	16 3 6	43 4 -	10 3 3
21 September - " -		14 13 10	39 10 2½	16 3 6	43 4 -	10 2 6
7 October - " -		14 14 4	39 11 6½	16 4 -	43 5 4	10 4 -
21 October - " -	- - Doorga Poojah Holidays.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
6 November - " -		14 14 9	39 12 8	16 4 6	43 6 8	10 5 -
21 November - " -		14 14 -	39 10 8	16 4 -	43 5 4	10 5 -
8 December - " -		14 7 -	38 8 -	15 12 -	42 - -	10 1 6
22 December - " -		14 6 1	38 5 6½	15 11 -	41 13 4	10 1 -
8 January - 1864 -		14 2 1	37 10 10½	15 7 -	41 2 8	10 1 -
22 January - " -		14 7 -	38 8 -	15 12 -	42 - -	10 1 -
8 February - " -		14 10 8	39 1 9½	16 - -	42 10 8	10 1 6
22 February - " -		14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 1 6
8 March - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 1 9
22 March - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 1 6
8 April - " -		14 12 11	39 7 9½	16 2 6	43 1 4	10 1 -
22 April - " -		14 12 11	39 7 9½	16 2 6	43 1 4	10 1 3
8 May - " -		14 11 7	39 4 2½	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 2 -
22 May - " -		14 9 9	38 15 4	15 15 -	42 8 -	10 1 3
8 June - " -		14 9 9	38 15 4	15 15 -	42 8 -	10 1 6

APPENDIX No. 9.

From the Honourable *Claud Brown* to Sir *C. E. Trevelyan*, dated Calcutta,
28 May 1864.

WHEN you last did me the favour to speak with me on the important question of the establishment of a gold currency for this country, you asked me to write you anything that might occur to me on the subject.

I now do so, more in order that I should not seem to neglect your request than with the expectation that my remarks can prove of value, for though I have given the matter some consideration, I have never got beyond the primary obstacle to what I understand as your scheme. I believe the arrangement which you are desirous of carrying out, and which is understood to have the support of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, is the simple but complete one of making the English (and Australian) sovereign a legal tender for 10 rupees throughout India, leaving the silver coinage as it is for the present, pending the time when the general adoption of gold as the medium for all large payments will justify the reduction of silver to the subsidiary position in the currency which it occupies in the mother country.

That, under such an arrangement, sovereigns would be readily and rapidly received into general circulation, I have little doubt, but the first and most essential condition is that some one must provide the sovereigns, and my difficulty is that I do not think it can be done at the price.

We may fairly assume that the average selling price of gold, over a series of years in this market, is an index to the rate at which—with reference to the state of the exchanges—it can profitably be laid down here, and that if the prices ruling afforded anything more than a moderate profit, the effect would be seen in a great addition to the supply, and a general reduction of value to a level, corresponding with that ruling in the other markets of the world.

I have taken the average of our own sales of Australian gold in the years 1861 and 1863, and find it to be *Rs. 14. 14. 3.* per sicca mohur of 22 carat fine. If we include the first four months of this year, during which the value was exceptionally affected by the monetary crisis, the average is reduced to *Rs. 14. 13. 9½.* on total sales of *Rs. 17,02,708.*

To check this result, I have taken the average of the quotations during the three years from our monthly circular, and find it to be *Rs. 14. 13. 4.*, so that, I think, we may fairly conclude that the value of gold of standard quality has during the past three years been as nearly as may be *Rs. 14. 14.* per sicca mohur.

At this price the 5 dwts. 3¼ grs., which an English sovereign contains, will be worth *Rs. 10. 2. 11.*, and when to this is added seignorage at the rate of 1 per cent., the cost of the coin will be *Rs. 10. 4. 6.*

It would be too much to say that we may not have such a reduction in the value of gold as would enable the sovereign to be supplied at a cost of 10 rupees; but for my own part I do not see any valid ground for expecting such a change, especially when due allowance is made for the effect which the adoption of gold, as a circulating medium in India, must have in checking any tendency that might otherwise have existed to a decline in the value of the metal.

Periods of temporary decline may no doubt occur, as at this moment, when 22 carat fine is not worth more than *Rs. 14. 10. 6.* to *Rs. 14. 11.*, but it would not be safe to argue from these.

Should the final result of your investigation of the contents of the "Gold Box," of which you told us, lead you to the conclusion that we cannot obtain English sovereigns for 10 rupees, I cannot but fear that the fact must prove fatal to the completeness of the system you were desirous of introducing, though it will not, I hope, prevent your arriving at the desired end in a certain degree. The main object, after all, is the provision of a gold currency for India, and though there would be very great advantage in doing this by means of a coin which circulates throughout all parts of Her Majesty's dominions, still there is much good to be had out of even a less complete scheme.

Without having had any opportunity of considering the arguments which may no doubt be advanced against such a course, it occurs to me that the best alternative would be to coin an Indian sovereign identical in fineness with the English coin, but inferior in weight by so much as would admit of its being turned out at a cost of 10 rupees.

APPENDIX No. 10.

MEMORANDUM by Mr. Pennefather, Auditor General of Ceylon, on the Currency of that Island.

THE currency of Ceylon is regulated as follows:—

1st. The Regulation No. VIII. of 1825 directs accounts to be kept in pounds, shillings, and pence, and declares that “British silver coin, whereof sixty-six shillings go to one pound troy of standard silver, should be received as the lawful coin of the island,” and that such British silver coin should “be a legal and full tender in every matter of account or debt.” Ceylon Ordinances, vol. i. p. 323.

2d. The Governor’s Minute of September 26th, 1836, orders the rupee to be taken at two shillings, and its fractional parts at corresponding values.

3d. The Ordinance of 1857, No. 5, “The Coining Prevention Ordinance,” enacts (Clause 5) that for the purposes of the Ordinance— Ceylon Ordinances, vol. iii. p. 9, 1857.

“The Company’s Rupee,
The Company’s Half-Rupee,
The Company’s Quarter-Rupee,

shall be deemed to be silver coins lawfully current in this colony.”

4th. The Governor’s Minute of October 18th, 1851, publishes the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies that—

“A local Ordinance is not necessary to give legal currency within the island to the gold coins of this realm, which, as being issued from Her Majesty’s Mint, under Her Royal authority, are a legal discharge for the sums they represent throughout Her Majesty’s dominions.”

5th. The Royal Proclamation of October 22d, 1856, promulgated here on July 15th, 1857, ordered Australian sovereigns and half-sovereigns to “be current and lawful money within our colonies of Ceylon, Mauritius, and Hong Kong,” and that they should “pass and be received as current and lawful money therein by the names aforesaid, and at the values hereinbefore assigned to them.”

It follows, then, that sovereigns, whether British or Australian, are a legal tender for 20 shillings each in Ceylon, and as the rupee passes, by the Governor’s order, for two shillings, it would seem that the sovereign is a recognised tender for 10 rupees. It is a legal tender for this sum to this extent, that a public servant is bound, by the Minute of September 26th, 1836, to take indifferently 10 rupees or a sovereign for 20 shillings, in satisfaction of revenue debts. It may be doubtful whether, as the Ordinance of 1857, No. 5, only makes it penal to counterfeit a rupee, and does not specify any value for the coin as part of the currency, the rupee is a legal tender at all among the general public, but it is received without hesitation for any amount at a value of two shillings. There is no limit here beyond which silver ceases to be a legal tender.

In practice the difficulty would be to get any one to tender a sovereign for so little as 10 rupees, gold being almost always at a premium. On one occasion, however, one of the banks, having a large stock of gold, issued a considerable quantity at par. It was taken eagerly, and nearly one-half of the notes of the bank in circulation were returned into its hands. Subsequently, there was some dissatisfaction in the interior owing to the scarcity of change, the bank, on issuing gold, having ceased to issue silver. This, however, was a minor point, speedily rectified.

The enclosed paper shows the extreme valuations for sovereigns given by one of the local banks during the years 1862 and 1863.

The rupee and the British currency circulate, side by side, throughout Ceylon, but by far the greater portion of the silver in the island is of the Indian coinage. If anything, the rupee is taken in preference to English silver.

This is due to three causes, mainly—

1st. Its greater metallic value than its British correspondent, the florin. The latter weighs 174·6 grains, containing 152·8 grains of silver; the former, 180 grains, of which 165 are silver. A similar remark applies to the fractional parts of the respective coins.

2d. The quantity of depreciated English silver, which some years ago was imported into Ceylon, and which was refused at the kutcheries. The great majority of these depreciated coins have now been absorbed. They are very rarely met with.

3dly and principally. As Indian currency, the rupee is sought by the Malabar coolies returning to the coast. Hence it is always in demand in the planting districts.

PRICES of Sovereigns ruling in Colombo during 1862 and 1863.

1862.	Australian.			British.			1863.	Australian.			British.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
January -	1	10	—	2	10	— premium.	January -	—	15	—	—	—	— premium.
February -	1	1	—	—	—	—	February -	—	5	—	2	10	—
March -	—	15	—	—	—	—	March -	—	7	6	—	—	—
April -	—	17	6	—	—	—	April -	—	7	6	2	5	—
May -	—	15	—	—	—	—	May -	—	7	6	—	—	—
June -	—	15	—	2	7	6	June -	—	7	6	2	5	—
July -	—	12	6	—	—	—	July -	—	7	6	1	15	—
August -	—	11	3	—	—	—	August -	—	2	6	1	15	—
September -	—	11	3	—	—	—	September -	—	2	6	1	10	—
October -	1	—	—	2	5	—	October -	—	3	—	1	10	—
November -	1	—	—	2	7	6	November -	—	10	—	—	—	—
December -	—	17	6	—	—	—	December -	—	10	—	2	—	—

These are extreme valuations, as the bank accommodated, to enable the purchasers to transact.

R. T. Pennefather, Auditor General.

LETTER from Mr. *Moir*, Acting Manager of the Oriental Bank, to Major General *O'Brien*, Governor of Ceylon; dated Colombo, 7 June 1864.

I FIND among other papers, which Mr. Duff's sudden departure prevented him from attending to, your note, enclosing copy of a letter to you from Sir Charles Trevelyan, asking for information on the subject of the monetary arrangements in this colony, under which the English and Australian sovereign circulate here as 20 shillings.

The question now at issue in India is the introduction of the sovereign at 10 rupees here; that process was greatly facilitated by an old proclamation of the Ceylon Government, issued many years ago, by which the Indian rupee was declared equivalent, in all money transactions, to two shillings of English currency, both being made legal tenders in the colony.

In point of fact, the value of the two coins is by no means identical; the Indian rupee containing 180 grains of silver, while the English florin has only 174 $\frac{6}{11}$ (the shillings 87 $\frac{3}{4}$) grains.

No practical inconvenience, however, appears to have attended the operation of this proclamation, and English and Indian coins have since circulated side by side in Ceylon, with little or no apparent preference for the one over the other.

The assimilation of the two coinages having thus become almost complete, the subsequent adoption of the English (and colonial) sovereign into legalised circulation here became, in time, almost a necessary consequence.

A double standard of currency (gold and silver) is thus in use in this colony, neither being subsidiary to the other, inasmuch as the amount of silver which may be tendered in payment of a debt is not limited (as in England), and, notwithstanding the objections which have been urged against this system in theory, I believe that no practical inconvenience has been found to result from it. On the contrary, Ceylon owes to its double standard its comparative immunity from the severe monetary crisis through which India has recently passed.

I may add that sovereigns generally (though not always) command a small premium here.

(Financial Department.—No. 89 of 1864.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., G.C.B., Secretary of State for India.

Sir,

Simla, 14 July 1864.

ACCORDING to the intention already expressed by us, we have the honour to address you on the subject of a gold currency for India.

vide pp. 70 to 130 of this Return.

2. The accompanying Minute by Sir Charles Trevelyan and its Appendices contain, we believe, a full exposition of the question.

3. We concur in the two main proposals contained in that Minute, viz., that sovereigns and half-sovereigns, according to the British and Australian standard, coined at any properly authorised Royal Mint in England, Australia, or India, should be made legal tender throughout the British dominions in India, at the rate of one sovereign for 10 rupees; and that the Government currency notes should be exchangeable either for rupees or for sovereigns at the rate of one sovereign for 10 rupees, but that they should not be exchangeable for bullion.

4. We

4. We are also of opinion that, in order to mitigate the evils to be expected from a recurrence of the late commercial crisis, it is necessary that there should be no delay in the adoption of these measures.

5. If, therefore, they have your approbation, we propose to give immediate legislative effect to them.

6. In the event of your approving of the adoption of the sovereign and half-sovereign as legal tender in India, we request that you will, without waiting for indents from this country, cause to be sent to the Mints of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, such matrices and dies, and drawing, adjusting or other machinery as may be necessary to secure the coining of sovereigns and half-sovereigns in exact conformity with the coinage of the London and Sydney Mints, except that there should be a minute Mint mark (say C., M. and B. for the respective Mints of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay), distinguishable only by practised persons with the help of a magnifying glass.

We have, &c.

(signed) *John Lawrence.*
H. Rose.
R. Napier.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor

(Financial.—No. 224.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India
in Council.

Sir,

India Office, London; 26 September 1864.

Para. 1. I HAVE received your Despatch, dated the 14th July last, No. 89, enclosing the elaborate Minute of Sir Charles Trevelyan, and the valuable papers contained in the Appendix, on the subject of introducing gold into the currency of India.

2. The practical proposal of Sir C. Trevelyan on this subject, in which you express the concurrence of your Government, is to make the gold sovereign and half-sovereign legal tender in India for 10 and 5 rupees respectively, concurrently with silver rupees, and ultimately to establish a gold standard and currency in India, as in England and Australia, with a subsidiary coinage of silver, the silver coins not possessing the intrinsic value which they represent, and being legal tender only to a certain amount.

3. I have carefully considered in Council this important question, which indeed has occupied my attention for some time, and which, as you will have learnt from the public journals, has been the subject of a debate in Parliament.

4. I lose no time in making you acquainted with the views which Her Majesty's Government entertain upon this subject, for I concur in the opinion that it is desirable that their decision on the question should be made known as early as possible in India.

5. It is obvious, from the information collected by Sir C. Trevelyan, that that there is a very general desire for the introduction of gold coins in India; that the people, even in the upper and remote parts of India, are well acquainted with the sovereign; and that there is a very general impression that the introduction of the sovereign would be well received, and that it would circulate freely at 10 rupees. Nor can there be any doubt of the advantage to India, England, and Australia if the gold sovereign could be made the basis of their common currency.

6. It is not proposed at once to change the standard coin of India, and indeed it would be a very serious measure hastily to attempt so great a revolution in the habits of the people. There is great wisdom in the observations of the Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, that they are "strongly in favour of the introduction of gold as an auxiliary currency, and as a tentative measure, which they believe

will gradually but surely lead to the adoption of gold as the general metallic currency of this country, with silver as the auxiliary; but they are opposed to any sudden change being attempted, fearing that any such attempt would prove unsuccessful, and be likely to cause great derangement in the commerce and finance of India."

7. The only practical measure, therefore, to be considered is the establishment of a double standard of gold and silver, the gold sovereign being legal tender for the same sum as 10 silver rupees.

8. I will not stop to discuss the general question of establishing a double standard, but it appears to me that there are great practical objections in the way of adopting the measure actually proposed.

9. It is only necessary to state that, where coins of the two metals, gold and silver, are equally legal tender, those of the metal which, at the relative legal rating of the two metals, is cheapest at any period, are thereby constituted the currency, and the metal of which they are made becomes practically the standard at the time; and further, that a very slight difference in the relative value of the two metals may change the standard and the whole currency of a country.

10. The readiest illustration of this truth is the recent change in the circulation of France. In that country coins of gold and silver were equally legal tender. Gold coins containing one ounce of gold were legal tender for the same sum as silver coins containing $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver.

11. Before the recent discoveries of gold an ounce of gold was worth, in the markets of Europe, nearly $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver. It was, therefore, according to the relative legal rating of gold and silver, more advantageous to pay in silver than in gold. Silver coin, therefore, for many years formed the currency of France, the gold coin bearing a premium. Since the recent discoveries of gold the value of gold relatively to silver has fallen to about 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$. This difference has rendered it more advantageous to pay in gold. Gold has displaced silver, and now forms the currency and standard in France.

12. It is obvious, therefore, that whether the sovereign, rated at 10 rupees, can circulate to any extent in India, concurrently with the silver rupees, depends upon the question whether it will be cheaper to meet an obligation of the amount of 10 rupees by a gold sovereign or by 10 silver rupees.

13. In examining this point, it is enough to refer to the information and the calculations contained in the Appendix to Sir C. Trevelyan's Minute as to the value of the sovereign in India.

14. In these calculations the value of gold is, of course, taken in rupees of the Indian silver standard.

15. There are two modes referred to in those papers by which sovereigns might be provided for the currency of India; first, by coining them in India; secondly, by importing English or Australian sovereigns.

16. With regard to the first proposal of coining sovereigns in India, Mr. Brown's paper contains a calculation of the cost at present of producing a sovereign at a Mint in India, and he estimates it at Rs. 10. 4. 6.

17. With regard to the second proposal of importing sovereigns, Mr. Dunlop's paper estimates the price, calculated in rupees (and the rupees taken at the $\frac{1}{10}$ th part of an English pound), at which an English sovereign can be laid down at Calcutta at Rs. 10. 4. 10.; that of an Australian sovereign at Rs. 10. 2. 9.

18. The prices at which Australian sovereigns have been actually sold at Calcutta, according to Mr. Dunlop's paper, give a higher value for the sovereign than this; and the prices of English sovereigns, which I have received from Bombay, are also rather higher than the price above given.

19. I do not know that, in the present exceptional state of the markets for produce in India, the present prices of the precious metals are a good criterion of their value. On referring to the prices of silver in the markets of Europe, the intrinsic value of the sovereign in rupees would seem to be about Rs. 10. 8. at the present price of silver in London, and about Rs. 10. 12. at the price which prevailed some time before 1850.

20. At

20. At the present prices of gold, with the various charges of bringing it to India, the value of the sovereign must, according to these statements (and it is by these statements that Sir C. Trevelyan's proposal is supported), be so much above that of 10 silver rupees that, for the purpose of making any payment, the latter coins must necessarily be preferred to the sovereign.

21. If there were the means of coining sovereigns in India, it would be more for the advantage of the holder of bullion to carry silver to the Mint for coinage rather than gold, and it would be more for the advantage of the exporter from England to send silver to India rather than gold or sovereigns. Even if the sovereign is imported from Australia, it would be more valuable in India than 10 silver rupees.

22. If the use of gold in the currency of India enhanced its value there, as is probable, and if the anticipations which are generally entertained of a diminishing supply of gold, and an increasing supply of silver, should be realized, the difference in favour of the employment of silver coin will be greater even than it is at present.

23. I cannot but think, therefore, that to enact that a sovereign should be legal tender at 10 rupees, with the view of introducing it largely into the currency of India, would be totally inoperative; and it is very inexpedient to enact a law which would have no practical effect, and which it might be necessary to alter in a very short time.

24. I am unwilling, therefore, to sanction such an enactment, but at the same time I see no objection to reverting to a state of matters which prevailed in India for many years, namely, that gold coin should be received into the public treasuries at a rate to be fixed by Government, and publicly announced by proclamation.

25. This was the case with the gold mohur, or 15-rupee piece, from 1835, till Lord Dalhousie's proclamation in 1852, and with other gold coins previously to the reformation of the currency in 1835.

26. At the present value, there can hardly be a question of the readiness of the people of India to receive sovereigns for 10 rupees; and if any difficulty should be apprehended about their doing so in parts of the country distant from the Presidency towns, it will be obviated by their being received at that rate into the Government treasuries. I do not anticipate the least risk of loss to the Government by so receiving them. One of the Appendices to Sir C. Trevelyan's Minute shows that the sovereigns received into the treasury of the Madras Presidency were sold at a profit. The only possibility of loss is such a change in the value of gold as would make a sovereign worth less than 10 rupees, and, for the reasons which I have given, I do not anticipate any probability of this being the case. If it should happen, it would be a very simple measure to alter the rate at which they were received.

27. The obligation which is imposed by making a coin legal tender is only an obligation upon the receiver to take it for a given sum. No obligation is imposed by such an enactment on the person paying. It is obviously unnecessary to impose an obligation upon any one to receive a sovereign for more than its value; and as the person paying, by whom, in fact, the coin is put into circulation, has the option of paying either in gold or in silver, the question, as regards the introduction of the sovereign into circulation at the rate of 10 rupees, must depend upon whether it would be worth the while of any person, having a payment to make, to carry gold to a Mint to be coined into sovereigns, or to import sovereigns, in order that he may have the power of paying a sovereign in discharge of a debt which he may equally discharge with 10 silver rupees.

28. It is not probable that, at the present relative value of gold and silver, any one would incur the loss which such a proceeding would cause; but, if the convenience of the sovereign circulating at the rate of 10 rupees is so great as is represented in Sir C. Trevelyan's Minute and the accompanying papers, it is possible that this advantage may counterbalance some loss.

29. Whether it would do so, and to what extent, can only be determined by experience, and I am of opinion that it may be desirable to try at once, as an experimental measure, the course which I have suggested.

30. I wish you, therefore, to declare and to make it publicly known by proclamation, that sovereigns and half-sovereigns, according to the British and Australian standard, coined at any properly authorized Royal Mint in England or Australia, and of current weight, will, until further notice, be received in all the treasuries of India for the same sum as 10 and 5 silver rupees respectively, and will be paid out again at the same rate, unless objected to.

31. This measure appears to be entirely unobjectionable. It is in accordance with the cautious and tentative course recommended by the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta; it will, as far as it goes, facilitate the use of the sovereign and half-sovereign in all parts of India; it will pave the way for the use of a gold coinage in whatever shape it may ultimately be found advisable to introduce it; and, at the same time, it establishes a preference in favour of the sovereign.

I have, &c.
(signed) Charles Wood.

(Financial.—No. 225.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India
in Council.

Sir,

India Office, London, 26 September 1864.

Para. 1. IN another Despatch of this day's date, I have communicated to you the views of Her Majesty's Government on the question of introducing gold into the currency of India. I now proceed to the other proposal contained in Sir C. Trevelyan's Minute, in which your Government concur, *i. e.*, that notes should in no case be issued except on coin deposited in the Currency Department.

2. I do not see the necessity for this enactment. I fully admit the evil which it is intended to remedy. According to the law, as I understand it to stand at present, any person bringing bullion to the Mint receives a Mint certificate engaging to deliver coin after an interval sufficient to enable the Mint to coin the bullion. A person presenting bullion to the Currency Department receives notes at once, for which he can immediately demand coin. A person, therefore, availing himself of this last-mentioned power may easily defeat the former provision, and may obtain coin for bullion at once, instead of after a certain interval. It is obvious that by such a course the Government might be placed in great difficulty, against which it is necessary to guard. It seems to me, however, that the necessary security will be afforded by relieving the Government from the obligation of giving notes in exchange for bullion, until after such time as it may deem right, not exceeding the time necessary for coining the bullion. This will put the issue of coin and of paper on precisely the same footing, and the Government cannot be called upon to give coin before it is in a condition to do so.

3. It may, however, often be the case that there can be no risk in giving notes at once for bullion, and there is no reason for depriving the public of the accommodation of the additional quantity of notes which it requires. During the greatest pressure at Bombay last autumn, coin was brought into the Currency Department in order to obtain notes. There could not at that time have been any danger of the Government being pressed by a demand for coin in exchange for them, and notes to a considerable extent might safely have been issued in exchange for bullion. It must always be a case for the exercise of the discretion of the Government, care being taken to keep in the Currency Department such an amount of coin as will meet all probable demands for it in exchange for notes.

4. I see no necessity, therefore, for prohibiting the issue of notes in exchange for bullion; but I should wish to see provision made, by law if necessary, to enable the Government to interpose such interval between the presentation of the bullion and the delivery of the notes as may, in the existing circumstances and state of the Mint, render it perfectly safe from any demand for coin which it might not have it in its power to meet.

I have, &c.
(signed) Charles Wood.

(Financial.—No. 226.)

To his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India
in Council.

Sir,

India Office, London, 26 September 1864.

Para. 1. IN Act No. 19 of 1861 of the Legislative Council of India, for the issue of a Government Paper Currency, it is provided by Section 9, "That it shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council from time to time to direct by order to be published in the Gazettes of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, that notes, to an extent to be specified in the order, not exceeding one-fourth of the total amount of issues represented by coin and bullion, as herein provided, shall be issued at such offices or agencies of issue as may be named in the order, in exchange for gold coin of full weight of the Government of India, or for foreign gold coin or gold bullion computed at such rates, and according to such rules and conditions as shall be fixed by such order, and which rates, rules, and conditions shall not be altered without six months' previous notice. Whenever such order shall be issued, the head commissioner, commissioners, deputy commissioners, and agents, at the offices or agencies specified in the order, shall be bound to issue notes on demand in conformity with such order."

2. With reference to that provision, and to my Financial Despatch of this date, No. 224, it appears to me that there would be no objection to your issuing notes in exchange for sovereigns, at the rate specified in that Despatch, to such a moderate amount as you may consider expedient, care being taken that the provision of the Act referred to is duly observed.

3. It would not be necessary that the sovereigns received in exchange for notes should be permanently retained, but they might be sold, when it should be thought necessary, and replaced by silver coin.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Charles Wood.*

(Financial Department.—No. 155 of 1864.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., M. P., Secretary of State
for India.

Sir,

Fort William, 3 December 1864.

WITH reference to your Despatch, No. 224, dated the 26th September 1864, we have the honour to forward copies of two notifications which we have issued, with a view to give effect to your decision that sovereigns and half sovereigns, according to the British and Australian standard, may be received, at an exchange of 10 rupees and 5 rupees respectively, in payment of Government demands. We also forward a copy of a Minute by the Honourable Sir Charles Trevelyan, containing his remarks on the Despatch under acknowledgment.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
R. Napier.
H. B. Harrington.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.

(No. 3517.)

NOTIFICATION.

Fort William, Financial Department,
23 November 1864.

THE Governor General of India in Council considering it expedient that the circulation of British and Australian sovereigns in all parts of British India and its dependencies should be encouraged and facilitated, is pleased hereby to direct that, from and after the publication of this notification, sovereigns and half-sovereigns coined at any authorised Royal Mint in England or Australia of current weight,* shall, until further notice, be received in all the treasuries of British India and its dependencies in payment of sums due to the Government as the equivalent of 10 and five rupees, respectively; and that such sovereigns and half-sovereigns shall, whenever available at any Government Treasury, be paid at the same rates to any person willing to receive them in payment of claims against the Government.

E. H. Lushington,
Secretary to the Government of India.

(No. 3518.)

NOTIFICATION.

Fort William, Financial Department,
23 November 1864.

THE Governor General of India in Council is pleased to direct, under the authority vested in him by Act XIX. of 1861, Section 9, that Government currency notes shall, until further notice, be issued at the offices and agencies of issue of the several circles of Government paper currency in British India, in exchange for sovereigns and half-sovereigns, coined at any authorised Royal mint in England or Australia, and of current weight, calculated at the rate of 10 and five rupees, respectively, to an extent not exceeding one-fourth of the total amount of issues represented by coin, or by coin and bullion in each circle.

E. H. Lushington,
Secretary to the Government of India.

MINUTE.

IN submitting drafts of notifications to give effect to the Secretary of State's decision on the question of a gold currency for India, I think it right to make the following remarks:—

The Secretary of State's decision is based upon the following positions laid down in the 12th, 20th, and 23d paragraphs of his Despatch, dated the 26th September last, No. 224; that whether the sovereign, rated at 10 rupees, can circulate to any extent in India depends upon the question whether it will be cheaper to meet an obligation of the amount of 10 rupees by a gold sovereign or by 10 silver rupees; that, at the present prices of gold, the value of the sovereign must be so much above that of 10 silver rupees that, for the purpose of making any payment, the latter* coins must necessarily be preferred to the sovereign; therefore, to enact that a sovereign should be legal tender at 10 rupees, with the view of introducing it largely into the currency of India, would be totally inoperative; and it is very inexpedient to enact a law which would have no practical effect, and which it might be necessary to alter in a very short time.

If

* The standard weight of the sovereigns is 123.274 grains, and it ceases to be current when, from wearage or other causes, it falls in weight below 122.5 grains.

If the present prices of gold are calculated for this purpose upon those prevailing in London, the correctness of this view must be at once admitted.

The value of the sovereign is about Rs. 10. 8. at the present price of silver in London. If, therefore, the currency of the sovereign in India depended upon its value in London, to enact that the sovereign should be legal tender at 10 rupees would be entirely inoperative.

But the sovereign must be rated for circulation in India, not with reference to its English, but to its Indian price estimated in silver.

This may be at once established by the fact that if the sovereign were made legal tender in India at the English price of Rs. 10. 8., the existing Indian currency would be rapidly revolutionised, and creditors would receive much less than their due.

The value of the precious metals is determined by the same principles as that of other commodities. Gold and silver are cheapest at the place of production, and their price augments in proportion to the charges which have to be incurred in order to lay them down at any given place.

Gold reaches India from Sydney and Melbourne by a short and direct route of little more than a month, being transhipped from one line of the Peninsular and Oriental steamers to another at Galle. Silver is brought from South America by the round-about way of England, charged with the additional freight and interest consequent upon the increased length of the voyage.

Silver is also so much more bulky than gold, that it becomes dearer by comparison, in proportion as the two metals are removed from their sources of production. Thus, although both the precious metals are more valuable with reference to other commodities in the interior of India than they are at the ports, gold is, on account of its superior portability, sent in great quantities to the distant parts of the interior, in preference to silver, to adjust the exchanges, and it is always somewhat cheaper there, estimated in silver, than it is at Calcutta and Bombay.

Since the beginning of December last, the average price of the sovereign at Calcutta has been Rs. 10. 1. 3., while, during the same period at Bombay, it has been Rs. 10. 2. 8.* The price of the sovereign had been occasionally lower than this, but it will be seen from the quotations in the Appendix, which have been kindly furnished to me by Mr. Dunlop, in continuation of those annexed to my previous Minute, that, during nearly a year, these low rates have constantly prevailed, and that the latest tendency is to a further reduction. The large quantity of gold imported during the same period precludes the idea of the quotations referring to isolated or accidental transactions, the importations at Calcutta from the 1st December 1863 to the 31st October 1864 having amounted to 2,383,435 *l.*, and at Bombay to 4,919,733 *l.*

The state of the Indian produce markets equally affects both the precious metals. Owing to the fall in the price of cotton and other causes; they are likely to be in less demand than they have been; but this will not disturb the local relative value of gold and silver.

No reasonable doubt can, I think, be entertained that the sovereign would, under these circumstances, pass current at 10 rupees if it were made a legal tender at that rate. The superior convenience of a gold currency is worth, on an average of all sorts of transactions, at least 2 per cent., whereas, taking the sovereign at 10 rupees, gold would be rated only $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. below its current market value in reference to silver at Calcutta, and $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. at Bombay. For every practical purpose the case has occurred which was contemplated in the following passage of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch, dated the 2d May 1861:—"I am not insensible to the possible advantage which might arise from the introduction of the sovereign as the current coin of India (as it is, I believe, in Ceylon), but, at the present relative intrinsic value of gold and silver, no combination of Indian coins can express the value of the sovereign. If, by any change in the relative value of the two metals, a sovereign and 10 rupees were to become

* This difference of price is attributable to the greater abundance of silver at Bombay, and to the circumstance of there being less direct trade between Australia and Bombay than between Australia and Calcutta.

become of equal intrinsic value, the sovereign might readily be introduced, and become the standard coin of India."

This great public question could hardly be in a better position for satisfactory solution. If the sovereign had been worth rather less than 10 rupees, it could not have been made a legal tender at that rate, because every creditor would have been defrauded to the extent of the difference; but, being worth more, and yet only as much more as would be compensated by the superior advantages of a gold currency, the measure may be safely adopted. The object is not to make a revolution and breach of faith by a sudden flood of gold, but to provide for the future, as the first Napoleon did half a century before the discovery of the Californian gold field.

Although a single metal must in every country be ultimately adopted as the standard, it may be for the public advantage to pass through a period of double standard in order to change the basis of the currency from silver to gold, provided the new gold currency be properly rated with reference to silver. This has taken place of late years, without inconvenience and with much general benefit in our West India Colonies, the United States, and France; and I submit that the altered circumstances of India call for the adoption of a similar arrangement.

The Secretary of State has determined to maintain the practice of issuing notes against bullion, at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and has now further directed that notes shall be issued against sovereigns without declaring that coin legal tender.

The principle of a note currency is, that it is the representative of the current legal coin; and that, not being issuable except in exchange for coin, the mixed currency of notes and coin varies in quantity exactly as if it were wholly composed of coin.

It is true that the Bank of England issues notes upon bullion, but this is a remnant of the original mercantile basis of the English paper currency, and it is attended with this practical convenience, that bullion is used at home as a sort of international currency in adjusting the foreign exchanges. In India bullion is imported solely in order to its being converted into coin in the shortest possible time, and the proper place for it is, therefore, the Mint, and not the Currency Department.

This part of the subject is clearly and correctly explained in the Secretary of State's Despatch of the 2d of May 1861:—"The position of the Government or Currency Commissioners is totally different from that of a great banking establishment, like the Bank of England. It is no part of the functions of the Government currency establishment to hold bullion for the convenience of the merchant. To whatever extent this may be necessary or useful in India, it should be done by the banks of that country. It is a part of the banking or trading business of the community. The bullion or coin held in the department of issue must be held entirely for its own purposes, and be of such a description as to ensure those purposes being answered. Now the demand of coin for notes which is to be anticipated and feared in India, is an internal demand, which might occur if distrust of the notes were entertained. To meet such a demand, the current coin of the country is the only certain resource. If gold were held in the Currency Department, it still must be optional with the person presenting notes to receive it. The only certain security for the convertibility of the note at the office of the issuer is payment in that coin which is legal tender throughout the country."

One main object of a paper currency is, to economise the stock of specie, and to restore to reproductive purposes all that is not required to support the paper circulation. The Government notes in circulation are now upwards of seven millions sterling. The investments in Government securities amount to little more than three millions. The difference between these two sums, or more than four millions sterling, is retained in coin and bullion. But, so steady has been the growth of the paper circulation, and so fully has it stood the test of commercial crisis, that much less than four millions sterling would suffice to meet every probable demand, if the remainder consisted solely of "that coin which is legal tender throughout the country."

The note circulation of Calcutta and Bombay alone is 6,260,000 £. The reserves

reserves in coin and bullion amount to 3,570,000 *l.*; but, in order to assist in meeting the sudden and indefinite demands upon the cash balances, arising from the practice which has been recently adopted of cashing Mint certificates at sight, authority has been given for exchanging bullion deposited in the Mint for coin deposited in the Currency Department to any extent, provided the coin in the latter is not reduced below 800,000 *l.* at each place. The actual reserve of coin in the Currency Departments at Calcutta and Bombay is, therefore, less than the total amount of the deposits of coin and bullion by nearly two millions sterling, the greater part of which might safely be invested in Government securities, and be thereby restored to reproductive purposes in the hands of individuals, if Mint certificates were again made payable after the bullion has been coined, and the deposits in the Currency Department were confined to the current legal coin.

The Secretary of State proposes that bullion should still be received both at the Mint and in the Currency Department; but that "provision should be made by law, if necessary, to enable the Government to interpose such interval between the presentation of the bullion and the delivery of the notes as may, in the existing circumstances and state of the Mint, render it perfectly safe from any demand for coin which it might not have in its power to meet."

If the holders of bullion are to wait until it is coined before they receive its value in coin, or in notes which represent coin, they may with greater advantage wait at the Mint, whose business it is to convert bullion into coin, than at the Currency Department, whose business it is to exchange notes for coin.

On the other hand, if the holders are to have their bullion discounted, either at the Mint or the Currency Department, before it is coined, this can only be done by keeping balances greatly in excess of what is required for the public service. No system of finance could, without serious loss or danger, stand such a liability as that of having to pay, on demand, the value of all the bullion landed on the shores of India. What would be thought if it were proposed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should discount, out of his cash balance at the bank, the whole of the bullion which reaches England?

If these premises are correct, it would follow—

1st. That the Assay Departments at the three Indian Mints should be made as efficient as possible, so that there may be no unnecessary delay in delivering mint certificates, which are negotiable securities, to the holders of bullion.

2d. That the Mint certificates should be payable, as formerly, at twenty days' sight; and

3d. That Government currency notes should be issued in the Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay circles, as they are in the circles which have been recently established in the interior, only in exchange for coin which is legal tender.

C. E. Trevelyan.

Calcutta, 23 November 1864.

APPENDIX.

Calcutta Quotations for Australian Gold.

	22 Carat Bar.		24 Carat Bar.		Sovereigns.
	Per Tolah.	Per Ounce.	Per Tolah.	Per Ounce.	
1863:	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
8 December - -	14 7 -	38 8 -	15 12 -	42 - -	10 1 6
22 " - -	14 6 1	38 5 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	15 11 -	41 13 4	10 1 -
1864:					
8 January - -	14 2 1	37 10 10 $\frac{2}{3}$	15 7 -	41 2 8	10 1 -
22 " - -	14 7 -	38 8 -	15 12 -	42 - -	10 1 -
8 February - -	14 10 8	39 1 9 $\frac{1}{3}$	16 - -	42 10 8	10 1 6
22 " - -	14 12 6	39 6 8	16 2 -	43 - -	10 1 6
8 March - -	14 11 7	39 4 2 $\frac{2}{3}$	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 1 9
22 " - -	14 11 7	39 4 2 $\frac{2}{3}$	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 1 6
8 April - -	14 12 11	39 7 9 $\frac{1}{3}$	16 2 6	43 1 4	10 1 -
22 " - -	14 12 11	39 7 9 $\frac{1}{3}$	16 2 6	43 1 4	10 1 3
8 May - -	14 11 7	39 4 2 $\frac{2}{3}$	16 1 -	42 13 4	10 2 -
22 " - -	14 9 9	38 15 4	15 15 -	42 8 -	10 1 3
8 June - -	14 9 9	38 15 4	15 15 -	42 8 -	10 1 6
21 " - -	14 7 11	38 10 5 $\frac{1}{3}$	15 13 -	42 2 8	10 2 -
7 July - -	14 7 11	38 10 5 $\frac{1}{3}$	15 13 -	42 2 8	10 2 -
22 " - -	14 7 -	38 8 -	15 12 -	42 - -	10 1 6
8 August - -	14 10 8	39 1 9 $\frac{1}{3}$	16 - -	42 10 8	10 1 -
22 " - -	14 7 -	38 8 -	15 12 -	42 - -	10 - -
7 September - -	14 6 1	38 5 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	15 11 -	41 13 4	10 - -
21 " - -	14 6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	38 6 8	15 11 6	41 14 8	10 1 6
3 October - -	14 6 1	38 5 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	15 11 -	41 13 4	10 2 -
21 " - -	- -	Doorga Poojah Holidays.			
3 November - -	14 7 11	38 10 5 $\frac{1}{3}$	15 13 -	42 2 8	10 - 6

Bombay Quotations for Australian Gold.

	22 Carat Bar.		24 Carat Bar.		Sovereigns.
	Per Tolah.	Per Ounce.	Per Tolah.	Per Ounce.	
1863:	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
12 December - -	14 2 6	37 12 -	15 7 2	41 3 1 $\frac{1}{3}$	10 3 -
28 " - -	14 2 6	37 12 -	15 7 2	41 3 1 $\frac{1}{3}$	10 2 -
1864:					
13 January - -	14 2 6	37 12 -	15 7 2	41 3 1 $\frac{1}{3}$	10 1 -
28 " - -	14 7 2	38 8 5 $\frac{1}{3}$	15 12 3	42 - 8	10 3 -
13 February - -	14 10 3	39 - 8	15 15 7	42 9 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	10 3 -
27 " - -	14 2 6	37 12 -	15 7 2	41 3 1 $\frac{1}{3}$	10 2 -
12 March - -	14 10 3	39 - 8	15 15 7	42 9 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	10 2 -
28 " - -	14 12 - $\frac{1}{2}$	39 5 4	16 1 6	42 14 8	10 2 6
13 April - -	14 8 1	38 10 10	15 13 3	42 3 4	10 3 -
28 " - -	14 10 3	39 - 8	15 15 7	42 9 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	10 2 3
13 May - -	14 13 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 10 2 $\frac{2}{3}$	16 3 6	43 4 -	10 2 6
23 " - -	14 13 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 10 2 $\frac{2}{3}$	16 3 6	43 4 -	10 3 -
8 June - -	14 13 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 10 2 $\frac{2}{3}$	16 3 6	43 4 -	10 5 -
23 " - -	14 10 3	39 - 8	15 15 7	42 9 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	10 2 9
8 July - -	14 13 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 10 2 $\frac{2}{3}$	16 3 6	43 4 -	10 3 -
23 " - -	14 12 - $\frac{1}{2}$	39 5 4	16 1 6	42 14 8	10 3 -
8 August - -	14 12 - $\frac{1}{2}$	39 5 4	16 1 6	42 14 8	10 3 -
23 " - -	14 12 - $\frac{1}{2}$	39 5 4	16 1 6	42 14 8	10 3 -
8 September - -	14 13 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 10 2 $\frac{2}{3}$	16 3 6	43 4 -	10 3 -
28 " - -	14 12 - $\frac{1}{2}$	39 5 4	16 1 6	42 14 3	10 2 3
13 October - -	14 10 3	39 - 8	15 15 7	42 9 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	10 2 3
28 " - -	14 12 - $\frac{1}{2}$	39 5 4	16 1 6	42 14 8	10 2 -

(Financial.—No..24.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir,

India Office, London, 9 February 1865.

1. I HAVE considered in Council your financial letter dated the 3d December last, No. 155, forwarding copies of two notifications issued in India, giving effect to the decision contained in my Despatch dated the 26th September 1864, No. 224, as to the receipt, until further notice, of sovereigns and half sovereigns, at an exchange of 10 rupees and five rupees respectively; and also a Minute by the Honourable Sir Charles Trevelyan on the decision communicated in the Despatch above referred to.

2. The notifications which you have issued appear to be in accordance with my instructions, and are approved.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Charles Wood.*

11

EAST INDIA (GOLD CURRENCY).

COPIES of a RESOLUTION, No. 1325, dated Simla, 12th July 1864, by the Government of India, Financial Department, on the subject of a GOLD CURRENCY for *India*, together with the several Minutes, Letters, &c. therein referred to; and, of CORRESPONDENCE between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India, relative to the same subject.

(*Mr. Crawford.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed
28 February 1865.

[*Price 1 s. 6 d.*]

79.

Under 16 oz.

EAST INDIA (SOVEREIGNS):

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 1 June 1865;—for,

“COPY of any CORRESPONDENCE with the Government of *India*, showing the result of the NOTIFICATION authorising the Receipt of SOVEREIGNS in the TREASURIES and in the OFFICES for the Issue of GOVERNMENT NOTES.”

India Office, }
13 June 1865. }

T. L. SECCOMBE,
Secretary, Financial Department.

Financial Department.—No. 56, of 1865.

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., M.P., Secretary of State
for India.

Sir,

Fort William, 21 March 1865.

WE have the honour to transmit a copy of a communication which we have received from the Directors of the Bank of Bengal.

2. The Government Notification of the 23d of November last, authorising the receipt of sovereigns and half-sovereigns at the treasuries, at the respective rates of ten and five rupees, was adopted by the bank as the rule for the whole of their transactions, and this letter reports the result up to a recent date, and expresses the opinion of the Directors that the time has arrived when the sovereign and half-sovereign ought to be declared legal tender at the above-mentioned rates.

3. It will be seen that up to the 9th instant the total receipts at the bank in these coins, amounted to 370,000 £., and that, although payments had likewise been made to a considerable amount, sovereigns accumulated to an inconvenient extent in the hands of the bank, and 200,000 were, therefore, transferred to the Calcutta Currency Office in exchange for rupees.

4. Owing to further expected arrivals of sovereigns from Australia, the proportion of one-fourth of the total amount of issues represented by coin and bullion, which can by law be received in gold coin in the currency department, is likely soon to be completed, and, in order that the balances of the bank and of the Government may not be composed of a coin which cannot be relied upon as a circulating medium, owing to its not being a legal tender, it will then become necessary, either to go forward, to convert the experimental measure of making the sovereign receivable in the treasuries and currency offices at 10 rupees, into the substantive one of making it a legal tender at that rate, or to take the retrograde step of withdrawing the notification authorising the sovereign being received at 10 rupees, or modifying it by making the sovereign receivable at a lower rate.

5. Although the sovereign still commands, under certain circumstances, a small premium over 10 rupees in the interior of the Bengal Presidency, it has been paid, at the last-mentioned rate, into the Allahabad, Lahore, and Nagpore Currency Offices, as well as into many of the treasuries. The sums held in sovereigns

at the above-mentioned currency offices on the 15th instant, the date of the Return last received, were—

	£.
Lahore - - - - -	13,350
Allahabad - - - - -	690
Nagpore - - - - -	80

6. As it has now been proved that to declare the sovereign a legal tender at 10 rupees would not be inoperative in a great part of India, as the local relative value of the gold and silver coin could hardly be more favourable for the safety and gradual progress of the change, and as the measure has been shown to be urgently required, to prevent great practical inconvenience, we are of opinion that sovereigns and half-sovereigns, according to the British and Australian standard, coined at any properly authorised Royal Mint in England, Australia, or India, should be made legal tender throughout the British dominions in India, at the rate of one sovereign for 10 rupees, as recommended in our letter, dated the 14th of July 1864, No. 89, and we request the sanction of Her Majesty's Government for giving legislative effect to this arrangement.

We have, &c.

(signed) *John Lawrence.*
H. B. Harington.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.

From *Geo. Dickson*, Esq., Secretary and Treasurer, Bank of Bengal, to
E. H. Lushington, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department.

Sir,

Bank of Bengal, 17 March 1865.

By desire of the Directors, I have the honour to send you herewith copy of a statement which I laid before the Board on the 16th instant, relative to the practical working of Government Notifications, No. 3517, and No. 3518, of 23d November last, authorising the receipt of sovereigns and half-sovereigns at the Government treasuries, and the offices of issue of the several circles of Government, at the rate of ten rupees and five rupees respectively. In view of the continued influx of sovereigns, and the probability, in that event, of the surplus supply being sent to the Mint, the Directors instruct me to submit that the present is a more favourable opportunity for considering what further action may be advisable, than delaying to do so until the extreme limit of gold deposits which can be held against issues shall have been reached, and the necessity of putting an abrupt termination to existing arrangements by the withdrawal of the privileges allowed by the existing notifications, be imposed on Government.

2. Under present circumstances, and although the demand for sovereigns is gradually increasing, it is clear that they will not be held in large quantities, either by European or Native merchants, nor enter into general circulation, so long as an uncertain value attaches to them.

3. With the experience of the past three months before them, the Directors instruct me to state that, in their opinion, the time has come when sovereigns and half-sovereigns of full weight may, with safety and advantage, be declared legal tender at the respective rates of ten and five rupees.

4. The Directors have arrived at this conclusion, the more readily because they are of opinion that the timely adoption of such a step will prevent inconvenience to the public and embarrassment to the Government hereafter.

5. Although, doubtless, there are some difficulties to be overcome, the Directors viewing the measure as one for which, after the elaborate discussions that have taken place on the subject, the public are fully prepared, are of opinion that the introduction

introduction of the sovereign into the currency of India will be generally welcomed as a great public boon.

6. The Directors are not apprehensive that any derangement of the money market must necessarily follow. The measure will be gradual in its operation, and insensibly adapt itself to the expanding requirements of a largely increasing commerce, without detriment to the public creditor, or inconvenience to Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) Geo. Dickson,
Secretary and Treasurer, Bank of Bengal.

NOTE by the Secretary and Treasurer, Bank of Bengal, on the Receipt and Issue of Sovereigns and Half-sovereigns, under the recent Orders of Government.

THE following particulars connected with the practical working of the Government Notifications, Nos. 3517 and 3518, of 23d November last, authorising the receipt of sovereigns and half-sovereigns at the Government treasuries, and the offices of issue of the several circles of Government Paper Currency, at the rate of 10 rupees and 5 rupees respectively, are submitted for the consideration of the Board of Directors.

Receipts.

1st. We commenced receiving gold on 1st December in payment of Government dues, and also in the ordinary course of business, in the same way as if sovereigns were legal tender. Since that date, the total receipts have been 370,986 l. Proportions of receipts through the general treasury and the bank.

	£.
Of which we took in the Treasury - - - - -	1,612
Over the Bank counter - - - - -	369,374
	£. 370,986

2d. Of the above amount about seven-eighths are Australian sovereigns, and one-eighth English sovereigns and half-sovereigns. Proportions in British and Australian sovereigns.

3d. The chief lodgments are by the local branch banks of exchange, who have tendered 309,722 l. of the whole amount. Principal lodgment

Next in amount are the deposits of a very intelligent Jew merchant, having a large opium business and also a direct trade with Arabia and Syria, *viâ* Suez, from whence he receives chiefly British sovereigns. Native merchants also have paid in considerable sums.

Some of the English mercantile houses have made similar payments, part of the amount being gathered in their ordinary collections from the bazar. In short, gold has been paid in by all classes, European and Native.

Payments.

1st. The gross amount with which we have parted since 1st December last, is 179,935 l. almost wholly over the bank counter, except 14,500 l. sent to our up-country branches, and 50,000 l. to the mint in exchange for rupees. Sent to branches 14,500 l. Sent to Mint 50,000 l. on 23d February. N.B. — 150,000 l., second remittance sent to Mint not yet credited to bank.

2d. Almost without exception, the English sovereign is preferred by both Europeans and Natives to the Australian, the latter being taken only when the supply of English sovereigns is exhausted. Europeans returning home, for obvious reasons, prefer the English sovereign, and the Natives because it is more suited to their taste, especially when melted or converted into ornaments. The difference intrinsically, if any, as regards the alloy, they set little value on. Proportion of British and Australian.

3d. Setting out of the calculation 20,000 l. paid to the Agra bank early in December, the chief payments have been, 1st, to our Native bankers for transmission into the interior, and 2d, to Europeans returning to England, or visitors to the Neilgherries, and travellers by railway. Chief payments.

The average payments, exclusive of sum sent to branches, but including 20,000 l. to Agra bank, were— Daily payments.

	£.
Throughout December - - - - -	1,017 per diem.
Throughout January - - - - -	1,026 "
Throughout February - - - - -	1,482 "

The calculation does not include the remittance made to the mint.

Transactions in Gold with Head Commissioner of Currency.

Under Notification, No. 3518, currency notes may be issued in exchange for sovereigns and half-sovereigns to an extent not exceeding one-fourth of the total amount of issues represented by coin and bullion in each circle.

The latest published Return of the Head Commissioner of currency shows, that in the Calcutta circle, the reserves of silver coin and bullion stood as under, viz:—

	£.
Silver Coin - - - - -	1,063,177
Silver Bullion - - - - -	460,000
	£. 1,523,177
One-fourth of which is - - - - -	380,794
On the 23d February last, when the whole available stock of legal tender coin in the bank's vaults fell to 108,000 <i>l.</i> , we sent to the mint in sovereigns for rupees - - - - - 50,000	
And on 8th March - - - - - 150,000	
	200,000
Leaving a margin of only - - - - -	£. 180,794

for future similar deposits; but of course, if notes and not silver were taken, the paper issues would be correspondingly increased, and a larger proportion of gold than 380,000 *l.* might consequently be held. But should the flow of gold coin continue steady for a few months longer, it is clear that we shall soon reach the extreme limit, so far as the proportion which can be held in this circle is in question.

Meanwhile, for current public requirements, we retain in the bank about 41,000 *l.*

Gold sent to Branches.

The accompanying return from Cawnpore branch, dated 23d ultimo, shows that on 4,996 *l.* told out to the public, 15 *l.* 16 *s.* 9 *d.* has been realised as exchange, the highest rate being one anna and six pie, and the average rate one-half of an anna, equal to three-fourths of a penny on each sovereign, or rather more than sufficient to cover proportion of the cost of carriage and railway fare of officer taking up the gold from head office.

Of the remaining 9,500 *l.* distributed among the branches at Allahabad, Benares, and Mirzapore, the whole has been disposed of with the exception of 2,859 *l.*; the larger proportion of which is still held at Mirzapore. The exchange realised has been under the average of Cawnpore branch.

The directors are aware that the object in sending sovereigns to the branches was not so much for gain as by way of experiment, and in order to test the public requirements.

Understanding that a considerable trade in bar gold might be profitably conducted at some of our up-country branches, I recently addressed a circular to the agents on the subject, and at the same time, I requested general information regarding the price and circulation of sovereigns within the sphere of the various agencies. For the information of the Directors copy replies received from our agents at Agra and Cawnpore are appended to this note. At the former branch it will be observed, the English sovereign is decidedly preferred. As the weight of the *tolah* appears to vary so much, I am not yet in a position to give accurate information regarding fluctuations in value of bar gold in the up-country bazars, but hope to do so soon.

From a carefully prepared return in my possession, for year ending 31st December 1864, I find that the total imports of gold coin and bullion into Calcutta amounted to - - - - -	£. 2,668,589
Of which we received in Australian gold - - - - -	2,140,000
Leaving - - - - -	£. 528,589
as the value imported from England, Egypt, and elsewhere.	

The subjoined tabular Statement of the Imports and Exports of Gold to and from the three Presidencies since 1856, when the transactions in that metal first began to bulk largely, may prove interesting.

STATEMENT showing the Imports and Exports of GOLD into, and from India, for the Years 1856 to 1863.

From April to April.

IMPORTS.					EXPORTS.					Calcutta average Rate of Exchange on England for Bills at Six Months' Sight.
Year.	Calcutta.	Madras.	Bombay.	TOTAL.	Year.	Calcutta.	Madras.	Bombay.	TOTAL.	
	£	£.	£.	£.		£.	£.	£.	£.	
1856 -	1,123,224	135,568	1,249,561	2,508,353	1856 -	100	5	2,003	2,108	2 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
1857 -	925,946	228,406	1,021,650	2,176,002	1857 -	66,959	-	17,829	84,788	2 2 $\frac{3}{16}$
1858 -	958,097	356,611	1,515,376	2,830,084	1858 -	40,726	6,000	285	47,011	2 - $\frac{1}{8}$
1859 -	2,217,269	252,971	1,967,099	4,437,339	1859 -	4,346	5,150	1,390	10,886	2 - $\frac{1}{8}$
1860 -	1,103,769	324,033	2,860,235	4,288,037	1860 -	-	6	3,797	3,803	2 - $\frac{1}{8}$
1861 -	1,257,825	485,400	2,499,216	4,242,441	1861 -	3,438	152	6,282	9,872	2 - $\frac{1}{8}$
1862 -	1,632,623	706,496	2,851,313	5,190,432	1862 -	1,805	500	3,702	6,007	2 - $\frac{1}{8}$
1863 -	1,842,859	1,009,939	4,025,332	6,878,130	1863 -	13,360	125	19,925	33,410	2 - $\frac{1}{8}$
TOTAL -	11,061,612	3,499,424	17,989,782	32,550,818	-	130,734	11,938	55,213	197,885	16 8 $\frac{7}{16}$
Average	1,382,701	437,428	2,248,723	4,068,852	-	16,342	1,492	6,902	24,736	2 1 $\frac{1}{16}$

Making allowance for the amounts re-transmitted from one Presidency city to another, as well as from Ceylon, I think it must be apparent that the value of our gold imports in leaf, bullion, and coin, is very much larger than is generally supposed.

If, then, we make allowance for the progressive increase at Bombay for 1863-64, a year of unusual commercial activity and prosperity, I do not think I over-estimate the gold imports into India for year ending 31st December 1864, in taking them at from 8 to 10 millions sterling. This calculation is indeed greatly strengthened by the valuable information contained in the Report of Major Ward, of the Royal Mint, Sydney, bearing date 21st December last.

As these questions have an important bearing on the Government paper currency, as well as on the Indian standard of value, it is proposed, from time to time, to keep the Government advised of any facts connected with them which may come to my knowledge.

Meanwhile, if the experience of the last three months can be accepted as a guide for the future, it appears sufficiently clear that sovereigns can be supplied at 10 rupees; and that if made legal tender, they will be readily accepted by both Europeans and natives as a substitute for silver. At the same time it is equally clear that the use of the sovereign will not promote the extension of the Ten Rupee Currency Note, confined as it now is within so many circles of issue.

One other important fact I may notice, that during the past fortnight we received in sovereigns upwards of 150,000*l.*, which, under the Notification, tended to give ease to a stringent money market.

Bank of Bengal, }
9 March 1865. }

Geo. Dickson,
Secretary and Treasurer.

DETAILED STATEMENT of SOVEREIGNS Sold by Cawnpore Branch.

Date.	Number of Sovereigns Sold.	To whom Sold.	Rate.	Amount of Exchange Received.	Amount of Sovereigns Sold.
1864:			<i>Ann. pies.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
17 December	100	Rutton Dallal - - - -	- - -	- - -	1,000
17 " -	100	Jumna Dallal - - - -	- - -	- - -	1,000
19 " -	50	Shewpershad Khuzanchee - - - -	- - -	- - -	500
19 " -	250	Jowahir - - - -	- - -	- - -	2,500
22 " -	36	Thomas Newton, Esq. - - - -	0 6 each	1 2 -	360
23 " -	81	Rutton Dallal - - - -	0 3 "	1 4 3	810
23 " -	15	Thomas Newton, Esq. - - - -	0 6 "	- 7 6	150
23 " -	2	Purus Ram - - - -	- - -	- - -	20
24 " -	71	Doorjun Bueparee - - - -	0 6 each	2 3 6	710
24 " -	100	Punna Lall Nanik Chund - - - -	0 6 "	3 2 -	1,000
27 " -	52	Gunashee Bueparee - - - -	0 6 "	1 10 -	520
30 " -	81	Seetul Bueparee - - - -	0 6 "	2 8 6	810
1865:					
2 January -	85	Doorgapersaud Bueparee - - - -	1 0 "	5 5 -	850
2 " -	60	Doorjun Bueparee - - - -	1 0 "	3 12 -	600
2 " -	48	Seetul Bueparee - - - -	1 0 "	3 - -	480
3 " -	19	Thomas Newton, Esq. - - - -	1 0 "	1 3 -	190
3 " -	65	Doorjun Bueparee - - - -	1 3 "	5 1 3	650
4 " -	50	- ditto - - - -	1 6 "	4 11 -	500
4 " -	50	Goojur Sureff - - - -	1 6 "	4 11 -	500
6 " -	25	Sohun Lall - - - -	1 6 "	2 5 6	250
9 " -	19	Jumna Dallal - - - -	1 3 "	1 7 9	190
10 " -	10	S. Thornton, Esq. - - - -	1 6 "	- 15 -	100
12 " -	300	Naraen Suroff - - - -	1 0 "	18 12 -	3,000
12 " -	25	Ram Churn Suroff - - - -	1 0 "	1 9 -	250
12 " -	250	Juggunpersaud - - - -	1 1/2 0 "	23 7 -	2,500
12 " -	150	- ditto - - - -	1 1/2 0 "	14 1 -	1,500
14 " -	50	Dwarka Dallal - - - -	1 1/2 0 "	4 11 -	500
16 " -	50	Brijlall Bueparee - - - -	1 1/2 0 "	4 11 -	500
17 " -	100	Bhujun Lall Suroff - - - -	1 0 "	6 4 -	1,000
19 " -	18	Munnee Dallal - - - -	1 1/2 0 "	1 6 6	180
19 " -	25	Muthoor Suroff - - - -	1 1/2 0 "	2 5 6	250
19 " -	26	Munnee Dallal - - - -	1 1/2 0 "	2 - 6	260
20 " -	60	Cleadee Lall - - - -	1 1/2 0 "	4 11 -	600
20 " -	50	Goojur Suroff - - - -	1 0 "	3 2 -	500
23 " -	50	Hurbhujun Bueparee - - - -	0 6 "	1 9 -	500
23 " -	100	Gunashee Bueparee - - - -	0 6 "	3 2 -	1,000
23 " -	43	Jumna Dallal - - - -	0 6 "	1 5 6	430
24 " -	10	Munnee Dallal - - - -	0 6 "	- 5 -	100
24 " -	164	Buddree Suroff - - - -	0 3 "	2 9 -	1,640
24 " -	69	- ditto - - - -	1 0 "	4 5 -	690
24 " -	200	Messrs. Berg, Maxwell & Co. - - - -	- - -	- - -	2,000
25 " -	85	Rutton Dallal - - - -	0 3 each	1 5 3	850
27 " -	20	Munnee Dallal - - - -	0 3 "	- 5 -	200
30 " -	25	- ditto - - - -	0 3 "	- 6 3	250
30 " -	200	Messrs. Begg, Maxwell & Co. - - - -	- - -	- - -	2,000
2 February	400	Mudaree Lall Bueparee - - - -	- - -	- - -	4,000
2 " -	300	Nuraen Suroff - - - -	- - -	- - -	3,000
2 " -	50	Purus Ram - - - -	- - -	- - -	500
2 " -	5	Munnee Dallal - - - -	- - -	- - -	50
4 " -	35	- ditto - - - -	0 3 each	- 7 9	350
6 " -	40	Gunnessee Bueparee - - - -	0 6 "	1 4 -	400
7 " -	99	Nuraen Suroff - - - -	0 3 "	1 8 9	990
7 " -	100	Kamtapershaud - - - -	0 3 "	1 9 -	1,000
8 " -	66	Munnee Lall - - - -	0 3 "	1 - 6	660
9 " -	100	Rutton Dallal - - - -	0 3 "	1 9 -	1,000
9 " -	50	Jumna Dallal - - - -	0 3 "	- 12 6	500
11 " -	198	Nuraen Suroff - - - -	0 3 "	3 1 6	1,980
11 " -	1	Purmashuree - - - -	- - -	- - -	10
13 " -	50	Shewram Bueparee - - - -	- - -	- - -	500
13 " -	20	Buddree Doss - - - -	- - -	- - -	200
13 " -	43	Ram Churn Dallal - - - -	- - -	- - -	430
TOTAL Sovereigns - }	4,996		TOTAL - - - Rs.	158 6 9	49,960

Equal to five annas per cent., or an average premium of half anna for each sovereign.

Bank of Bengal, Cawnpore, }
23 February 1865. }

D. Kennedy, Agent.

No. 2-4, dated 9th February 1865.

EXTRACT of a Letter from the Cawnpore Agent of the Bank of Bengal, to the Secretary and Treasurer, Bank of Bengal, Calcutta.

WITH reference to your Circular, No. 4, of 4th instant, I beg to state that I believe I could dispose of at least 2,000 *l.* worth of gold every month; the practice in the Bazar is to pay cash on delivery:—

The price of gold in the Bazar here at present is—

for 22 carats fine rupees 17	per tolah or rupees 15-5	per bhurree.
23 do. „ 17-4	do. or „ 15-9	do.
24 do. „ 18	do. or „ 16-4	do.; and

of the latter there is none for sale in our Bazar at present. I am told the range in prices is seldom or never more than four annas per tolah.

Some of the shroffs tell me that 20,000 rupees worth of gold could be sold in the Bazar here to-day for cash at the above prices.

No. 3-12, dated 20th February 1865.

From *Thomas Dyson, Esq.*, Agent, Bank of Bengal, Agra, to *George Dickson, Esq.*, Secretary and Treasurer, Bank of Bengal.

IN answer to the inquiries made in Circular, No. 4, I beg to submit the following information on the questions raised:—

The demand for gold for local use is very slight, so much so that the branch Khazan-
chee estimates the aggregate monthly sales at 200 tolahs; but this is mere conjecture,

The descriptions most readily saleable are China leaf gold (so it is described to me) branded “100,” and English sovereigns, the prices at date being, respectively, *Rs.* 16. 12. the Agra tolah, and *Rs.* 10. 1. 6. the sovereign.

The Agra tolah weighs $2\frac{1}{2}$ ruttees more than the Company’s tolah of one rupee weight, and this gives a rate for the latter of *Rs.* 16. 15.

The price of sovereigns appears never to fall below 10, simply that they remain intact as sovereigns in the hands of the shroffs, and this class will not part with them for less; on leaving the shroff’s hands, the sovereigns are melted down.

The price of gold per tolah fluctuates greatly; thus, during the famine in these provinces, it fell to 14 rupees, the ryots disposing of their ornaments to buy food, while during the height of the cotton mania it rose to 18 rupees, the ryots being in a position to purchase largely; gold, in their estimation, being the most eligible form of investment.

Apart from local requirements, I could possibly dispose of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 lacs a month just at present, for Delhi and other up-country cities.

Our rate is now *Rs.* 10. 1. 6., and if sovereigns can be procured in Calcutta on the same terms, a remittance would pay the bank; as taking the cost of a silver remittance at eight annas per cent., there would be at least a profit of seven annas, as the outside cost of a gold remittance would not exceed one anna.

I think this branch should be placed in funds by a remittance of English sovereigns, whenever procurable in Calcutta at par.

The Australian sovereigns do not find favour with jewellers and goldsmiths here.

The tolahs of Mirzapore, Benares, Delhi, &c., are all different, and this renders the gold quotations somewhat puzzling.

I do not consider any advantage would be gained by disposing of sovereigns for bills payable one month after delivery, as the Kootees, whose promissory notes could be safely taken, would purchase on speculation for sale elsewhere, and being wealthy enough to pay cash would not care to enhance the price by one month’s interest, at least so the branch Khazan-
chee reports. Should the bank establish branches at Delhi and Umritsir, a profitable business in gold could be done; the consumption for jewellery in the former city being very great, while, in the latter, gold is taken by traders from Cabool and Bokhara, and I believe Persia.

Dated 9th March 1865.

From *E. D. J. Ezra, Esq.*, Arab Merchant, Calcutta, to the Secretary and Treasurer, Bank of Bengal, Calcutta.

THE sovereigns paid by us to the Bank of Bengal are received from our constituents at Egypt, Damascus, Beyroot, Aleppo, &c. They are sent for the purchase of indigo and Dacca piece goods. The sovereigns received by us are mostly English. Some of them are insured, and some are not.

(Financial, No. 124.)

(Extract.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir,

India Office, London, 17 May 1865.

I HAVE considered in Council your Financial Letter dated the 21st March 1865, No. 56, forwarding copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Bank of Bengal, with enclosures, relative to the effect of the Government Notification of the 23d November last, authorising the receipt of sovereigns and half sovereigns at the rates of 10 rupees and 5 rupees respectively, and expressing your opinion that the time has arrived when sovereigns and half sovereigns coined at any properly authorised Royal Mint in England, Australia, or India, should be made legal tender throughout British India at the rates above specified.

2. It appears from the papers forwarded by you, that from the 1st December 1864, to the 9th March 1865, the Bank of Bengal had received sovereigns and half sovereigns to the amount of 370,986*l.*, and had parted with 129,935 *l.*, almost wholly over the bank counter, except 14,500 *l.* sent to the Bank's up-country branches. The Bank had also sent 200,000 *l.* to the Mint, in exchange for rupees, retaining about 41,500 *l.* for current requirements.

3. It also appears that at Cawnpore 4,996 sovereigns were sold at the Bank at premiums varying from three pies to one and a half anna on each sovereign, and that sales had been made at the Bank's branches at Allahabad, Benares, and Mirzapore, at an exchange somewhat below the average of the Cawnpore branch. Sovereigns had, however, been paid to a small amount at the rate of 10 rupees into the Lahore, Allahabad, and Nagpore branches.

Lahore 13,350
Allahabad - 690
Nagpore - 80

4. You consider that these facts prove that, "to declare the sovereign a legal tender at 10 rupees, would not be inoperative in a great part of India, as the local relative value of the gold and silver coin could hardly be more favourable for the safety and gradual progress of the change; and as the measure has been shown to be urgently required to prevent great practical inconvenience," you "are of opinion that sovereigns and half sovereigns, according to the British and Australian standard, coined at any properly authorised Royal Mint in England, Australia, or India, should be made legal tender throughout the British dominions in India, at the rate of one sovereign for 10 rupees, as recommended in "your" letter, dated the 14th of July 1864, No. 89, and "you" request the sanction of Her Majesty's Government for giving legislative effect to this arrangement."

5. In my Financial Despatch, dated the 26th September 1864, No. 224, which authorised the receipt of the sovereign in the Government Treasuries in India, as the equivalent of 10 rupees, I pointed out the grounds on which I considered that it would be inexpedient, at any rate for the present, to make that coin a legal tender. Its receipt was consequently sanctioned only as an experiment, and the time that has yet elapsed is not sufficient to ascertain how far it would circulate at the rate of 10 rupees.

6. The papers which you have now forwarded, do not appear to me to show that the time has arrived for taking any further step, or that the measure which you propose would be attended with any advantage. The fact that, without being legal tender at any fixed rate, sovereigns have been sold at branches of the Bank of Bengal at a premium, does not appear to me to support your proposition.

7. The sovereign is at present intrinsically worth more than 10 rupees, and although circumstances may render it occasionally convenient to individuals to pay it at that rate into the Government Treasuries, the purchase of the coin at a premium by the public at certain branch banks is sufficient proof that its real value is well understood.

* * * * *

I have, &c.
(signed) C. Wood.

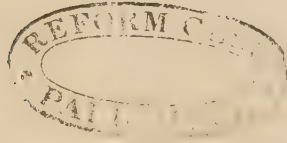
EAST INDIA (SOVEREIGNS).

COPY of CORRESPONDENCE with the Government of *India*, showing the result of the NOTIFICATION authorising the receipt of SOVEREIGNS in the TREASURIES, and in the OFFICES for the Issue of GOVERNMENT NOTES.

(*Mr. Hankey.*)

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
14 June 1865.*

EAST INDIA (BOOTAN).



PAPERS RELATING TO BOOTAN.

(PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT BY HER MAJESTY'S COMMAND.)

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
15 February 1865.*

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Appendix.



PAPERS RELATING TO BOOTAN.

PRECIS by Mr. Under-Secretary *Aitchison* ; dated 19th May 1864.

RELATIONS WITH BOOTAN.

THE districts of Bootan between the hills and the British frontier are known as the Doars, and take their names from the different passes which lead through the hills into Bootan. Besides the Kooreapara Doar, formerly governed by the Twang Rajah, who was immediately dependent on Lassa, there are in all 18 Doars, 11 on the Bengal frontier,* and 7 on the frontier of Assam. Over the Bengal Doars, which extend from the Teesta, on the eastern boundary of Sikkim, to the Moras, the Bootias have for long years held sovereign dominion ; and previous to the annexation of Assam by the British Government during the first Burmese war, the Bootias had also wrested four of the Assam Doars from the Native Government, while the other three were held on a sort of joint tenure by the Bootias and Assamese. How long this state of things had existed is not precisely known. The Bootias paid tribute to the Assam Government for the Doars, and after the annexation of Assam the tribute was paid to the British Government, who also continued the system of joint occupation of the three Doars of Kooreapara, Booree Gooma, and Kulling, holding them for four months every year, and making them over to Bootan for the other eight months. From the Report of the Agent to the Governor General on the north-east frontier, dated 12th September 1842, the annual amount of tribute, which was paid partly in money and partly in goods, appears to have been 3,049 rupees.

In 1828 the Bootias began the long series of outrages on the British frontier : the first attack was on Chatgaree, in the Durrung Zillah, by freebooters from the Booree Gooma Doar, and was followed by the occupation of the Doar by the British Government till 31st July 1834, when it was restored on evidence being given, afterwards ascertained to be false, of the death of the leader of the freebooters. In May 1835 an attack was made on Nowgong, in Zillah Kamroop, from the Bijnee Doar, and in November of the same year another incursion was made into the Durrung District from the Kulling Doar. Two months afterwards, in January 1836, another daring incursion, attended with loss of life and property, was made from the Banska Doar into the Kamroop District, headed by an influential talookdar, who took refuge with the Dewangiri Rajah : thereupon the Banska Doar was temporarily occupied. The Dewangiri Rajah did not surrender the offenders till after he had been defeated in battle : eventually, at the humble entreaty of the Bootias, the Doar was restored.

The unsatisfactory state of affairs on the frontier determined Government to send a friendly mission to the Bootan Court, and, if practicable, to Lassa : Captain Pemberton was appointed Envoy. Besides procuring information and statistics of the nature and resources of the country and its political relations with Nipal and China, the chief object of the mission was to establish our frontier relations with Bootan on an improved footing, and to provide for the punctual payment of the tribute, which had fallen into arrears to the extent of about 45,500 rupees. This object was to be secured, if possible, by inducing the Bootan Government to make over the Doars to the management of the British Government in consideration of such annual payment as might be agreed upon, or by the commutation of tribute to a cession of land. Subsidiary to this political object was the improvement of commercial intercourse with Bootan. The mission reached Poonakha on 1st April 1838, where it was well received ; but Captain Pemberton utterly failed in coming to any

* BENGAL DOARS.

1. Dalimkote.
2. Zamerkote.
3. Cheemurchee.
4. Lukhee.
5. Buxa.
6. Bulka.
7. Bara.
8. Gooma.
9. Reepoo.
10. Cheerung or Sidlee.
11. Bagh or Bijnee.

ASSAM DOARS.

Kamroop Doars.

12. Ghurkola.
13. Banska.
14. Chappagoree.
15. Chappakhamar.
16. Bijnee.

Durrung Doars.

17. Booree Gooma.
18. Kulling.

satisfactory understanding with the Bootan Government; the country was suffering from the effects of a recent revolution: the new Deb Rajah, who had a short time previously succeeded to office by the deposition of his predecessor, was scarcely established in power, and the deposed Deb still held possession of Tassisudon. The Paro Pillo, who governed the Bengal Doars, and the Tongso Pillo, who governed the Doars of Assam, had established themselves in positions of virtual independence, while the latter had considerably strengthened his authority by inducing the priesthood to recognise in his son the regeneration of the Dhurm Rajah.

Under these circumstances, the Mission withdrew on 9th May, and the British Government had no course left but to take its own measures for the protection of the frontier.

In the meantime, outrages on the frontier did not cease. In 1839, the Bootias carried off 12 British subjects, some of whom they murdered: the aggressions were committed less from the western Doars, under the Paro Pillo, than from the eastern, under the Tongso Pillo, and the Kooreapara Doar, under the Towang Rajah, an immediate dependent on the Government of Lassa. A distinction in the policy pursued towards the frontier governors of Bootan was therefore deemed necessary. In October 1839, the Kulling, Booree Gooma, and Kooreapara Doars were attached, and the Bootan Government were informed that they would not be given up till the kidnapped subjects of the British Government were released, all arrears of tribute paid, and till the British Government were satisfied that the Central Government in Bootan were able to control their frontier officers.

Early in 1841, the Agent, Governor General, north-east frontier, forwarded to Government some correspondence he had with the Deb Rajah, and suggested the deputation of another mission, as he believed the Deb Rajah was willing to farm all his Doars to the British Government; but as Bootan was at the time in a state of anarchy, Government was of opinion that no good result could be expected from further negotiation. A letter was therefore addressed to the Deb Rajah on the 14th of June, warning him that, should the country continue much longer in a state of anarchy, and our frontier be violated, the British Government would be compelled to occupy the remaining Doars. This letter produced no effect, and as the measures already taken had been approved by the Court of Directors, the Agent, Governor General, was authorised, on 6th September 1841, to attach the remaining Assam Doars as he might see to be proper and expedient.

The occupation of the three Doars in 1839 had been confessedly only temporary; but as the demands of the British Government had not been complied with up to September 1841, and the possible restoration of the Doars to Bootan prevented the re-population and improvement of the districts, the Agent, Governor General, suggested that the permanent annexation of the districts should be proclaimed, and that a share of the net revenues, from one-third to one-half, should be allowed to the Bootan Government. The permanent annexation of the Doars was agreed to, not only on grounds of policy and humanity, but also on the ground that the tenure on which the Doars had been held by the Bootias for a certain portion of each year gave them no title to claim them as their own territory. The right of supremacy, it was asserted, had remained with the rulers of Assam, by whom the use of the Doars for certain months of the year had been granted as the price of their forbearance from plundering; and all that the Bootias had any pretension to was an equivalent for the value of the Doars to them previous to their resumption. This compensation Government determined to give, on condition of abstinence from all marauding encroachments on British territory, on a calculation of the average profit which the Bootias had derived from the Doars for a period of five or ten years before their attachment. No data, however, existed on which to base such a calculation, and on 8th March 1843, Government agreed to the Agent's proposal to pay to the Bootan Government one-third of the net revenues. At first the Bootan Durbar refused to accept it, and the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs and the Tongso Pillo, in September 1843, sent a deputation to Calcutta to demand the restoration of the Doars. This deputation departed without attaining its object, and eventually the Bootan Government seem to have accepted the arrangement. 10,000 rupees seem to have been the sum finally decided on, but I cannot find in these papers any orders fixing that as the amount

amount annually to be paid. The first payment seems to have been of 8,334 rupees only on the Assam Doars, exclusive of a payment of 5,000 rupees on the Kooreapara Doar under a separate engagement.* This sum of 8,334 rupees was calculated to be one-third of the net revenues as they stood in 1844, viz. :—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Booree Gooma - - - - -	4,989	2	8
Kulling - - - - -	1,752	8	-
Banska - - - - -	15,622	7	5
Ghurkola - - - - -	726	8	-
Bijnee - - - - -	1,109	10	3
Chappagoree - - - - -	1,830	2	-
Chappakhamar - - - - -	73	-	-
TOTAL - - -	<i>Rs.</i> 26,104	6	11

The net revenue of Kooreapara in the same year was 12,450 *rs.* 14 *a.* 7 *p.*, but as the Bootias were not content with one-third of this sum, 5,000 rupees were paid. The annual payments to the Bootias, therefore, were 5,000 rupees for the Kooreapara Doar, and 10,000 rupees for the other Assam Doars.

In 1855† two Rajahs from Bootan, one an uncle of the Dhurm Rajah and the other the Jadoom or Dewangiri Rajah, also a relative of the Dhurm Rajah, were deputed to Gowhatty to demand an increase of the share of the revenues of the Doars to 15,000 rupees, or at least to 12,000 rupees : they were unsuccessful, and on their return to Bootan they took occasion to commit several outrages in the Banska Doar, chiefly on the persons and property of Government officials ; they plundered property to the value of 2,868 rupees, and tortured people to make them disclose their treasures. At the same time several incursions were made by Bootias from the hills, which were instigated by the Dewangiri Rajah, who was also the receiver of the stolen property. It further appeared from demi-official correspondence that the Dhurm Rajah was powerless in Bootan ; that he had been deprived of his seals by rebellious Soubahs, and was anxious to put himself under the protection of the British Government.

† Cons., 11 May, Nos. 73-83.
Cons., 25 May, Nos. 26-28.
Cons., 22 February 1856, Nos. 78-90.

Government, of course, declined to interfere in the internal disputes of Bootan, but a demand was made on the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs and the Tongso Pillo or Penlow, the chief Bootia authority on the eastern frontier, for the surrender of those who had violated the British territory ; and orders were given to close the passes from the hills to the Doars if this demand should not be promptly complied with, or if any more outrages were committed. The Dewangiri Rajah, however, was removed from office by the Deb Rajah, and the Tongso Pillo, his brother, was fined double the amount of the property stolen. Under these circumstances the passes were reopened, and Government limited its further demand to the recovery of an equivalent for the property stolen, the value of which (2,868 rupees) was deducted from the Bootia share of the revenue of the Doars.

The Tongso Pillo then addressed a threatening letter to the British frontier officers demanding the payment of half the fine inflicted on him by the Deb Rajah, and the surrender of some of the Bootia offenders who had been seized by the British officers, and were under trial. It was also reported that the Dewangiri Rajah was building forts, opening roads, and apparently preparing to harass our frontier : precautions were at once taken for the protection of the frontier, and the following instructions‡ were issued :—

Paragraph 6. "The Governor General in Council, although he is most anxious to avoid a collision with the Bootia Government, feels that it is impossible to tolerate the insolent and overbearing tone of the Tongso Pillo's communications to his representative on the north-east frontier, and that if it be tolerated, the motives of the Government may be, and probably will be, misconstrued, and the consequences will be more troublesome to the Government and more injurious to the interests of its subjects than if it be at once resented."

‡ To Bengal Government, No. 180, dated 11 January 1856, paragraphs 6 to 9.

Paragraph 7. "His Lordship in Council therefore authorises the agent on the north-east frontier to point out to the Tongso Pillo the extremely unbecoming tone of his several communications, and the inadmissibility of the requisitions which they contain ; to require him, on the part of the Governor General

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in Council, to apologise for the disrespect which he has shown towards his Lordship's representative, and in his person to the Government of India; and to inform him that unless he forthwith accede to this demand, measures which he will be unable to resist, and which will have the effect of crippling his authority on the frontier, will be put in force. The Agent will at the same time inform the Tongso Pillo, that under any circumstances, the value of the property plundered with the connivance of his brother, the late Dewangiri Rajah, will be deducted from the Bootia share of the Doar revenues. It is not thought expedient to go beyond this, and to declare that payment of the share of the Doar revenue will be entirely withheld until all the offenders who have been demanded are surrendered."

Paragraph 8. "If the above remonstrance should be responded to in a becoming spirit, it will be sufficient for the agent to warn the Tongso Pillo that any repetition of the aggressive movements, of which we have recently had to complain, will be forthwith resented by the permanent occupation of the Bengal Doars. It is possible that this menace may have the desired effect of bringing home to the mind of the Tongso Pillo the risk which he incurs by encouraging or permitting incursions into British territory; if not, and if there should be a recurrence of such incursions, the Governor General in Council, deeming it a paramount duty to protect the subjects of the British Government, will have no alternative, and he authorises the Agent, in the possible event supposed, to take immediate measures for the complete occupation of the Bengal Doars, on the understanding that such occupation shall be permanent, and that the admission of the Bootias to a share of the revenue of those Doars shall rest entirely with the discretion of the Governor General in Council."

Paragraph 9. "His Lordship in Council is not unaware that the Deb Rajah is the nominal head of the country, and that it is the conduct of the Tongso Pillo and his brother, the late Dewangiri Rajah, and not the conduct of the Deb Rajah, which has called for some measure of severity on the part of the British Government. But it is obvious that the Deb Rajah, even though he may be ostensibly well-disposed toward the Government, is unable or unwilling, or remiss in his endeavours, to restrain his subordinate chiefs; and it cannot be permitted that, for this want of power, or want of will, or want of energy, the subjects of this Government should suffer. The Deb Rajah must share in the penalty due to the delinquencies of those who own his authority, and for whose acts of aggression on British territory he must be considered responsible."

* Cons., 9 May 1856,
Nos. 40-42.

Consequent on these instructions, the Agent, north-east frontier,* addressed the Tongso Pillo through the Dewangiri Rajah, who suppressed the letter; but, to give the Bootan Government a further opportunity of complying with the demands of the Government of India, the Agent addressed the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs. In addressing the Tongso Pillo, the Agent to some extent exceeded his instructions, by declaring that the payment of the share of the Doar revenue would be entirely withheld until all the offenders who had been demanded should be given up: but although this mistake was pointed out to him, it was not deemed necessary or advisable that any steps should be taken to correct it.

† Cons., 27 June
1856, Nos. 15-17.

Meanwhile,† before any reply was received from the Bootan Government, another outrage was committed in the Gowalparra District. Arung Sing, the hereditary zemindar of the Gooma Doar, who had taken refuge in British territory from a cruel imprisonment, was carried off from his residence in Mouzah Pettah by a party of armed Bootias. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal suggested that a friendly application should in the first instance be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, asking explanation, and assuming that, if the report were correct, the Bootan authorities would not fail to see the propriety of affording full reparation. But Government considered that this would not be consistent or politic after the remonstrance already addressed to the Bootan Durbar, and instructed the Lieutenant Governor "to state the facts as we know them to the Bootan authorities; to demand from them the punishment of the offenders, and an apology for the acts of their dependants; and to give them warning (already fully authorised) that, if atonement is not made for this new aggression, the Government of India will hold itself free to take permanent possession of the Bengal Doars."

‡ Cons., 18 July
Nos. 19-21.

On the 1st of July 1856,‡ before the Agent, Governor General, had received the above instructions, the Bengal Government submitted a report from him,
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in which it was stated that the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, the Tongso Pillo, and the Dewangiri Rajah had all apologised for their previous misconduct. At the recommendation of the Agent and of the Lieutenant Governor the Governor General in Council consented, that provided full satisfaction should be offered for the more recent aggression committed in carrying off Arung Sing, correspondence with the Tongso Pillo should be resumed and the Bootia share of the Doar revenue should be raised to 12,000 rupees.

No reply to the remonstrance was received from the Dhurm Rajah at all,* while that of the Deb Rajah, not only in the case of Arung Sing, but in answer to the demand of the surrender of parties charged with dacoity and the murder of a British subject at Shaftabari, in Rungpore, was evasive and unsatisfactory. Further outrages also were reported; a British merchant, named Saligram Osaval, who had gone to Mynagooree to trade, was seized, and his release was refused. Two men also, with their wives, were forcibly carried away from Cooch Behar. It became, therefore, necessary to decide what steps should be taken towards the execution of the threat which had been given to the Bootia Rajahs. The following were the instructions† given:—

* Cons., 23 January 1857, Nos. 10-13.

Paragraph 7. "The political condition of the country is very little known to us. We are not sure is whose hands the chief authority rests, or whether there is any effective chief authority. We do not even know where the jurisdictions of the different subordinate rulers along our own frontier begin and end. Colonel Jenkins states that the contention for the Supreme Government, which appears to have existed for many years amongst the principal families of the country, still continues; but he is not certain how far the authority of the Dhurm Rajah and Deb Rajah (who seem to be colleagues with co-ordinate powers) extends. He is not sure that there are not two Deb Rajahs, and the Tongso Pillo, who is nominally a minister of these Rajahs, is believed by Colonel Jenkins to be in his own district almost independent. The Government of India has had occasion more than once, and not long ago, to complain of this last functionary's conduct and of his insolence to the officers of the British Government; but amends have been made so far as he is concerned, and the offence for which atonement has now to be exacted appears to have been committed from a part of the Bootan territory where his authority does not run, although it is certainly under that of his masters, the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs. The boundary of the Tongso Pillo's jurisdiction is, according to Colonel Jenkins, the Monass River; east of this the Tongso Pillo governs more or less authoritatively, and east of this lie the Doars which we have already taken into our hands, and from the revenues of which we pay an annual allowance to the Bootan Government. West of it, in the districts bordering upon Gowalparra and Rungpore, Colonel Jenkins believes the Government to be more directly in the hands of the Deb Rajah; and it is to a place in these districts, Balka Doar, 30 or 40 miles west of the Monass, that Arung Sing was carried."

† To Bengal Government, No. 263, dated 20 January 1857.

Paragraph 8. "But in truth, considering that Bootan is a neighbouring state, that the country has a government of some sort and established rulers, and that our intercourse with the people is constant, and on the whole not unfriendly, our knowledge of its condition is curiously imperfect. The Governor General in Council considers it necessary that this fact should be strongly pressed upon the notice of Colonel Jenkins."

Paragraph 9. "Meanwhile it is not the less necessary to act, and as the first step, his Lordship in Council deems it expedient that a regiment of native infantry should be immediately sent to Rungpore, the point which most effectually threatens the western or Bengal Doars, and which is now without any troops, whilst at Gowalparra there is only a detachment of an Assam battalion."

Paragraph 10. "The 6th Regiment now stationed at Jumalpore may, without inconvenience or risk, be withdrawn for this purpose."

Paragraph 11. "The necessary orders for sending the regiment to Rungpore will be issued from the Military Department."

Paragraph 12. "Having done this, the Governor General in Council would still avoid, if possible, not only a collision with the Bootias, but the incum-

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brance of an additional charge of territory, which, although productive, is described as formidably unhealthy to native as well as to European troops, and the retention of which by peaceable neighbours his Lordship in Council would greatly prefer to the occupation and administration of it by ourselves. In this view the Governor General in Council thinks it worth consideration whether the pressure which it is proposed to apply to the Bootan Government by seizing the western or Bengal Doars may not be equally applied by withholding that portion (10,000 rupees) of the proceeds of the eastern Doars which is now annually remitted to Bootan."

Paragraph 13. "The answer will depend upon the degree to which the Government of the eastern Doars is independent of that of the western Doars. In strictness, the Government of India would be justified in dealing with the whole country and its government as one, and in recognising no division of authority or interests from one end of Bootan to the other. But to act upon this view might not only fail of success, but might prove practically unjust. It is not certain that the withholding of money conceded from the revenues of the districts under the government of the Tongso Pillo would be a matter of concern to his fellow governors further west, or to any superior authority, and it may be that the Tongso Pillo would be powerless in the present case to obtain for the Government of India the satisfaction which is required."

Paragraph 14. "The doubt is one which can be cleared up only on the spot, and the Governor General in Council is desirous that this should be done before any other step than that of moving the regiment to Rungpore be taken."

Paragraph 15.—"The Lieutenant-Governor is about to proceed to that part of Bengal, and will be very shortly in personal communication with Colonel Jenkins. The views of the Government of India as expressed above are therefore made known to his Honour, in order that he may furnish to the Governor General in Council all the information which he may be able to obtain as to the true condition and relation to each other of the Bootan authorities on our border."

Cons., 7 April,
Nos. 62-65.

The inquiries made by the Bengal* Government established the impression that the Central Government of Bootan at Tassisudon does, under ordinary circumstances, exercise an effective control over the subordinate provincial governors or soubahs, but that the degree of control varies with the state of parties at Court, and had of late been weakened by contentions for the office of Deb Rajah. It was reported that the Deb Rajah, a usurper, had recently died, and been succeeded by a new ruler with the entire consent of the party of the Dhurm Rajah, a change which was considered to be favourable to the cause of good order on the frontier, where the authority was divided between the Tongso Pillo in the eastern Doars, the Para Pillo in the western, and the Deb Rajah himself in the central Doars, each Doar, however, being directly under a soubah or local governor. Under these circumstances it was resolved† not to proceed at once to coercion. "Having regard," it was said, "to the change which has lately taken place in the persons composing the Government in Bootan, and apparently in the temper of those authorities, the Governor General in Council entirely concurs in the suggestion of the Lieutenant Governor that one more demand should be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, the Tongso and Para Pillors being made aware of it, for the delivery of the two persons, Arung Sing and Ramdoolal, lately abducted, the first from British territory, the second from Cooch Behar; adding the warning, that if the demand should fail of success, the Government of India will take measures at its own pleasure for enforcing it."

† To Bengal Government, No. 1603,
dated 14 April 1857.

Paragraph 4.—"It is evident, the Governor General in Council thinks, that if measures of force should become necessary the first to be adopted should be the seizure, in permanent possession, of the tract of country which the Bootan Government hold on this side of the Teesta, and which was ceded to them more than seventy years ago. This district is already held by our officers in farm."

Paragraph 5.—"This step would put no incumbrance upon the Government of India, although it would be a loss and a humiliation to Bootan; and if, when the time comes, there should be reason to think that it will not be sufficiently coercive,

coercive, the occupation and retention of the Julpesh district beyond the Teesta, but not reaching to the Doars, will be open to us. The Julpesh district formerly belonged to the zemindaree of Rungpore; therefore, the re-annexation of it to the British territory appears to be a very natural mode of punishing the Government which now holds it. This can be effected, in the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor, without any risk to the health of the troops and others engaged on the measure, and without embarrassing ourselves with holding and defending an inhospitable country, such as the Doars, close under the Bootan hills."

Paragraph 6. "Meanwhile, it is requested that the Lieutenant Governor will direct that a fresh demand be made upon the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, taking care that nothing be said which shall in any degree hamper the Government of India in determining hereafter when and how it shall act in the event of the demand being refused."

The outbreak of the mutinies prevented the execution of these instructions.

But on 15th April 1859,* the Bengal Government submitted a list of the aggressions committed by the Bootias since 1857; it showed a total of 33 cases, in which 45 persons had been carried off by the Bootias, of whom 27 had been released, one had made his escape, and 17 remained in captivity. In one case the Bootias had also carried off property to the value of 20,936 rupees. With reference to the occurrences brought to light in these papers, the Governor General in Council decided† that the time had arrived when the instructions of 14th April 1857 should be acted on without further delay.

* Cons., 10 June, Nos. 39-43.

With reference to these proceedings, the Secretary of State remarked :‡—"On referring to the letter of your Government, under date 14th April 1857, I find that you then recommended a military demonstration on the frontier and the seizure of certain border tracts belonging to the Bootia rulers, to be permanently annexed to the British territories. I trust that there will be no necessity to resort to any measures of permanent occupation."

† To Bengal Government, No. 3,479, dated 10 June 1859.

‡ No. 2, dated 12 January 1860.

The instructions to carry out the orders of April 1857 were repeated on 11th February 1860, and the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was told to take possession of the territory known as the Ambaree Fallacottah, on this side the Teesta, and to address a letter to the Deb Rajah, stating categorically the circumstances of each case of outrage, and requiring, not only the restoration of captives, but the punishment of the guilty parties, and informing the Rajah that the territory would not be given back till full reparation should be made.

On 23d April the Lieutenant Governor reported the measures which had been taken by Colonel Jenkins, the Agent, Governor General, to carry out the orders of Government, and on 9th May the Lieutenant Governor was informed by the President in Council, and on 13th June by the Governor General in Council, that Colonel Jenkins had exceeded his instructions, inasmuch as (1), he had directed the absolute and permanent possession of the territory; (2), he had threatened the seizure of further territory in case the demands of Government should not be complied with; and (3), he had not accompanied the occupation of the district with the letter to the Deb Rajah which he had been ordered to send in the instructions of 11th February. The Governor General in Council did not wish to weaken Colonel Jenkins's authority by disavowing what had been done, but his Excellency in Council wished it to be understood that Government was not committed to a line of retributive coercion by going on to seize other lands; and that the Governor General in Council would abstain from giving instructions as to the steps to be taken until it should be seen what effect upon the Bootan Government the cessation of their rights over the tract of country west of the Teesta should have.

On 26th of June, the Bengal Government forwarded an expression of regret from Colonel Jenkins for what he had done. In his letter Colonel Jenkins said :—

"I would beg to take this opportunity of recommending what I have before advocated, that, if any of the Bootia Doars are to be attached, our Government should allow a share of the revenue to be given up to the Bootias. Whatever offences the Bootias have committed, they have originated more out of the mode of management of the Doars, which has existed for ages, and which probably they know not how to alter, than from any intention of the Government of Bootan to give our Government wilful provocation.

"By the occupation of the Doars and taking them under our own management, we should completely provide against any disturbances occurring on the frontiers of Rungpore, Cooch Behar, and Gowalparra, and though the Doars themselves might occasionally be subject to alarm, yet all our own districts would be unaffected by the present frequent violences, and large tracts now left uncultivated and uninhabited from fear of Bootia incursions, would be reclaimed, on being freed from all apprehension of hostile attacks. By allowing a share of the revenue to the Bootia Government, we should be almost certain that they would not disturb the quiet management of the Doars for their own sake, from fear of forfeiting the share we reserved for them. This at any rate has been the case in Assam: we allow the Bootias from the Assam Doars one-third of the net revenue, and they have always abstained carefully from any violence which might cause their share to be stopped. I would beg therefore to propose that whenever the Bengal Doars might be attached, the same measures should be adopted towards them."

On this proposal no orders were passed, as Colonel Jenkins at the time he made it had received only the instructions of the President in Council of 9th May 1860, and not the later instructions of the Governor General in Council of 13th June.

When Captain Hopkinson succeeded Colonel Jenkins, he found that on 17th January 1861, in reply to an application for the revenues of Fallacottah, Colonel Jenkins had told the Dhurm Rajah of Bootan that the revenues would not be given up to him. This Colonel Hopkinson considered to be too positive, and he wrote a second letter qualifying the refusal, by adding, "until you comply with my predecessor's demand for the immediate release of all British and Cooch Behar subjects now in confinement in Bootan." This was approved by the Governor General in Council.

From correspondence* forwarded in December 1861 and January 1862, by the Bengal Government, it appeared that the outrages in British territory and the territories of the Rajahs of Cooch Behar and Sikkim had not ceased. The marauders in these fresh dacoities belonged chiefly to the Balka, Sedlee, and Cheerung Doars. It further appeared that, during the negotiations with Sikkim at the close of the Sikkim war, the Bootan Government repeatedly attempted to procure, though the Superintendent of Darjeeling and through the envoy to Sikkim, the payment of the rent of Ambaree Fallacottah, and that after the conclusion of the Sikkim treaty, the Bootan authorities had been threatening Sikkim, on the pretence that it was owing to the rupture between the British Government and Sikkim that the Ambaree Fallacottah rents had been withheld. The Deb Rajah, however, was informed that the stoppage of the rents was owing solely to the refusal of the Bootan Government to comply with the just demands of the British Government; but Captain Hopkinson was of opinion that we could not expect the satisfaction of our demands from the Deb Rajah, inasmuch as his authority was usurped by the frontier Governors, and their authority was again usurped by the local soubahs, so that it was extremely doubtful whether our remonstrances ever reached the Deb Rajah. He therefore again recommended that Government should act with respect to the Bengal Doars in the same way as the Assam Doars; but if Government were not prepared for this, he suggested that a mission should be sent to Bootan. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal recommended the alternative course of sending a mission, and locating a permanent agent, who might be a native, and not a European, at the Court of the Deb Rajah.

The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was informed (No. 55, dated 23d January 1862) that "it is very expedient that a mission should be sent to Bootan to explain what our demands are, and what we shall do if they are not conceded, and to make our engagement with Sikkim clearly understood to the Bootias. But his Excellency in Council is doubtful as to placing an agent in Bootan, and it will be better to leave this question to be decided after the result of the mission is known. The Lieutenant Governor was also permitted to authorise the Superintendent of Darjeeling to meet the Soubah of Dalimkote, and hear what he had to say, but at the same time to give him to understand that any overtures he might have to make would have to be submitted through the agent on the north-east frontier. The resolution to dispatch a mission to Bootan was approved by Her Majesty's Government in Despatch No. 92, dated 29th November 1862.

* Proceedings, January 1862, Nos. 132-137.

Proceedings, February 1862, Nos. 64-70.

Proceedings, March 1862, Nos. 1-6, 95 and 96, 116 and 117, and 228-234.

On 26th March 1862,* the Bengal Government submitted a report from Captain Hopkinson, the Agent on the north-east frontier, of the arrangements which he thought necessary for the security of the proposed mission. The first step which he proposed was to send a special messenger to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, announcing the intention of deputing an envoy, and mentioning when he would enter Bootan. The outward progress of the mission he proposed to make subservient to no collateral object, but to let it proceed by the route which the Bootan Government would prefer, which he thought would probably be by the Buxa Doar, the route of the missions of Pemberton and Turner. But, coming back, he thought the mission should take their own route, so as to gain some knowledge of the country. The deputation of the special messenger was approved, and Government expressed a hope that no time would be lost in sending him off.

* Proceedings,
April 1862,
Nos. 83-85.

A messenger† was accordingly dispatched by the Agent Governor General on the frontier, with a letter to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, informing them of the intention to dispatch an envoy, and inquiring by what route the Bootan Government would wish him to come. On 11th October 1862, however, the Lieutenant Governor wrote, urging that the mission should start not later than the 25th of December 1862, and should proceed from Darjeeling across the Teesta into Bootan, and march direct by the best and shortest route to Tassisudon or to Poonakha, if the Durbar had not left its winter quarters by the time the mission arrived there. He suggested that another special messenger should be sent to announce the appointment of the envoy by name and the route by which he would proceed. The Lieutenant Governor also made suggestions to which it is unnecessary to advert, regarding the constitution of the mission and the escort which he proposed should be sent in the name of the Viceroy and Governor General, and on a scale calculated to impress the Bootan Government "with the importance which the British Government attaches to the establishment of clear and decisive relations with the Government of Bootan, and to the adoption of some means whereby the present unsatisfactory state of affairs on the frontier may be put a stop to, and the mutual rendition of persons charged with the commission of heinous offences may be secured." If these ends could not be effected in any other way, the Lieutenant Governor proposed that a British officer should reside at Tassisudon on the part of the British Government, and be the medium of all communications between the Bootan Government and the British authorities on the frontier. As, however, the selection of the route of the mission had been left to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, the Governor General in Council resolved to await the answer to be brought by the special messenger, which he directed to be forwarded to Calcutta after receipt with the utmost possible dispatch.

† Proceedings,
October 1862,
Nos. 118-120.

On 26th November 1862,‡ the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal again addressed Government, urging that, as nothing had been heard of the messenger after his arrival on 10th August at Cheerung, half way to Poonakha, it was probable that either the letter to the Bootan Government or the reply had miscarried. He had ascertained from Cheebo Lama, the Sikkim vakeel at Darjeeling, that a messenger could go to the Bootan Government from there and back in twenty-four days, and he proposed again to address the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs in no hesitating or uncertain terms, fixing the point from which Bootan was to be entered and the route, which he thought should be *via* Darjeeling and Dalinkote, and leaving to the Bootan Government nothing beyond the choice of receiving or refusing to receive the mission. Meanwhile, the messenger had returned to British territory, having reached the headquarters of the Bootan Government on 9th September 1862, and left on 28th October after a fair reception. He brought a reply from the Deb Rajah only, and reported that the Bootan Government were much incensed against the people of Cooch Behar for alleged aggressions on Bootan territory, which complaints the Agent Governor General believed to be not unfounded. The letter of the Deb Rajah was evasive. He expressed himself ready to receive the Agent Governor General, to converse about the Assam Doars; asked for payment of the Ambaree Fallacottah rents; intimated that the Dhurm Rajah was averse to an interview; and that Zinkaffs would be deputed to adjust the disputes when the season would permit. With reference to this, the Agent Governor General thought that no steps should be taken towards the dispatch of a mission till the arrival of the Zinkaffs, who would communicate the exact wishes of their

‡ Proceedings,
January 1863,
Nos. 146-154.

masters; but the Lieutenant Governor urged that, instead of waiting for the Zinkaffs, the mission should be dispatched at once, as it was impossible for the questions in dispute to be settled satisfactorily in any other way. To this it was replied that "the Governor General in Council does not think that the tone of the Deb Rajah's letter, forwarded with your No. 161, dated 13th instant, is exactly what it ought to be; but as, at the instance of the Bengal Government, the Bootan Government were asked to point out the route which the mission to Bootan was to follow, it would not, in the Viceroy's opinion, be advisable, at so late a period in the cool season, to raise a new question by selecting a route without waiting for the formal reply from the Bootan rulers. On the whole his Excellency in Council thinks the better course will be to await the Bootanese messengers and hear what they have got to say, the more so that the Officiating Commissioner of Assam admits that the faults, as between the British residents on the Bootanese frontier and their neighbours, are by no means all on one side."

* Proceedings,
August, Nos. 96-
102.

Up to the 19th March 1863* nothing more was heard of the promised deputation of the Zinkaffs; and as the messengers, who had, as usual, come down to receive their share of the revenues of the Assam Doars, but who this year were of inferior rank, knew nothing of any intention on the part of the Bootan Government to send the deputation, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal once more pressed for the dispatch of the mission from Darjeeling after the rains of 1863. To this the Government at length acceded. The reasons for this and the instructions to the Bengal Government and the Honourable A. Eden, who was selected to be envoy, will be found in the letters attached to this note,† and should be read in full, viz.:

† Pages 136-41.

To Bengal Government, No. 492, dated 11th August 1863.

To Honourable A. Eden, No. 493, dated 11th August 1863.

To Honourable A. Eden, No. 643, dated 25th September 1863.

These instructions were approved by Her Majesty's Government in Despatch No. 84, dated 31st October 1863.

The mission, exclusive of establishments at 500 rupees a month and escort, consisted of the—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Honourable A. Eden, envoy - - -	3,600	0	0
Captain H. H. G. Austen, assistant to envoy - - - - -	1,125	6	0
Assistant Surgeon B. Simpson, medical officer	900	0	0
Captain Lance, commanding escort - -	954	1	0
Cheboo Lama - - - - -	200	0	0

† Proceedings,
January 1864,
Nos. 82-86.

By a letter‡ dated 10th November, from the Honourable A. Eden, written from Darjeeling, Government was informed of the outbreak of a revolution in Bootan headed by the Soubah of Poonakha, who was supported by the Tongso Pillo, the Soubahs of East Bootan, and the Dalimkote Soubah, and some of the western chiefs, to overthrow the Deb Rajah, whose case was espoused by the Para Pillo, the soubah of Tassisudon, and a few of the western Soubahs. The revolution was successful, and as Mr. Eden reported that he did not think that any serious difficulties would be placed in the way of the mission, and that the Soubah of Dalimkote had promised to give all the assistance in his power on the way to Tassisudon, the mission was, on 21st December 1863, authorised to proceed on their journey.

§ From envoy to
Bootan, No. 45,
dated 21 April 1864.
Dated 7 May 1864.
From Bengal
Government, No.
643T, dated
3 May 1864.

There are now three letters§ calling for the orders of the Government of India. Mr. Eden seems never to have officially reported to the Government of India his departure or progress. The letter of 21st April, received here on 5th May, appears to be the first official report of any kind laid before Government. It communicates to Government the entire failure of the mission. After pressing into the country in spite of as plain warnings as any native Government ever gives that the mission was unacceptable, and in spite of insolent treatment on the way, the envoy reached Poonakha on the 13th of March, where he found the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs were puppets in the hands of the Tongso Pillo, the successful head of the late insurrection, and the very man who had been most injured by the annexation of the Assam Doars. By this man, who refused to treat except on condition of the restoration of the Assam Doars, the

the mission were subjected to unheard of treachery and insults, were derided, buffeted, spat upon, and threatened with imprisonment and the stocks. With difficulty the mission obtained permission to return after the envoy and Cheeboo Lama had signed an agreement in duplicate that the British Government would re-adjust the whole boundary between the two countries, restore the Assam Doars, deliver up all runaway slaves and political offenders who had taken refuge in British territory, and consent to be punished by the Bootan and Cooch Behar Governments, acting together, if they ever made encroachments on Bootan. The envoy resolved to sign this document after considering in concert with the other officers of the mission and rejecting the only other courses which appeared open to him, viz., first, that he and Cheeboo Lama should remain as hostages on condition of the rest of the camp being permitted to return; and, second, attempting to escape by night. Both copies of the agreement which he signed were marked as signed "under compulsion."

There are three important points on which the envoy appears to have departed from the explicit instructions which were given to him:

1st. He seems to have pushed on ahead, leaving the presents* to be brought up afterwards, whereas he was told to open his negotiations by delivering the presents.

* He has not furnished the list of these presents which he was told to submit.

2d. He commenced his negotiations by delivering to the Durbar a copy of the draft treaty, thereby showing his whole hand, although several of the clauses were alternative, and some of them he was required not to press if they interfered with the political objects to be obtained. It is remarkable that the only clauses to which formal objection was made, however insincere and treacherous the Durbar may have been, were those articles (8 and 9) on which Government entertained doubts, and one of which the envoy was instructed not to press.

3d. Although the envoy marked the documents as signed under compulsion, he gave the Durbar no reason to believe that he had done so; on the contrary, the papers appear to have been signed with all the formalities of a voluntary engagement, and the envoy accepted presents for the Governor General. All this was a deliberate violation of the last paragraph of the instructions of 25th September 1863.

The envoy asks instructions as to the disposal of the presents, consisting of three ponies and some pieces of silk, whether they are to be sold or returned through the Dalimkote Soubah; he also seems to have received a letter to the Governor General, which he has not yet submitted.

The second document requiring orders is the envoy's memorandum reporting the measures which he thinks should be taken to punish the Bootan Government. The three courses open he considers to be:—

1st. The permanent occupation of the whole country.

2d. The temporary occupation of the country, to be followed by the withdrawal of the occupying force after destroying all the forts and letting the people see and feel our power to reach them at any future time.

3d. The permanent annexation of the Bengal Doars and Julpesh and the stoppage of the revenues of the Assam Doars.

The second course he rejects, and after describing the advantages of the first course and the mode in which it should be carried out if resolved on, he concludes by recommending the adoption of third.

The third document reports the arrangements made by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for the protection of the frontier and the guidance of local officers till Government has determined what course to pursue.

These three documents must, of course, be fully read and carefully considered, and, therefore, no attempt is made to epitomise them in this memorandum

EXTRACT FOREIGN LETTER from the Government of India to the Court of Directors ; dated 20 September 1856, No. 97.

1855.
Cons., 25 May, Nos. 26-28.
1856.
Cons., 22 February, Nos. 78-90.
Cons., 14 March, Nos. 35-37.
Cons., 9 May, Nos. 40-42.
Cons., 27 June, Nos. 15-17.

Paragraph 260. The papers noted on the margin relating to Booteea aggressions on the frontier are forwarded, in continuation of paragraph 164 to 171 of our letter addressed to your Honourable Court on the 22d November last, No. 64.

261. In June 1855 the Agent North-east Frontier reported that there was every reason to believe that the Dewangiri Rajah was not only the instigator of these outrages, but also the receiver of the property stolen, and that after receiving official information of that individual's removal from office he had issued instructions to allow the Booteea traders free passage to and from the plains as usual. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in sending up this report, expressed his opinion that Colonel Jenkins would have acted better if he had refused to relax on this occasion, unless the offenders were given up, and an intimation to this effect had been made to him.

262. In his letter, dated 4th August, the Agent explained the grounds on which he decided to open the Doars without waiting for the surrender of the offenders. He stated that the principal offender in these outrages was the Dewangiri Rajah himself, who had given positive orders to his people to plunder the houses of our village officers; and it was quite certain that without his concurrence none of his people would have dared to have committed such violence. It had also been deposed by witnesses that the Dewangiri Rajah made his people give up to him all the plunder. But this Rajah was a man of the highest rank in Bootan, as being nearly related to the Dhurm Rajah and Tongso Pillo; and if the Agent had persisted in demanding his surrender, he observed, "we might have been driven to the alternative of making war on Bootan," as he was satisfied the Bootan Government would never have given up the Dewangiri Rajah. In deposing the Rajah the moment the present Deb Rajah received the Agent's letters on the subject, and fining the Tongso Pillo the double of the amount said to have been plundered from our people, the Agent thought that he had acted with an earnestness, a show of power and attention to us, that could have been scarcely expected from our previous experience of that Government. And as he had shown this marked solicitude to keep on terms with the British Government, Colonel Jenkins considered it right to acknowledge his readiness to meet our wishes by opening the Doars, especially as the trade of our Doars was almost entirely confined to Bootan.

263. The Agent was of opinion that it would be sufficient in vindicating the insult to our Government and the wrongs done to our people in this case, to confine our further demands to the payment of an equitable amount of money for the goods stolen, as the offence was not countenanced by the Government, and seemed to have originated in the unrestrained violence of one man.

Dated 23 Nov.

264. Colonel Jenkins was informed, in reply, that the surrender of the late Dewangiri Rajah ought not to be demanded, as a Government like that of Bootan would never comply with it. The refusal to surrender him would have placed the Government in the dilemma of either withdrawing the demand or of going to war to enforce it. Either of these alternatives would have been objectionable at any time; the latter of them was on no account to be thought of.

265. The Governor General concurred in the general principles concerning our frontier relations which were laid down in the 13th paragraph of Colonel Jenkins's letter of 4th August; and as the Agent had given it as his opinion that the measures he had recommended would sufficiently "vindicate the insult to our Government and the wrongs done to our people in this case," his lordship did not advise that any more extreme measures should be resorted to.

Dated 13 Nov.
Dated 18 Dec.

266. Subsequently two further communications were received from the Agent North-east Frontier.

267. With Colonel Jenkins's letter, dated 13th November, and also with that from Major Vetch, dated 18th December, were submitted translations of letters from the Tongso Pillo, conceived in a spirit and couched in language equally

equally improper and unbecoming, and containing demands which it was impossible to entertain seriously for a moment. Colonel Jenkins had acted quite rightly in abstaining from any notice of the Tongso Pillo's requisition for the payment of half the fine levied upon him by the Deb Rajah, and in refusing to send back the Booteas who had been apprehended by our officers, or had been insolently demanded by that authority.

268. In regard to the future, it was intimated to the Bengal Government that there could be no doubt that, however unwilling we might be to bring about a hostile collision, some effectual means should be used to put a stop to the aggressions of the Booteas, and to shield our ryots from the constant alarm and actual injury which those aggressions or the apprehension of them occasioned; and this necessity was rendered all the more urgent by the overbearing tone of the Tongso Pillo's communications, and by the menacing attitude of the late Dewangiri Rajah, who was said to be "fortifying a position near our frontier," with the intention, as was supposed, of "giving us every annoyance" in his "power."

Dated 11 January.

269. Colonel Jenkins proposed that the value (8,620 rupees) of the property plundered by the Dewangiri Rajah, or with his connivance, should be deducted from the Bootea share of the Doar revenue, and he submitted the "question whether he shall not withhold any payment until the whole of the offenders demanded by the magistrate are given up to us for trial." He further suggested that the Booteas should be punished at once "by the instant occupation of all the Bengal Doars," "the only measure," he added, "likely to be effective short of invading the country."

270. We felt that, although most anxious to avoid a collision with the Bootea Government, it was impossible to tolerate the insolent and overbearing tone of the Tongso Pillo's communications to the Agent on the North-east Frontier; and that if it were tolerated our motives might be misconstrued, and the consequences would be more troublesome to the Government, and more injurious to the interests of its subjects than if it were at once resented. The Agent was therefore authorised to point out to the Tongso Pillo the extremely unbecoming tone of his several communications, and the inadmissibility of the requisitions which they contained; to require him on the part of the Government to apologise for the disrespect which he had shown towards the Governor General's representative, and in his person to the Government of India; and to inform him that unless he would forthwith accede to this demand, measures which he would be unable to resist, and which would have the effect of crippling his authority on the frontier, would be put in force. The Agent was, at the same time, desired to inform the Tongso Pillo that, under any circumstances, the value of the property plundered with the connivance of his brother, the late Dewangiri Rajah, would be deducted from the Bootea share of the Doar revenues. It was not thought expedient to go beyond this, and to declare that payment of the share of the Doar revenue would be entirely withheld until all the offenders who had been demanded were surrendered.

271. Colonel Jenkins was told that if the above remonstrance should be responded to in a becoming spirit, it would be sufficient to warn the Tongso Pillo that any repetition of the aggressive movements would be forthwith resented by the permanent occupation of the Bengal Doars. We remarked that it was possible that this menace might have the desired effect of bringing home to the mind of the Tongso Pillo the risk which he incurred by encouraging or permitting incursions into British territory; but that if it were not so, and there should be a recurrence of such incursions, the British Government, deeming it a paramount duty to protect its subjects, would have no alternative, in the possible event supposed, than to take immediate measures for the complete occupation of the Bengal Doars, on the understanding that such occupation would be permanent, and that the admission of the Booteas to a share of the revenue of those Doars would rest entirely with our discretion.

272. We were not unaware that the Deb Rajah is the nominal head of the country, and that it was the conduct of the Tongso Pillo, and his brother, the late Dewangiri Rajah, and not the conduct of the Deb Rajah, which had called

for some measure of severity on the part of the British Government; but it was obvious that the Deb Rajah, even though he might be ostensibly well disposed towards us, was unable, or unwilling, or remiss in his endeavours to restrain his subordinate chiefs; and it could not be permitted that for this want of power, or want of will, or want of energy, the subjects of our Government should suffer. The Deb Rajah should be made to share in the penalty due to the delinquencies of those who owned his authority, and for whose acts of aggression on British territory he should be considered responsible.

273. In a letter dated the 12th January, the Officiating Agent submitted an abstract of the proceedings held in the trial of the Booteas who were apprehended on a charge of committing dacoity, under the instigation of the Dewangiri Rajah, and who had been fully convicted of that charge.

274. Major Vetch, at the same time, requested instructions on the subject of the annual payment of 10,000 rupees on account of the Doars. He was referred to our orders of 11th January last, paragraphs 7 and 8 of which disposed of the points on which he solicited instructions. The Agent was told in those paragraphs that, "under any circumstances, the value of the property plundered with the connivance of the Dewangiri Rajah would be deducted from the Booteea share of the Doar revenues, and that it was not thought expedient to "declare that the payment of the share of the Doar revenue will be entirely withheld until all the offenders who have been demanded are surrendered."

275. On the 18th March, the Agent reported the proceedings consequent on the receipt of the orders of Government of 11th January, and he forwarded copies of the letters which had passed between himself and the Dewangiri Rajah, the Tongso Pillo, and the Deb Rajah. It appeared that Major Vetch, who was acting for the Agent at the time, addressed the Tongso Pillo, on the 21st January, sending his letter through the usual channel, the Dewangiri Rajah, who acknowledged its receipt, and reported in the first instance that he had forwarded it to the Tongso Pillo, but afterwards admitted that he had taken it upon himself to withhold the letter in question. There was nothing therefore to show that Major Vetch's letter reached the Tongso Pillo. Nevertheless, the Agent expressed his opinion that the "Tongso Pillo and the Dewangiri Rajah have collusively evaded the demand for an apology," and the Agent had, accordingly, by way of "giving the Bootan Government a further opportunity of complying with the demands of the Supreme Government," addressed the Dhurm and DeB Rajahs, who are the nominal chiefs of the country on our border, to which no reply had then been received, and this would have to be awaited before any further instructions could be issued. Meanwhile, time would not be lost in giving effect to the orders of Government for taking possession of the Bengal Doars, should that step become necessary, because no steps could be taken at the then unhealthy season of the year towards the attachment of the Doars mentioned.

276. But, though in this state of the case no fresh instructions seemed to be required, it appeared necessary to point out a serious mistake in Major Vetch's letter of 21st January to the address of the Tongso Pillo. The last paragraph of that letter was as follows:—"I declare that payment of the share of the Doar revenue withheld, until all the offenders who have been demanded are surrendered." This was in direct opposition to our orders of 11th January, which said, "It is not thought expedient to go beyond this, and to declare that payment of the share of the Doar revenue will be entirely withheld until all the offenders who have been demanded are surrendered."

277. In pointing out this mistake to the Agent, however, he was informed that we did not deem it to be necessary or advisable that any steps should be taken to remove from the minds of the Bootan Government the impression which would have been conveyed to it by that mistake.

278. In June last, the Bengal Government forwarded a copy of a letter from the Agent North-east Frontier, reporting the circumstances under which a person named Arung Sing, said to be the hereditary zemindar of Goomah Doar, in the Booteea territory, had been carried off by a party of armed Booteas from his residence at Mouzah Pettah, in the district of Gowalparra, in the British territories. The Lieutenant Governor was of opinion that if the facts

facts reported by Captain Agnew were correct, viz., that Arung Sing had been permitted to take up his residence for three years within the British territory whilst he still continued to hold his zemindaree in the Booteea country, so that he availed himself of his position to evade the payment of his just dues to the Booteea authorities, he ought not to have been permitted to remain on such terms in the village where he had established himself, nor should he have met with any direct encouragement from Colonel Jenkins. But as the treatment and patronage which Arung Sing had received had been followed by the commission of an outrage on the British territory, by the invasion of an armed body of Booteas, the Lieutenant Governor suggested that a friendly application should, in the first instance, be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, stating what had been reported, and requesting explanation of the occurrence; at the same time, assuming that if it had been correctly reported, the Bootan authorities would not fail to see the propriety of affording full reparation.

279. In reply, the Government of Bengal was informed that it would not be consistent or politic in the Government of India in dealing with this new aggression from Bootan, to take the very friendly and moderate tone recommended by the Lieutenant Governor. We observed that the violation of British territory was clear, and could not be passed over, and that the Lieutenant Governor's suggestion would, in our opinion, be very proper if the offence were a first one, or if previous offences had been atoned for; but we did not think that it was a mode of proceeding which would command attention or respect in the existing circumstances. Considering what had passed, and was still passing, any such application from the Government of India, we remarked, could not becomingly or wisely assume a tone of friendliness; nor did it appear necessary to ask for an explanation of the violation of territory, the fact being beyond doubt, and the offence being one which, committed without notice or appeal to the Government of India, nothing could justify.

280. For these reasons the Bengal Government was told that we would prefer to state the facts, as we knew them to have happened, to the Bootan authorities; to demand from them the punishment of the offenders, and an apology for the acts of their dependents, and to give them warning (already fully authorised) that, if atonement were not made for this new aggression, the Government of India would hold itself free to take permanent possession of the Bengal Doars.

281. This course, we observed, would not preclude the consideration of any explanations or excuses which the Tongso Pillo, or the Rajahs, might have to offer.

EXTRACT. Fort William Foreign Consultation. Dated the 25th May 1855. No. 26.

(Judicial.—No. 785.)

From *A. W. Russell, Esq.*, Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Sir,

Fort William, 2 May 1855.

IN continuation of this office letter, No. 642, of the 13th ultimo, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward herewith *in original*, for submission before the Government of India, another communication from the Agent to the Governor General on the North-east Frontier, No. 56, of the 21st idem, relative to some further dacoities and robberies committed by gangs of Booteeahs, and the instructions issued in consequence.

(No 56, of 1855.)

No. 27.

From Lieutenant Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent Governor General, North-east Frontier, to *W. Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, Fort William.

Sir,

Gowhattee, 21 April 1855.

IN continuation of Major Vetch's letter, No. 49, of the 2d instant, I regret to have to report that further robberies and dacoities having been committed by gangs of Booteeahs on merchants and others within the thannah of Byjalli, Captain Rowlett has again recommended that all communication with the hills should be closed, and I beg to say I have given Captain Rowlett a discretion to stop the passes, should there be any further repetition of these outrages; but to prevent as far as possible having recourse to this measure an additional military guard has been ordered to the frontier, and I have addressed a remonstrance to the Dewangiri Rajah, on his allowing these parties of Booteeahs to commit these robberies in our territories.

2. With reference to the 6th paragraph of Major Vetch's letter, I beg to say that I fear there is no longer the least doubt that the Dewangiri Rajah is not only implicated in all these outrages, but that he has organized the bands of robbers, and as the Dewangiri Rajah is said to be the brother of the Tongso Pillo, the chief Booteeah authority on this frontier, and both are relatives of the Dhurm Rajah,* one may suppose the Tongso Pillo either is aware of the acts of his subordinates, or has given him the power, and which he now commits these offences against our Government.

3. The Dewangiri Rajah was also accompanied by an uncle of the Dhurm Rajah, a person, however, who seemed made a mere cipher of, but he also may be acting in concert with the other Rajahs, or he may have been forced to attend. At any rate, I am informed by confidential Zinkaff from the Dhurm Rajah, that his authority has been set aside, and his seal taken from him, and under this information, which is given with every appearance of truth, I have reason to believe that the principal object of the deputation of these two Rajahs was to get hold of the 10,000 rupees, the share of the Doar revenue, then due, and to obtain its payment they produced a letter as from the Dhurm Rajah, and certified by his usual seal of office.

4. I beg to annex for reference a copy of Captain Rowlett's letter of the 16th instant, and of my reply of the 17th, No. 248, together with a copy of my letter to the Dewangiri Rajah, which I trust will be approved of by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor.

From Captain *E. A. Rowlett*, Principal Assistant to the Agent Governor General N.E. Frontier, to Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent Governor General, dated Gowhattee, 16th April 1855.

Sir,

I REGRET again having to report to you that intelligence was received by me yesterday afternoon from the Darogah at Byjalli Thannah, stating that on the night of the 12th inst. a party of about 40 Booteeahs plundered a kyah named Uttum Chund, residing at Nitamurd Panbarri, of the whole of his property, amounting, it is said, to between 700 and 800 rupees.

2. It is also stated that a trader from Burpettah, whose boat was at the ghat near the kyah's golah, was robbed of 60 rupees in cash and some clothes.

3. The Booteeahs, it appears, entered the golah by breaking open the door, when they found the kyah and his brother, and he states the Booteeahs informed them that they had been sent by the Rajah, with orders to carry off both the Company's ryots and their property, and that therefore they had come as they were bid.

4. None of the Booteeahs who committed the dacoity were recognized, which is unfortunate, but there can be little doubt, I think, but that they belong to Dewangiri, as that is the only place near the frontier of this district that could supply such a number; and as none of these raids can be committed without the sanction or orders of their chiefs, I conclude that this outrage could only have been undertaken under the express orders of the Dewangiri Rajah.

5. In my former letter, reporting on the cases of dacoity that were lately committed by the

* In the course of conversation he said he was no common person, but that from his house had proceeded the three last incarnations of the Dhurm Rajah.

the Dewangiri Booteahs in Banska Doar, I recommended that the passes into the plains should be closed until the parties implicated were given up. This suggestion, however, was not approved of by Major Vetch, then officiating as Agent Governor General during your absence, but as a fresh outrage has now been committed, and others may occur unless some measures are adopted to prevent them, I would again beg to urge the necessity of at once closing the Doars, and that a small detachment of the 2d Assam Light Infantry be sent to the pharri at Kaggrobarri, which is the police station nearest the hills in the direction the Booteahs have now made their appearance, to aid the police in preserving the people from being plundered.

(No. 248.)

From Lieutenant-Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent Governor General, North-East Frontier, to Captain *E. A. Rowlatt*, Principal Assistant Agent Governor General, Kamroop; dated Gowhattee, 17 April 1855.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday reporting further robberies committed by gangs of armed Booteahs, and recommending the closing of the Doars, and the posting of a small detachment of the 2d Assam Light Infantry at Kuggrabari, in support of the police.

2. In reply I beg to approve of your requesting Captain Campbell to furnish you with the additional guard you think requisite, and I leave it to your discretion to close the Doars should any further outrages occur; but in the meantime I would recommend that all parties of Booteahs should be disarmed, and not be otherwise molested or detained except they are caught acting disorderly, or resist the necessary measure of surrendering their arms whilst travelling or trafficking on the plains.

To Dewangiri Rajah.

After compliments.

Gowhattee, Assam, 17 April 1855.

I HAVE been much grieved to learn from the magistrate of Kamroop that some of the Booteahs who formed a part of the body of attendants on you on your visit to me at Gowhattee had been guilty of several dacoities on their way back to the hill.

It has been asserted by witnesses examined in these cases that these robberies were committed with your knowledge, if not at your command, and that the plundered property has been taken to Dewangiri, and divided between you and the robbers.

It is hard to believe that a person of your high rank can have been guilty of such disgraceful conduct, but it has just been brought to my knowledge that parties of Booteeahs are still wandering through our country plundering kyahs and others in your name. Whether the use of your name be true or not you best know; however, as you hold the post of Jadloom Rajah and are answerable for the conduct of all the people of Bootan on this frontier, I now beg to acquaint you that if any further robberies take place I shall hold you responsible for the same, and shall report accordingly for the information of our Government.

In the meantime I beg to inform you, that the magistrate has been directed to cause the apprehension of all armed and disorderly Booteahs that may visit the plains, and the sepoys have been directed to fire upon all parties of armed Booteahs who do not surrender their arms when called upon; and should you not at once put an end to these robberies I shall consider it necessary to stop all communication between the Doars and the hills, and to take such other measures as the occasion may seem to require.

Whatever happens after this to disturb the peace of the two countries, you will have to blame yourself for.

Copies of this will be transmitted to the Tongso Pillo, the Deb, and Dhurm Rajah, and the Parro Pillo, and all of them will be held answerable for your conduct.

I have, &c.
(signed) *F. Jenkins*,
Agent Governor-General.

No. 28.

(Foreign Department.—No. 1811 of 1855).

From *C. Beadon*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to *W. Grey*, Esq., Secretary to Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, 22 May 1855.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Under Secretary Russell's letter, dated 2d instant, No. 785, enclosing a communication from the Agent on the North-East Frontier, dated 21st ultimo, in which he reports further dacoities committed in the Banska Doar by parties of Booteahs from across the frontier, supposed to be instigated by the Dewangiri Rajah.

2. It appears that Colonel Jenkins has addressed the Rajah on the subject, and has authorised Captain Rowlutt to close the passes and stop all communication if any more such outrages are committed. These measures, I am desired to say, meet with the approbation of the Honourable the President in Council.

No. 78.

EXTRACT, Fort William Foreign Consultation; dated 22d February 1856.

(Judicial.—No. 1357.)

From *A. W. Russell*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, 17 July 1855.

Sir,

No. 91 of 16th ult.
No. 93 of 20th ult.

WITH reference to your letter, No. 1811, of the 22d May last, and previous correspondence on the subject of the late dacoities in the northern Doars of Kamroop, I am directed to forward herewith (in original) two further communications from the Agent to the Governor General in the North-East Frontier, reporting that there is every reason to believe that the Dewangiri Rajah was not only the instigator of these outrages, but the receiver also of the property stolen, and that after receiving official information of this individual's removal from office, he had issued instructions to allow the Booteah traders free passage to and from the plains as usual.

2. The Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that Colonel Jenkins would have acted better if he had refused to relax on the present occasion *unless the offenders were given up*; and an intimation to this effect has been made to him. His Honor is desirous to solicit the attention of the Supreme Government to Colonel Jenkins' representation regarding the want of a small body of cavalry on our North-Eastern Frontier.

3. The return of the enclosures is requested.

No. 79.

*(No. 91 of 1855.)

From the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *A. W. Russell*, Esq., Under Secretary, Government of Bengal, dated Gowhattee, 16 June 1855.

Sir,

WITH reference to the correspondence as per margin,* on the subject of the late Booteah dacoities, in the northern Doars of Kamroop, under the supposed connivance of the Dewangiri Rajah, I have now the honour to forward a copy of a letter from Lieutenant S. Lamb,

* My letters to *W. Grey*, Esq., Nos. 56 and 58, of 21s April 1855, and your office memorandum, No. 1,140 of 25th ultimo.

S. Lamb, Junior Assistant in charge of Kamroop, No. 19, of the 8th instant, submitting a portion of the depositions taken from the Booteahs who were apprehended, from which it will appear that the Dewangiri Rajah was not only the instigator of the robberies, but that he was also the receiver of the property stolen.

2. The Rajah, however, strongly denies the accusation in a long letter to me, which I consider it unnecessary to forward, it being in substance very similar to the denials in his letter to Captain Rowlutt which were forwarded with Major Vetch's letter No. 49, of the 2d April last.

It is not improbable that the value of the property stolen has been much exaggerated, but after Captain Rowlutt's local inquiries on the spot, there can be no reason to suppose that the several robberies were not committed as reported by that officer.

3. This Rajah* has since left Dewangiri, and is said to be removed from his appointment, but this will be no satisfaction for the outrages committed; and as similar offences, and even of a more serious character, have been perpetrated in the Rungpore District by the Mynaghurree Soobah, without any surrender of the delinquents, or restitution of property, there appears to me sufficient grounds for withholding the annual payments of the share of the revenue from the Doars; but this measure may very probably involve the frontier in great alarm of incursions, if it does not draw on our helpless ryots actual attacks from armed freebooters. Such inroads we can scarcely hope to prevent by any number of posts, and we shall never be able to punish without a small body of cavalry.

(No. 19 of 1855).

From Lieutenant *Thomas Lamb*, Officiating Magistrate of Kamroop, to the Agent Governor General, North-East Frontier; dated Gowhatee, 8th June 1855.

Sir,

AGREEABLY to the instructions contained in your letter to Captain Rowlutt, No. 305, dated 14th May 1855, I have the honour to submit a summary of that portion of the Booteahs' depositions taken down in Captain Rowlutt's presence, which appears to bear upon the point on which you require information, and on which the suspicion against the Rajah appears to be based, and which you will perceive at a glance is not unfounded, although the Rajah was not personally present when the robberies were perpetrated. The evidence clearly proves him to have been the instigator and receiver of the property. From the depositions of Botpa and Tasseepungsha, after receipt of the plundered property, it appears that the Dewangiri Rajah went from Dewangiri to Tongsah (and took the property with him), where his elder brother (as stated in his letter to you) the Tongsah Soobah resides, to whom, as well as his uncle, the Dhurm Rajah, you have written, but that it does not occasion the smallest fear to him. I should not place any confidence in these men's statements if they were not supported by others as far as Dewangiri, because they themselves are implicated, by the depositions of others, as having been present when the robbery at Panbarree was committed, whereas they say they had gone into the Durrung District at the time, and only heard of it on their return.

2. I regret to find there has been so much delay in supplying this information, but trust you will consider the very heavy duties I have to discharge (having no junior assistant or sudder ameen here just now) sufficient to exonerate me from all blame on the score of delay.

Kopeh's Confession.—It appears from this confession, that as Kopeh was returning with the Dewangiri Rajah from Gowhatty, at Pamalpore, he assisted in robbing the house of Hoiber Zimbadar, and the property was all given over to the Dewangiri Rajah in his house at Dewangiri.

Leirgah's Deposition.—Leirgah in his Mofussil deposition states, that although not taking an active part in the affair, he witnessed the robbery alluded to by Kopeh, and the property he afterwards saw delivered over to the Dewangiri Rajah, in his own house, being a spectator from a little distance. The other parties concerned are now at Dewangiri.

Botpah

* The other Rajah, uncle of the Dhurm Rajah, died almost immediately after his return to Dewangiri.

Botpah and Tasse Bungshoo's Deposition.—These two went into the Durrung district on some private business, and on their return they heard of the Kyah's (Ottum Chund's) golah having been robbed from one Doyeng, and that the property was given to the Dewangiri Rajah. The Rajah afterwards sent it to Tongsah.

Kapang's Deposition.—Kapang was also sent with the party to rob the Kyah Oottum Chund's golah by the Rajah, who told him to go with Tasse Pangsha and Doyeng, but he says he fell sick on the road, and remained behind at Borra Goan; on the following morning when the parties returned after effecting their purpose, he accompanied them to Dewangiri.

Yongseh and Gangeah's Deposition.—Yongseh and Gangeah were present at the time Hoiber's property was given over to the Rajah in Dewangiri, and also when the party received instructions to plunder the Kyah's golah, which were given at about Pohr remaining (3 p. m.) one day (month and date unknown).

Wangbut's Deposition.—Wangbut was present when the parties were fined 40 each for not giving up the property taken from one Sre-ram's house, month and date not known; they eventually surrendered it.

(signed) *Thomas Lamb,*
Officiating Magistrate.

(No. 93 of 1855.)

No. 80. From the Agent Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *W. Grey, Esq.,* Secretary, Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, Fort William; dated 20 June 1855, Gowhattee, Assam.

Sir,

* No. 91 of the
16th instant.

WITH reference to my letter as per margin,* I beg to acquaint you that I have received official information of the supersession of the Dewangiri Rajah, the cause of the late disturbances on the frontier, in a letter from his successor, reporting this circumstance and requesting that the trade between the two countries should be allowed to go on as heretofore, and I have the honour of reporting that I have informed the magistrate of the removal of the late Rajah, and directed that the Bhooteah traders should be allowed to come in as usual.

2d. I have also received a letter from the Tongso Pillo, regretting the late occurrences, and informing me that the Rajah would be punished. If his information can be believed, the supersession of the Rajah has been in consequence of orders from the acting Deb Rajah, issued on receiving a letter from me complaining of the misconduct of the Rajah.

No. 81.

(Judicial—No. 1818.)

From the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, 5 September 1855.

Sir,

No. 112, dated
4th August.

IN continuation of this office letter, No. 1357 of the 17th July last, I am directed to forward herewith the accompanying copy of a communication from the Agent to the Governor General in the North-East Frontier, offering an explanation of the grounds on which he decided to open the Doars without waiting for the surrender of the offenders who had committed outrages in the northern Doars of Kamroop. **

2d. In submitting these papers for the information of the President in Council, I am desired to state that the Lieutenant Governor does not agree with Colonel Jenkins as to the measures which he has adopted.

(No. 112, of 1855.)

From Lieutenant Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General North-east Frontier, to *A. W. Russell*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the Judicial Department, Fort William; dated Gowhatty, the 4th August 1855. No. 82.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1746 of the 17th ult., forwarding a copy of a letter to the Government of India (of the same date, No. 1357), regarding the outrages committed by the party of the Dewangiri Rajah, when returning through the Doars to the Hills.

2. The letter referred to in the 2d paragraph of your letter was sent in mistake direct to the Government of India, and I have now the honour to annex a copy of it. No. 58, dated 21st April 1855.

3. With regard to the expression in the second paragraph of the letter to the Government of India, of His Honour, that "I should have acted better had I refused to relax unless the offenders were given up," I beg to be permitted to offer an explanation of the grounds on which I decided to open the Doars without waiting for the surrender of the offenders, which I trust will be satisfactory to the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor.

4. The principal, I may say the only offender in these outrages, must I think be considered the Dewangiri Rajah himself, who gave positive orders, as the evidence goes, to his people to plunder the houses of our village officers, and it seems quite certain that without his concurrence none of his people would have dared to have committed these violences; and it is deposed by several witnesses that the Dewangiri Rajah made his people give up to him all the plunder.

5. Under ordinary circumstances, I conceive the Dewangiri Rajah was the only person whose surrender we need have insisted on, and he seems to be the only person who really deserves punishment; but the Booteahs are a very rude race, and the Government is in such a miserable state of anarchy, that I am of opinion our Government must make allowances for their defects, and accommodate our intercourse with them to the state of their country and its Governments, endeavouring to secure as we best can such relations as may save us from being involved in the necessity of invading and occupying their country.

6. The Dewangiri Rajah, who has been the cause of the present disturbances, is a man of the highest rank in Bootan, as a near relation to the Dhurm Rajah and Tongso Pillo, and if we had persisted in demanding his surrender, we might have been driven to the alternative of making war on Bootan, which I imagine our Government would be extremely anxious to avoid if possible, for I am satisfied the Bootan Government would never have given up the Dewangiri Rajah, though possibly we might have forced his relations to put him to death, or driven him to suicide.

7. When the Dhumpa Rajah and Nakpallah Karjee, in 1828, attacked our thannah in Chatgarree, killed the Darogah, killed and wounded all the other officers of the thannah, and carried off and grossly maltreated several women of the Doar, besides plundering much property, our Government insisted on these two officers being made over to us, but the Booteeah authorities would never comply, and several years afterwards they contrived to deceive us by deputing a party of apparently most respectable persons to swear that both those offenders had died, which long afterwards was discovered to be false; but both the Rajah and Kharjee were men of comparatively low rank.

8. It seems therefore almost certain that the demand for the Dewangiri Rajah would be evaded in some similar manner, and it can hardly be becoming in our Government to make any requisition they are not prepared to carry out, and that would only be by occupying the country. As far as my information goes, the Government has received much grosser provocations on the borders of Rungpore than those which lately occurred here, and as long as the Government consider it expedient to show forbearance in regard to the occurrences, on one quarter, I do not apprehend that they would be desirous of proceeding to extremities for slighter offences in another.

9. In deposing the Dewangiri Rajah, the moment the present Deb Rajah received my letters on the subject, and fining the Tongso Pillo the double of the amount said to have been plundered from our people, he acted, I thought, with an earnestness, a show of power and attention to us, that could have been scarcely expected from our previous experience of that Government; and having shown this marked solicitude to keep on good terms with our Government, I considered I was acting rightly in acknowledging his readiness to meet our wishes by opening the Doars. It cannot, besides, be too distinctly remembered that the trade of our Doars is almost entirely confined to Bootan, and that our Cacharee ryots on that frontier would be greatly distressed by any long stoppage of intercourse with the hills, and I was of course anxious on this account to see the traffic with Bootan recommenced.

10. I am quite aware that if we pass over our demand for the surrender of the Dewangiri Rajah, that the Bootan authorities would gladly send in any number of small delinquents

delinquents who acted under his orders, or their heads (or possibly the heads of slaves), if we persisted in such a measure; but this I think would hardly accord with our dignity.

As to the amount of plunder, which I cannot but think has been grossly exaggerated, we can deduct any sum that is not voluntarily made good from the Booteeah share of the revenue of the Doars.

11. I find that five Booteeahs who were concerned in these plunderings have been sentenced to punishment, five more have been apprehended and are under trial, and three who were apprehended have been released, the witnesses failing to recognize them; but the large number said to have been recognized, have not yet been apprehended, and I beg the instructions of the Government whether I shall continue to demand their surrender, and whether or not the requisition shall extend to the late Dewangiri Rajah.

12. In the meantime I have to report having received letters from the present Dewangiri Rajah (who is favourably reported of) that he is anxious to visit me at Gowhatty, but is prevented at present by the rains and great heats.

13. To the best of my judgment sufficient will have been done to vindicate the insult to our Government, and the wrongs done to our people in this case, by confining our further demands to the payment of an equitable amount of money for the goods stolen, as the offence is fortunately not countenanced by the Government, and seems to have originated in the unrestrained violence of one man, a man of considerable cleverness, to judge by his writings, but still a man who has never been accustomed to put the least restraint upon his savage passions.

14. The oligarchical hierarchy of Bootan appears to be one of the worst governments that ever cursed an extensive country; its territories border on ours for full 400 miles, and nearly all the tracts in our vicinity, and I fully believe the whole kingdom, is rapidly sinking under increasing oppression and misrule, and apparently without the interference of our Government this large and physically valuable country cannot hope to be rescued from its present state of degradation; but as long as the British Government think it necessary and just not to interfere, it seems to me that we are bound to make some allowance for the unfortunate condition of its social relations, and pass over occasionally occurrences which in stronger and more accountable governments would be considered sufficient to justify having recourse to the extreme measure of a declaration of war.

(Foreign Department.—No. 4084, of 1855.)

No. 83. From *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, to *A. W. Russell*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, 23 November 1855.

Sir,

No. 1357, dated
17th July 1855.
No. 1818, dated
5th Sept. 1855.

WITH reference to your letters, noted in the margin, relative to the outrages committed by Bootan, I am directed by the President in Council to forward, for the information of the Lieutenant Governor, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Secretary with the Governor General, dated the 19th ultimo, No. 666, containing his Lordship's remarks on the subject.

2. The original enclosures of your letter, dated the 17th July, No. 1357, are herewith returned.

(Foreign Department.—No. 666.)

No. 84. From *G. F. Edmonstone*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General, to *Cecil Beadon*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

19 October 1855.

I AM directed by the most noble the Governor General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 24th ultimo, No. 3425, forwarding, in original, a despatch from the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 5th idem, No. 1818, and the previous correspondence, relative to the outrages committed by Bootan, and the explanation offered by the Agent on the north-east frontier of the measures he had taken for their suppression.

2. The

2. The Lieutenant Governor states that he "does not agree with Colonel Jenkins as to the measures he has adopted." But his Honour does not explain in what he differs with that officer, nor does his Honour specify the measures he would prefer.

3. The Governor General is of opinion that the surrender of the late Dewangiri Rajah ought not to be demanded.

4. A government, such as Colonel Jenkins has described that of Bootan to be, would never surrender the Rajah. The refusal to surrender him would place the government in the dilemma of either withdrawing the demand it had made for surrender, or of going to war to enforce it. Either of these alternatives would be objectionable at all times; the latter of them should on no account be thought of at present.

5. The Governor General concurs in the general principles concerning our frontier relations with Bootan, which are laid down in the 13th paragraph of Colonel Jenkins's letter.

6. Officers charged with the immediate care of a frontier are usually not slow to resent outrage; nor are they readily satisfied with the reparation given for it, or the guarantee afforded for future security; when, therefore, the Agent on the north-east frontier gives it as his opinion that the measures he has recommended will sufficiently "vindicate the insult to our Government, and the wrongs done to our people in this case," the Governor General does not advise that any more extreme measures should be resorted to.

7. Should the Honourable the President in Council concur in the above remarks, I am desired to request that copy of this letter may be communicated to the Government of Bengal.

8. The original papers received with letter under acknowledgment are herewith returned.

(Judicial.—No. 2592.)

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, 11 December 1855.

No. 85.

Sir,

IN continuation of the correspondence noted in the margin, I am directed to forward for submission to the Governor General in Council the accompanying copy of a further letter* from Colonel Jenkins, with its enclosures.

To Under Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 135, dated 17th July.
From Officiating Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 4084, dated 23d ultimo.
* No. 163, dated 13th ultimo.

(No. 163.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General, N. E. F., to *W. Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the Judicial Department, Fort William; dated Gowahatty, 13 November 1855.

No. 86.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for the orders of Government, translations of letters from the Tongso Pillo and Dewangiri Rajah in continuation of my letter No. 112, of the 4th August last, and with reference to the correspondence as per margin.

2. The tenor of the former letter appeared to me so threatening and offensive, that I have considered it necessary to consult the Government before making a reply to it; and I have briefly, in answer to the Rajah, stated as much.

My Letter to you, No. , dated 16th March 1855.
Ditto No. 56, dated 21st April "
Ditto No. 58, dated 21st April "
Ditto No. 91, dated 16th June "
Ditto No. 93, dated 20th June "

To A. W. Russell, Esq., No. 112, dated 4th August 1855;
Mr. Hodgson Pratt's Office Memo., No. 941, dated 5th May 1855;
Mr. A. W. Russell's ditto, No. 1140, dated 25th idem; and
Mr. A. W. Russell's Letter, No. 1746, dated 17th July 1855.

3. The Tongso Pillo takes objection to my having written to the Deb Rajah regarding the plunder of our villages by his brother, the late Dewangiri Rajah.

I sent the Deb Rajah a copy of my letter to the Tongso Pillo, which has usually been the practice when I had to complain of the conduct of any of the subordinate Rajahs. I did so in this instance because, from the near connexion of the Rajah to the Pillo, I had little hope of redress from this officer. The result was the immediate supersession of the Rajah, and a demand on the Tongso Pillo for the payment of double the amount of the property reported stolen.

The Tongso Pillo, in a long and impertinent letter, desired me to pay one-half of the fine; but of this of course I did not even take notice as mentioned by him.

4. Instead of surrendering to us any of the persons who were demanded as offenders, the Tongso Pillo desires that we will send back the Booteeahs apprehended, with an officer to a place in the Hills, where he alleges the Dewangiri Rajah and his followers have been sent, for the purpose, apparently, of an inquiry there into the cases of plunder. Of course this is entirely out of the question, and no officer could be sent without a strong guard to protect him from treachery, which the Booteeahs would commit without the slightest hesitation, in spite of any vows to the contrary, if they thought they could do so with impunity. Though apparently, in common intercourse, a frank and ingenuous people, no one could place the slightest trust in any one of the race, for we know, from constant occurrences, that they are totally untrustworthy—more faithless, indeed, than the worst savages on our frontier.

5. In case I do not comply with his request, the Tongso Pillo threatens that the ryots will suffer, and he concludes with asking if it is intended to pay the usual share of the revenue of the Doars.

That it is apprehended we either intend to stop the usual payment, or to deduct from the amount the sum plundered by the Dewangiri Rajah, I am led to believe from the repeated inquiries on this head; and on this subject, as involving many grave considerations, I have to request the express orders of the Government.

6. Although I have little doubt myself that the amount of the property said to be plundered is greatly exaggerated, yet, as the magistrate has admitted his belief on evidence in the usual manner, that property to the extent of 8,620 rupees was forcibly taken away, there appears no alternative but to demand the repayment of this sum from the Booteeah Government; and as the Booteeahs will certainly not voluntarily make good that sum, it seems imperative on us to deduct it from their share of Doar revenue; and it becomes a question whether we shall not withhold any payment until the whole of the offenders demanded by the magistrate are given up to us for trial.

Up to the present time no one has yet been convicted of having been a party to the robberies. The trials are still pending, and the money could remain in deposit, pending the trials and further orders of Government.

7. I should be disposed to recommend that we should confine ourselves to deducting the amount of the plundered property; but even this leniency, I fear, will not prevent much bullying and alarm to our ryots, and perhaps many attempts to commit robberies; for it is impossible, with the infantry only at our disposal, to stop completely all raids along so long a line of frontier, where the aggressors have an impenetrable line of forests and hills to retreat to.

8. The late Dewangiri Rajah is said to be fortifying a position near our frontier, and to be making good roads to and from his post, evincing, I imagine, the intention on the part of himself and the Tongso Pillo to give us every annoyance in their power, and, if by no other means, by frightening all the cacharies in the border Doars.

This disposition may draw on a hostile collision, however desirous we may be to avoid any such unfortunate result; and should such a crisis occur, what course are we to pursue? It would seem to me desirable to punish the Booteeahs at once by the instant occupation of all the Bengal Doars, the only measure likely to be effective short of invading the country.

9. It may be true that the Tongso Pillo and his brother are now acting in opposition to the nominal head of the country—the person who may have possessed himself of the rank of Deb Rajah; but either he has not the power or the will to punish these Eastern chiefs; and it does not appear to me that it matters much which may be the case to us, who are bound to redress the wrongs of our own subjects by such means as are in our power.

If we choose to proceed against the Tongso Pillo alone, we should have, in the first place, to occupy Dewangiri, which might be easily done, I imagine; but it would be perhaps a worthless, unprofitable acquisition, unless we were fully prepared to follow up its occupation by further offensive operations; for this is not the only pass by which the Booteeahs can gain access to the plains, and the appearance of a dozen armed Booteeahs anywhere would drive away the inhabitants of the largest villages.

10. The occupation of the Bengal Doars would be an immense benefit to Rungpore, Cooch Behar, and Goalparah, and I think would compel the Booteeahs to seek to conciliate us, with the hope of being admitted to a share of the revenue as in the Assam Doars; for I believe the loss of these extensive and fertile but most misgoverned tracts would be the total ruin of the Government. Should, however, the occupation of the Doars, by driving the Booteeahs to extremity, unfortunately provoke further aggressions, we are certain, with the command of these Doars, access to Bootan would be most easy, and the revenue of
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the Doars and the indirect advantages to our own districts would more than compensate for any expenses we might incur in ulterior operations.

11. In conclusion, I beg to say I have requested Captain Campbell, commanding the 2d Assam Light Infantry, to take precautionary measures; and by placing guards at intervals along the frontier, I hope we may overawe the Booteah chiefs; but I am apprehensive that, as long as the Booteahs think they have a chance of plundering and cutting up a village, and retreating in safety to their fastnesses, there will always be at least the dread of disturbances and inroads; and, with the utmost vigilance, there may be occasional dacoities, and the infliction of much misery on our ryots, with little hope of retaliating.

From the Tongso Soobah to the Agent, Governor-General, dated 15 Bhadroo.

After compliments.

You have been born amongst the great of this world, and I write you this with the sanguine hopes. As the light shed by diamonds on gold, so does your justice shine on the people, and in this I rejoice; in like manner, under the good will of the Honourable Company and the Dhurmah Rajah's, do I administer to the government of this people.

I have received the letter you sent with a puttrochine through a party of the Namtollah Rajah, in the month of Srabim last, and its receipt has given me pleasure. Like as the friendship between the Lotus and the Sun and Moon, so is the friendship existing between us; yet unknown to me you wrote to the Deb Rajah regarding some aggressions committed by the Dewangiri Rajah, who you said had plundered 8,620 rupees, on which the Deb Rajah demanded from me double the amount mentioned, and his zinkaff is now with me, and is giving me trouble on this account. I addressed you before on the subject of your communicating particulars to the Deb Rajah, without making me acquainted with them, on which account this demand is now made, and requested that you should therefore pay a part of this demand. Regarding this you have said nothing in your letter, but have confessed having committed a fault in addressing the Deb Rajah without my knowledge, and merely state that you have given orders to the magistrate that the trade and barter between this and the plains should continue as formerly, and said nothing on the subject above referred to. This is an evasion; and it is my belief that the former sahib is not now the same, because he has evaded giving a decided reply to a question, and has merely written on other subjects. This is not the practice with us Booteahs. Having been made acquainted by your letter of the oppression caused on the people by the Dewangiri Rajah through his zinkaff, I immediately dismissed him, and appointed a better man in his place. Although he was my brother, I dismissed him, and had him confined, and during the reign of the Dhurmah Rajah he will not get another appointment; he has been punished in consequence of having oppressed the ryots of the Honourable Company, and I have threatened him myself, yet he does not confess to having committed any fault. From this I imagine that some ill-disposed person has done so with the intention of causing a quarrel between the Honourable Company and the Dhurmah Rajah; and that there are such people who neither obey their father or mother, or even the orders of the Rajah, there is no doubt, and it would give them pleasure to cause a quarrel between both parties; it is, therefore, difficult to keep up a friendship.

The ryots are well acquainted with the trade of the Booteahs in the Doars, and in some dispute with them they have named parties as having committed aggression; on which you addressed the Deb Rajah, sending him a list of persons charged with the commission of specific offences; and in reply to my letter, instead of answering what I had written about, you have evaded it by writing on other subjects.

The friendship between the Dhurmah Rajah and the Honourable Company has from a former period been as milk and water amalgamated, and if it is your wish that this friendship should continue, you should punish your ryots, and I mine; but you have, without any consideration, apprehended and taken away a number of Booteahs from this, and have also taken possession of the Sath Doars, keeping a number of our ryots by specious promises; and now the Booteahs that went for trade, and for the purposes of realising revenue, on account of bamboo cane, &c., cut by the settlers in Sath Doars, have been apprehended and taken away on false complaints. If we, in like manner, apprehended traders and ryots coming into our jurisdiction, you would not think well of us, and I am now in doubt what to do.

You have taken possession of the Doars without any fault of ours, and in consequence of our friendship with the Honourable Company, we the great rajahs have done nothing to cause this friendship to be broken, and if it is your wish to continue it, you will send the 14 Booteahs apprehended and taken away, also a gentleman like the magistrate, and the proprietors of the 8,620 rupees said to have been plundered, as well as a share of the money demanded by the Deb Rajah, and of which I had written you, to a place called Kipsee, in the Dewangiri jurisdiction; and I am now sending the former Dewangiri Rajah and his followers, each in charge of 16 men, that the dispute may be settled in presence of both parties, and orders be given for the punishment of those that may be found actually guilty. If this is done, the former friendship between the Honourable Company and the Bootan Government will remain uninterrupted. If you agree to the above proposals, send a decided reply by my zinkaff. You have charge of a large territory and numberless inhabitants, whereas I am in charge of hills, and can scarcely keep a single inhabitant, and on a

false complaint being made of the Dewangiri Rajah committing aggressions, you have placed reliance on the statements made by evil-disposed persons, and considering me as nobody, evaded giving me a reply to a particular subject. From this it appears clear that I alone hold death in fear, and not you, and that you never will; therefore I decidedly state that if there be any disagreement between us, the ryots on both sides will suffer, and it is not right that such should be the case.

I am here on the part of the Dhurmah Rajah, and you on that of the Honourable Company, and if the long-standing friendship existing between us be now broken, it would reflect shame on both of us. I am informed that revenue will not be paid to us from this year: let me know if this is true or false, and I depend on you for a speedy reply by my private gungpoon, giving him coolies and subsistence.

(True translation.)

(signed) *F. Jenkins*,
Agent, Governor General.

From the Dewangiri Rajah to the Agent, Governor General; dated 23 Assim.

THE Tongso Soobah has through his private zigpoon sent me a letter, and also one addressed to you, which letter I have forwarded on by that zigpoon. The Tongso Soobah, in his letter to me, has said that you addressed the Deb Rajah direct, without informing him of the aggression committed by the former Dewangiri Rajah, and that in consequence he has been called on to pay double the amount of property plundered; that he threatened the Dewangiri Rajah before two of the zinkaffs of the Deb Rajah, but he confessed to no crime, and that he had addressed you on the subject of paying a part of the demand made against him, and that you had neither sent him the money nor given him a reply on the subject; that he now again addresses you, and writes to me, directing me to take the revenue for this year in the month of Kartick, and regarding this, I now address you. I am an intermediate party between this Rajah and you, and you have taken possession of large territories, and carry on the management of them. The Dhurmah Rajah has but little territory, and I therefore write to say that it would be advisable to relinquish the Doars, receiving revenue for the same as in the time of the Assam Rajahs, when no disputes occurred, and if any should occur in any time, it would be to my disgrace. You look upon and provide for the ryots and Booteahs of the plains as your sons, and if any disagreement should take place, the ryots will be great sufferers; you should therefore so act as no evil should befall either you or any Rajah. Regret always follows the commission of any evil deed; if therefore the friendship between you remain unbroken, I shall rejoice. I have expressed to you the sentiments of my heart, and being as your slave: I can say no more than this. You are omniscient, and the soobah has written you on all points. I can merely say that while the fire is small it is easily quenched, and there is little fear of its becoming great. The revenue for this year is to be paid, and whether it be paid now or hereafter is the same, but it would be well, as the soobah has written for it, that it be paid now. I conscientiously look upon you in the same light as the Dhurmah Rajah, and it would give me no pleasure to see any dispute between you. I have heard that you are a righteous and just man, and that no such disagreement is your wish, but that from the bad advice of those under you you are unable to give a just decision. If the two Governments should quarrel, it will not affect these evil advisers in the least, but it will affect the Company and yourself. I hope what I have written will be taken into consideration, and that you will keep me in favour, and send a speedy answer to the Toongsah Soobah.

(True translation.)

(signed) *F. Jenkins*,
Agent, Governor General.

(Political.—No. 2.)

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Lieutenant Governor's Camp, Runneegunge, 28 December 1855.

Sir,

No. 4, dated 18th
Dec. 1855, 1 encl.

In continuation of my letter, No. 2592, dated 11th instant, I am directed to forward for submission to the Most Noble the Governor General in Council the accompanying letter in original from Major Vetch, acting agent to the Governor General in Lower Assam, with its enclosures.

2. The return of the original papers is requested when no longer required

(No. 4 of 1855.)

From Major *Hamilton Vetch*, Acting Agent, Governor General, Lower Assam, to *William Grey*, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, Fort William; dated Gowahatty, the 18th December 1855.

Sir,

IN continuation of Colonel Jenkins' letter, No. 163, of the 13th ultimo, he has requested me to enclose a translation of a letter to his address from the Tongso Pillo, which is written in so improper and menacing a style, that he deems it necessary to have it submitted for the orders of Government.

2. I also enclose a translation of letters sent in by the Dewangiri Rajah, with a copy of Colonel Jenkins's reply.

3. Colonel Jenkins, in a letter to me, dated the 11th instant, a copy of which I venture to enclose in case it should be required for reference, appears to think that the Tongso is determined to consider the accusations against his brother, the late Dewangiri Rajah, as false; and that redress from him for the grievances suffered by our people is out of question, and that he hopes he may gain his end of making us forego our demand for the punishment of the offenders, and restoration of the value of the stolen property.

4. Colonel Jenkins trusts that in spite of the Tongso's bluster, he will make no attempt to molest our people, yet considers it necessary that we should be prepared to protect and punish any inroads, and gives me authority to make any arrangement I may think required for that purpose, and to call in troops from Upper Assam or Cherra, should such emergency arise. Second, he regrets that the trial of the Booteah prisoners has been so long delayed, and requests me to take measures to expedite their trial, and briefly to report to him the result, and, to avoid delay, to submit one copy direct for the information of Government.

5. In reference to precautionary measures, I beg to report that I have directed the magistrates of Kamroop and Durrung to obtain information of what is taking place in the frontier, and communicate it to the officers commanding the guards. I have also consulted Captain Campbell, commanding 2d Assam Light Infantry, on the subject of strengthening these guards, and he has this morning started to inspect them, and make such arrangements on the spot as will best protect our ryots, and I hope the above arrangements will prove sufficient until the orders of Government on Colonel Jenkins's letter, already adverted to, shall be received.

6. I beg to add, that I have called on the magistrate of Kamroop to expedite his proceedings in the trial of the Booteahs now in confinement: the trial, I believe, would have been sent up to the Sessions Court, but for the delay in obtaining the evidence of a witness for the defence.

From the Tongso Soobah of Bootan, to the Agent, Governor General, dated 9th Agran.

After compliments.

I HAVE had much pleasure in receiving your letter of the 8th Agran, accompanied with a puttrochine. In your letter you say that you have been in receipt of my former letter, and have addressed the Governor General on its contents, and that when an order is received you will give me a further reply. You sent a letter to the Deb Rajah through the Western Doar, of your own accord, regarding the aggression said to have been committed by the former Dewangiri Rajah on the ryots of Ban-ka, and did not address the Governor General; what is the cause of your doing so in this instance? In the letter you formerly addressed me, you stated that the Governor General was much pleased that the ryots of the Eastern Doar of the Monas had, in obedience to the orders of the Dhurmah Rajah, committed no aggressions on the Company's ryots, and also stated that the ryots of the Company in the Western Doar of the Monas were suffering from aggressions, and that if an izarah of that Doar was made to the Company, it would be to the advantage of the Dhurmah Rajah: and on subjects regarding the Western Doar you addressed your letter *via* the Eastern, and regarding the Eastern Doar *via* the Western; on this account, I instituted inquiries in the Western Doar, and found that the aggression said to have been committed was not true; I also heard of the Company's regulations being said to be very stringent, but you have combined the matter regarding the Eastern and Western Doars, and have of your own accord addressed the Deb Rajah, and now state that without orders from the Governor General you cannot reply to my letter.

This is not the practice with us; whatever we do, we do in sincerity and truth, and never do anything false. The former Dewangiri Rajah is my own brother; yet to uphold the regulations of the Rajahs, and in accordance with our usual custom, when you addressed the Deb Rajah, and he, with reference to the money mentioned in your letter, demanded from me double that amount, and sent his zinkaff to me with a letter, making me acquainted of the aggression said to have been committed by the former Dewangiri Rajah, I immediately sent for him, and putting him and his people in strict confinement, appointed another Rajah, and inquired into the matter, when it appeared that the Dewangiri Rajah, on going

to Gowhatty and returning, was accompanied by a large number of men, who, without his knowledge, helped themselves to firewood, fruit and whatever else eatable they could find; but as regards their entering dwelling-houses and plundering money and valuable property, is false; and this I found out on strict inquiry. The Dewangiri Rajah, from fear of being blamed for this conduct, sent Tenchoung Zingpoon with a letter to the Jamulpore Thannah to inquire into the matter, with a view of identifying property lost, and the parties to whom such property belonged, and who, if they accompanied him back, would have their grievance properly inquired into. On this the chowdry and ryots wrote to say that it was not necessary to identify the parties and property, and that they had nothing to say. This letter is in the hands of the deposed Dewangiri Rajah, and can be produced by him. You having addressed the Deb Rajah under the impression that these false reports were true, has caused evil consequences which have not yet been settled—that Rajah not being as yet released. A letter reached me by the Dewangiri route, which I supposed at first was from you, but discovered afterwards that it was a letter addressed by the collector to the Deb Rajah, on the same subject as yours regarding the aggression committed on the ryots, and requesting that orders be given that these aggressions be not committed in future. Not knowing whether this letter had reference to the Western or Eastern Doar, I did not send to the Deb Rajah, but it will be sent on becoming acquainted on this point. The real state of the case is this: you formerly took possession of our Doars, and gave us a third or quarter share of the revenue; and on subjects regarding the Western Doar, you send letters through the Eastern, and of the Eastern through the Western Doar, and cause dissensions amongst the Rajahs, making false statements appear true. You formerly addressed the Deb Rajahs of your own accord through the Western Doars, and now you say that without orders from the Governor General you cannot give me a reply to my letter. The Governor General never addressed the Deb Rajah. What you say of the stringent orders and regulations of Government, I have well understood them, if they are like this: I am a faithful and true servant of the Dhurmah Rajah, and the friendship between him and the Honourable Company is as milk and water amalgamated, and it has ever been my wish that this friendship should increase. You have taken possession of the Dhurmah Rajah's Doars, and enjoy their revenue, and making false statements appear true, cause the anger of the Deb Rajah; you have also apprehended and taken my ryots, and accuse the ryots of the Dhurmah Rajah of being thieves and robbers, although they are not so, and have put them in prison; but having satisfied myself that to cause a quarrel between two great Rajahs would be improper, I have for many years been humble and have submitted to all you have said, and you domineer over me by your actions, yet I have done nothing to hurt your feelings. I have fully satisfied myself that you will cause a great quarrel between the Dhurmah Rajah and Honourable Company; if it were any other person, this could not be done. You are the Governor of Assam, and can from a small cause make a great quarrel. If it is your wish that the two Governments should be on friendly terms, then this cannot be effected by saying one thing and feeling another.

You have written to the Deb Rajah saying that Rs. 8,620. 8. worth of property was plundered. Whether this be true or false, the deposed Dewangiri Rajah must pay it. The Deb Rajah has demanded double that amount, the half of which you must pay; and I addressed you on this subject before, and now write again. I have also written to the collector, saying that either you, the collector, or the chowdry must pay; whoever has to pay it had better do so; if not, you will write and let me know, and release my men that have been apprehended; and if it is your wish that the two Governments should be friends, as formerly, you will then send the above money and release my men, and will speedily inform me whether this friendship is to continue, and not delay; should it be your wish that there should be no friendship between the two Governments, and that you will do as you wish, you will then during the moon of the month of Agran send me a truthful reply without delay.

From the Dewangiri Rajah to the Agent Governor General; dated 15 Agran.

After compliments.

THE Tongso Pilloo has sent me a respectable man to superintend the survey of some lands, who has arrived, and has sent a letter, dated the 15th, addressed to you, and one also of that date to me. On perusal of my letter, it appears that you have not replied to a letter of his, but have referred it to the Governor General for orders, which has put him in a great rage, and he has written to me saying, that when you formerly addressed the Deb Rajah you did so according to your own wish without consulting the Governor General, and what can be the cause of your doing so now; and besides this he has written much in the same style. You may suppose that what I have written may be false; I therefore send by the gungpoon of that Soobah's his letter to me, which, on perusal, you will see whether what I have stated be true or false, and, besides, you will understand what I have said from the Soobah's letter to you.

My making known to you the thoughts of my mind is, because you are as my father and I your son. The Tongso Soobah has made up his mind to do whatever he may feel, whether it be for good or evil, and he is firm in his decision on this point. I therefore write to you as the governor of the country, and one who seeks the comfort of the ryots, that you will so reply to his letter as to appease his wrath, and send him a good description of puttrochin, and send him 300 or 400 rupees of the Rs. 8,620. 8. he has written about;

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this is my wish, and should it be followed it will be for the benefit of the ryots of both parties. I am an intermediate party between two great Rajahs, and have always endeavoured to keep up a friendship between them; but this appears to be in a fair way of being broken. Should you not place any confidence in what I have stated, you will then write to the Soobah and to me as to what are your intentions; it is a bad practice to write one thing and feel another. Should you not give me a decided answer, I shall not be able to do so to the Soobah, who is very much incensed at not receiving a reply to his letter, and threatens to fine me, and writes to me very severely, and threatens to cut up my letter carriers. You will therefore write decidedly this time, and settle the matter at once.

I heard that you had ordered the release of Kapong Zingkoiff from prison, but the officer under you has not done so. Kapong is not an influential person, and keeping him in confinement reflects no disgrace on him, and tends to no profit to you.

You will send a speedy and decided reply to the Tongso Soobah by his zingpoon, and besides this, if you sent the annual tribute, it would be of advantage; what is to be given it is all the same whether you give it now or hereafter; you must give it once.

Having called you my father, I have opened my mind to you and written the above; evil-disposed people near you may speak evil to you, but you will consider what I have written, and see whether what I have written be false or true.

Tongso Soobah is a Rajah, and what may be his intention I do not know. I speak in truth, you Rajahs are great Rajahs, and it would not be good for your friendship to be broken; this is all I have to say. You are omniscient, and aware of all things. You will be pleased to give my zinkuff coolies and russud for his return.

From the Tongso Soobah to the Dewangiri Rajah; dated 9 Agran.

I HAVE received your letter with a puttrochine, and also a letter from the Burra Sahib, on the 8th, and I have become aware of their contents. The Burra Sahib in his letter says nothing further than that he has written to the Governor General on the subject of my letter, and that until a reply is received by him he cannot answer my letter. If he as Burra Sahib says so, then what I have heard of the stringent orders and regulations of the Company is well understood by me and the Burra Sahib, making the false statements of the chowdrees and ryots regarding the affair of the Dewangiri Rajah, appear true, and styling the ryots of the Dhurma Rajah as thieves and robbers, although they are not so, with the object of breaking the friendship between the two Governments, and with the intention of doing me an injury, addressed the Deb Rajah under his seal and signature. I am a Rajah like the Deb Rajah, and how can he injure me? The Burra Sahib formerly used to address the Deb Rajah of his own will and accord, and he now says that without the orders of the Governor General he cannot do so; and for the purpose of making inquiries into these matters, I dismissed my brother the former Dewangiri Rajah, and considering you a good man appointed you in his place; but you, from fear, humble yourself, and write conciliatingly to the Burra Sahib. What is the cause of this? I am the Tungsoo Soobah, and hold no one in fear; this you know, and I am looking on at your conduct. The former Rajah used to send from the Company 10,000 rupees. You have not even been able to do this. If you can perform the work required from a Rajah, you will then get a reply to what has been written for three times to the Burra Sahib, and whether he will give us the 10,000 rupees or not; you will let me know decidedly; and also whether it is his intention to continue the friendship between the two Governments or not. Further, that you will get a decided reply regarding the Rs. 8,620. 8. that I had written about to the Burra Sahib and the collector, and send it to me by my zinkoffs Togu and Bether. Should you not be able to do this, you will then lay down 10,000 rupees and leave this country. There are thousands of people here capable of becoming a Rajah of Dewangiri; and in consideration of the sufferings and loss to the ryots of the Dhurma Rajah and the Company I am silent. It is not from fear that I do so, for I fear nobody, and it is not my wish to do harm to any one that does not do so to me. This you will well understand, and send a decided and speedy reply to the several subjects of my letters; should you not be able to do so, you will then pay the above-mentioned amount and quit the country.

From the Dewangiri Rajah to the Agent Governor General [without date.]

After compliments.

I HAVE received your letter, sent by the two burkunduzes and the puttrochin, on the 17th Agran, and have become aware of its contents. Previous to this the Dhurm Rajah had gone to the Khampa country, from whence he wrote to the Tungso Soobah and myself, saying that on his return he would pass through Tungso, and with him some priests, to perform some religious ceremonies, for which purpose he needs money, and I consequently addressed you for the revenue. The Dhurm Rajah on his return went direct to Poonakha, and wrote me that I should, with the revenue of the current year, speedily purchase and send him some cloths, as he wishes to make presents to the priests who accompanied him from the Khampa country; I therefore wrote you with very great hopes. You are omniscient, and well acquainted with our virtue and sin, and I now again write and beg you will in kindness to me grant my request. I have not been able to send you a receipt for

the revenue of last year, but I have it in my memory; the fact is, the Dhurm Rajah on going to the Khampa country took with him his seals, consequently I was not able to send you the receipt, but when the revenue of the current year is paid, a receipt in full for both years will be transmitted. Your fame is great for almsgiving; the 10,000 rupees given to the Dhurm Rajah is an usual payment, and whether it is given now or hereafter is the same, it must be given sooner or later; I therefore beg you will not think otherwise, and send the above-mentioned amount, and let me know when it will be sent; should it not be given you will let me know the cause. The thoughts of my mind are these: you formerly addressed the Deb Rajah, acquainting him of the aggressions committed on the ryots of Banska, who in consequence shamed the Tungso Soobah and held him responsible; he has therefore written much to you and also to me very severely; I therefore wrote you that you may so write to the Tungso Soobah that his wrath may be appeased, and of the amount mentioned by him it would be advisable to send him a portion. You give much in alms, and there would be no loss in giving away a small sum. Whether the Tungso be able or not to contend with you I know not, but the poor ryots of both parties will suffer much; I, therefore, humbly beg you will so act as no dispute arise in our time. Your having apprehended Kapang Zinkoff causes no loss to the Rajahs, and tends to no benefit to yourselves. A servant carrying out the orders of his master cannot be held responsible for any fault there may be in so doing; he did not, in fact, commit any crime in your territory: this I am well aware of; I therefore write that you will in kindness order his release. I am given to understand that it was your wish that he should be released, but the collector has not done so. The five men apprehended as Dajung Garpus were actually the ryots of the Dhurm Rajah; they have now been one year in prison, and have in this suffered sufficient punishment even had they been guilty of committing any misdeeds in your territory. Being people of our country we have the right to punish them, and not you, and on consideration you will find this to be the case; I therefore hope you will so act as no dispute may arise. I have expressed the feeling of my mind, whether you believe it or not is your wish I can say nothing to it. Send a decided reply, by the zingphoon of the Tungso Soobah, who has gone to you.

[Without date.]

(True Translation.)

(signed) *H. Michell,*
Translator to the Acting Agent,
Governor General, Lower Assam.

To the Dewangiri Rajah.

After compliments.

I HAVE received your friendly letter of the 15th Agran, together with the Tongso Pillo's letter to me of the 9th, and his to you of the same date.

You are quite right; I refused to reply to the letter of the Tongso-Pillo, in consequence of the unusual and intemperate style in which it was written, without first submitting it to the Governor General.

His present letter I am sorry to say is written in a still more offensive style, and I must also lay this before the Governor General.

It is also true that I addressed the Deb Rajah regarding the robberies committed by the Dewangiri Rajah's followers, but I did not consider this as unusual. I had no reason to suppose the Tongso Pilloo was an independent Rajah, but subordinate to a superior, like myself to the Government of India.

And it is only lately that the Deb Rajah wrote me prohibiting me to pay the 10,000 rupees to the Dewangiri Rajah and Tongso Pillo, showing that he looked upon himself as the superior Rajah, but I did not comply with his request as it was not usual to make the payments to him.

I am far from wishing to give offence to the Tongso Pillo, but when he is so unreasonable as to ask me to pay Rs. 8,620. 8. because he has been fined by the Deb Rajah, because the Dewangiri Rajah's followers committed robberies on our ryots, what use is there in my writing, as I could only refuse compliance with such a request.

Besides, the unbecoming and blustering tone of the Tongso Pillo's letter shows that he is not desirous of maintaining that peace which has so long existed between the States, whatever he may say to the contrary; and if he is so unreasonable as to seek a quarrel because his people have committed offences, and that I brought the subject to his notice and to that of the Deb Rajah's, I am helpless, and whatever may be the consequences he will be responsible for them.

I cannot now say whether Kupoong Zinkaff is in confinement or not, but if he is so he will be confined under the due course of our courts, which I cannot interfere with, but Major Vetch will inform you what has been done to him, and what has been proved against him.

Thanking you for your good offices and endeavours to prevent a misunderstanding between our two Governments.

I remain, &c.
(signed) *F. Jenkins,*
Agent Governor General.

(No. 724 of 1855.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent Governor General, North-Eastern Frontier, to Major *H. Vetch*, Deputy Commissioner and officiating for Agent Governor General, North Eastern Frontier, Gowhaty; dated on the river, 11 December 1855.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter, No. 19, of the 4th instant, I have the honour to forward herewith my reply, in Bengalee and English, to the letter of the Dewangiri Rajah which accompanied your letter, and I shall be obliged by your having it translated into the Booteah language and despatched to the Rajah.

2d. You will observe I have not considered it necessary to answer the letter of the Tongso Pilloo, which is written altogether in such an improper and menacing a style that I deem it necessary to submit it to Government for orders.

3d. Tongso Pillo seems so determined to consider the accusations against his brother the late Dewangiri Rajah as false, that any redress from him for the grievances suffered by our people appears entirely out of the question, and he evidently supposes that by a tone of menace he will gain his object of making us forego our demand for the punishment of the offenders and restoration of the value of the stolen property.

4th. I have, however, confident hopes that in spite of his bluster and threats he will make no attempt to molest our people, but it is no less necessary that we should be prepared to protect and to punish any inroads; and I leave to you full authority to make any arrangements that you may consider necessary, and to call in troops from Upper Assam or Cherra, should any such emergency appear to you to have occurred as to render an additional military force necessary.

5th. It appears to me to be regretted that the trial connected with these robberies has been so long protracted, for in such a case, connected with a foreign state, it appears to me it would be desirable to finish it as quickly as possible, though these individuals might have to be released for want of evidence.

Should the trial ere this have been decided finally in your Court, I shall be obliged by your giving a statement of the result, as briefly as possible, for the information of Government, and to avoid delay, you had better submit one copy yourself direct, with a copy of this letter, letting the Government know what measures you may propose to take, and keeping the Government informed of any new occurrences that may appear to call for immediate submission.

6th. I will return the translations of the letters from the Dewangiri Rajah and Tongso Pillo as soon as I have made a copy of them for Government.

(Foreign Department.—No. 186 of 1856.)

From *G. F. Edmonstone*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to *W. Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, 11 January 1856.

No. 89.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Most Noble the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, of the numbers and dates noted in the margin, with their enclosures from the Agent to the Governor General on the North-East Frontier, relative to the outrages which have been recently from time to time committed by the Booteeahs under the instigation of the Dewangiri Rajah, and the several measures, whether in the way of remedy or retaliation, which Colonel Jenkins proposes for adoption.

No. 2592, dated
11th Dec. 1855.
No. 2, dated 28th
idem.

2. I have received the instructions of the Governor General in Council to communicate to you the following remarks and orders for the information and the guidance of the Agent.

3. With Colonel Jenkins's letter to your address, No. 163, dated 13th November last, and also with that from Major Vetch, dated the 18th ultimo, are submitted translations of letters from the Tongso Pillo, conceived in a spirit and couched in language equally improper and unbecoming, and containing demands which it is impossible to entertain seriously for a moment. Colonel Jenkins has, of course, acted quite rightly in abstaining from any notice of the Tongso Pillo's requisition for the payment of half the fine levied upon him by the Deb Rajah, and in refusing to send back the Booteeahs who have been apprehended by our officers, as insolently demanded by that authority.

4. In regard to the future, there can be no doubt that, however unwilling the Government may be to bring about a hostile collision, some effectual means must be used to put a stop to the aggressions of the Booteeahs, and to shield

our ryots from the constant alarm and actual injury which those aggressions or the apprehension of them occasion; and this necessity is rendered also the more urgent by the overbearing tone of the Tongso Pillo's communications, and by the menacing attitude of the late Dewangiri Rajah, who is said by Colonel Jenkins to be fortifying a position near our frontier "with the intention, as he supposes, of giving us every annoyance in his power."

5. Colonel Jenkins proposes that the value (Rs. 8,620) of the property plundered by the Dewangiri Rajah, or with his connivance, should be deducted from the Booteeah share of the Dooar revenue, and he submits the question, "whether we shall not withhold any payment until the whole of the offenders demanded by the magistrate are given up to us for trial." - He further suggests that the Booteeahs should be punished at once "by the instant occupation of all the Bengal Dooars"; "the only measure," he adds, "likely to be effective short of invading the country."

6. The Governor General in Council, although he is most anxious to avoid a collision with the Booteeah Government, feels that it is impossible to tolerate the insolent and overbearing tone of the Tongso Pillo's communications to his representative on the North-East Frontier, and that, if it be tolerated, the motives of the Government may be, and probably will be, misconstrued, and the consequence will be more troublesome to the Government, and more injurious to the interests of its subjects, than if it be at once resented.

7. His Lordship in Council, therefore, authorises the Agent on the North-East Frontier to point out to the Tongso Pillo the extremely unbecoming tone of his several communications, and the inadmissibility of the requisition which they contain; to require him, on the part of the Governor General in Council, to apologize for the disrespect which he has shown towards his Lordship's representative, and, in his person, to the Government of India; and to inform him that, unless he forthwith accede to this demand, measures which he will be unable to resist, and which will have the effect of crippling his authority on the frontier, will be put in force. The Agent will at the same time inform the Tongso Pillo, that, under any circumstances, the value of the property plundered with the connivance of his brother the late Dewangiri Rajah, will be deducted from the Booteeah share of the Dooar revenues. It is not thought expedient to go beyond this, and to declare the payment of the share of the Dooar revenue will be entirely withheld until all the offenders who have been demanded are surrendered.

8. If the above remonstrance should be responded to in a becoming spirit, it will be sufficient for the Agent to warn the Tongso Pillo that any repetition of the aggressive movements of which we have recently had to complain will be forthwith resented by the permanent occupation of the Bengal Dooars. It is possible that this menace may have the desired effect of bringing home to the mind of the Tongso Pillo the risk which he incurs by encouraging or permitting incursions into the British territory; if not, and if there should be a recurrence of such incursions, the Governor General in Council, deeming it a paramount duty to protect the subjects of the British Government, will have no alternative; and he authorises the agent, in the possible event supposed, to take immediate measures for the complete occupation of the Bengal Dooars, on the understanding that such occupation shall be permanent, and that the admission of the Booteeahs to a share of the revenue of those Dooars shall rest entirely with the discretion of the Governor General in Council.

9. His Lordship in Council is not unaware that the Deb Rajah is the nominal head of the country, and that it is the conduct of the Tongso Pillo and his brother, the late Dewangiri Rajah, and not the conduct of the Deb Rajah, which has called for some measure of severity on the part of the British Government. But it is obvious that the Deb Rajah, even though he may be ostensibly well disposed towards the Government, is unable, or unwilling, or remiss in his endeavours, to restrain his subordinate chiefs, and it cannot be permitted that for their want of power, or want of will, or want of energy, the subjects of this Government should suffer; the Deb Rajah must share in the penalty due to the delinquencies of those who own his authority, and for whose acts of aggression on British territory he must be considered responsible.

(No. 774 A.)

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Most Noble the Governor General of India in Council in the Military Department, under date 24 January 1856.

(No. 178 of 1855.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent, Governor General, and Commanding the Troops, North-East Frontier, to Major *F. D. Atkinson*, Officiating Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, Fort William; dated Dibrooghur, 24 December 1855.

Sir,

I BEG to acquaint you, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor General, that I have considered it proper, as a precautionary measure, to direct Captain D. Reid, commanding the local artillery, to send down a pair of guns and a party of golundaze to the 2d Assam Light Infantry, in case the Booteeahs should attempt to make an inroad on our territory, which, from the present style of the letters of the Tongso Pillo, would seem to be meditated; and though I hope that the Booteeahs will confine themselves to their usual threats, yet, as there seems reason to suppose that the party of the Tongso Pillo is again the dominant one in Bootan, it is possible that the accession of power may lead this chieftain to assume a display of intended aggression to alarm our border villages, and thereby to do us injury.

2. Under these circumstances, it appears necessary to make a show of preparation to give confidence to our ryots, and from the known bad disposition of the Tongso Pillo's brother, who came down last March to Gowhattee, there seems but too much cause to apprehend that he would be guilty of an attack for the purpose of plunder, if he saw a probability of doing so with impunity, and I trust the directions I have given to Captain Reid will be approved of by the Most Noble the Governor General.

3. I have asked Captain Reid to send down either a pair of 6-pounders or the pair of 12-pounder howitzers, and I beg to enclose Captain Reid's reply.

He has recommended sending down the two howitzers, and he further suggests that a gun corporal should be attached to this party of artillery for the season, and that a pair of 12-pounder howitzers (new pattern) be permanently attached to the 2d Assam Light Infantry.

4. This latter arrangement I would beg to recommend for adoption, as the No. 3-pounder guns now attached to the corps are of little use, and they might be withdrawn.

One of the European non-commissioned officers now with that regiment having come from the Artillery Regiment, the deputation of a gun corporal seems hardly required at present; but it would no doubt add to the efficiency of the corps if one was permanently attached to it, and this measure seems the more desirable in the present dearth of European Commissioned Officers.

5. I would beg also to recommend that a pair of new pattern 12-lb. howitzers should be sent to Captain Reid, as requested.

(No. 339, of the 24th December, 1855.)

From Captain *D. Reid*, Commanding Local Artillery, to Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent, Governor-General, and Commanding the Troops, North-East Frontier.

Sir,

IN acknowledging the receipt of your letter, No. 740, of the 22d instant, I have the honour to state that I think the 12-pounder howitzers will be preferable to 6-pounder guns for use in the Bootan frontier; and in compliance with your orders, I am making preparations for despatching a detail of artillery from this without delay, with two 2-pounder howitzers and 200 rounds of ammunition.

2d. As I have no European non-commissioned officer available for sending with guns, I would beg to recommend for your consideration that the services of a gun corporal be applied for (as a temporary measure) to be sent without delay from Dum Dum, or perhaps the gun corporal at Dacca could be spared for the occasion; none but Europeans can be trusted at shell firing, and it is principally for this reason I recommend a sergeant or corporal being applied for.

3d. The howitzers to be sent are of the old pattern, and both are not exactly of the same model, but their practice will be accurate enough for the rough work likely to be required of them, viz.,—for use against bodies of men in the plains, and not for stockade work; and Colonel Abbott, Inspector-General of Ordnance, has ordered that two 12-pounders of the latest pattern be sent up to replace these old guns; and when they arrive I think it would be well to retain them with the head-quarters of the 2d Assam Light Infantry, as they will be found most useful guns for Assam warfare; but as two guns of this nature are absolutely necessary for Upper Assam, I beg to recommend that two more such guns be applied for (of the new pattern).

The guns for Lower Assam might be supplied with 300 rounds of ammunition, viz.,—100 round shot, 100 grape, and 100 common shell.

(Military Department.—No. 771.)

From Colonel *R. J. H. Birch*, Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Commanding the Troops, and Governor-General's Agent, North-Eastern Frontier, dated 24 January 1856.

Sir,

In reply to your letter, No. 178, of the 24th ultimo, I am directed to acquaint you that the Most Noble the Governor General of India in Council is pleased to approve of the order you have issued for detaching two 12-pounder howitzers, and a party of golundaze, to the 2d Assam Light Infantry Battalion.

His Lordship in Council is also pleased to approve of two howitzers being permanently attached to the 2d Assam Regiment, and the Inspector General of Ordnance has accordingly been requested to cause two mountain 12-pounder howitzers of the new pattern, complete with stores and ammunition, to be prepared and forwarded to the Assam Local Artillery.

Captain Reid should be instructed to submit the usual indents for the ordnance and stores.

You are requested to communicate with the Adjutant General of the Army regarding the nomination of a gun corporal whenever you may consider the permanent appointment of a non-commissioned officer for the duties of the two howitzers, with the 2d Assam Light Infantry, to be necessary.

The 3-pounder guns now with the 2d Assam Regiment can be returned into the arsenal when you may consider their withdrawal expedient.

(Judicial.—No. 503.)

No. 35.

EXTRACT, Fort William Foreign Consultation, dated the 14th March, 1856.

From the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department of Fort William, the 20th February, 1856.

Sir,

In continuation of the letter from this office, No. 2, dated the 28th December last, I am directed to forward, for submission to the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a further letter from Major Vetch, Acting Agent to the Governor General in Lower Assam, No. 3, of the 12th ultimo.

(No. 3, of 1856.)

From Major *Hamilton Vetch*, Acting Agent Governor General, Lower Assam, to *William Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the Judicial Department, Fort William, dated Gowhatty, the 12th January, 1856.

Sir,

With advertence to the request contained in the 5th paragraph of Colonel Jenkins' letter, No. 724, of the 11th ultimo,* that I should furnish you with a brief account of the trials of the Bhooteah prisoners charged with dacoity, I beg to submit, for the information of the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor, the following abstracts of the proceedings:—

* Copy of which accompanied my letter, No. 4 of the 18th December 1855.

2d. In the case noted in the margin,* it appears a gang of from 20 to 30 Bhooteahs, armed with their common short swords, or daos, and wearing disguises, entered the prosecutor's house (he being absent), and having bound the inmates (three men and two women), broke open the storeroom and boxes, dug into the floor with their swords in search of concealed treasure, and afterwards decamped with the booty.

* Trial, No. 89 of 1855.
Government on the part of Hyber Chowdry

versus
Hopey Bhot, son of Teroohoo Bhat.

Charge: Crime No. 9, Dacoity and plundering of cash, 4,000 rupees, and property valued at R. 2131 4a.; total R. 6131 4a.
Verdict of Jury—Guilty.

Opinion of Magistrate—Concurring with the opinion of Jury. Recommends that the prisoner Kopey be imprisoned in the Jail of this district for a period of seven years, with labour in irons.

Opinion of the Deputy Commissioner—Guilty of the dacoity.
Sentence—Seven years' imprisonment with hard labour in irons.

3d. The jury and joint magistrate find the prisoner guilty of having been one of the gang, the proof resting on his confession made before the magistrate. The jury and joint magistrate had great doubts of any cash having been taken, but did not doubt that the other property (which prosecutor has valued at Rs. 2131. 4a.) was plundered. The joint magistrate thought that the prosecutor was entitled to recover his losses from the prisoner and Dewangari Rajah. The magistrate and jury were further of opinion that evidence had been adduced to prove the guilt of Dajung and Jansepaaloo, Booteahs, who have not been apprehended.

4. "I am of opinion that the fact of the dacoity having been committed by a band of Bhooteahs has been fully proved by the evidence; and that the prisoner Kopey was one of that band has been proved by his own confession. I concur with the jury and magistrate in thinking that no cash was taken. The Assameese bury their money very securely and secretly, and the only person capable of directing them to the spot appears to have been the mother of the prosecutor, who escaped and hid herself on the first alarm. Having convicted the prisoner of being one of the gang of dacoits, I sentence him to seven years' imprisonment with hard labour in irons."

Opinion of the Deputy Commissioner.

5. I would here remark that this occurred on the night of that day on which the Dewangiri Rajah, with his rabble array of some hundred of rude and lawless followers, marched from Jamoolpoor and halted on the Bootan side of the border, at no very great distance from the scene of the dacoity; and as I find in the police investigation that Dajung and some other Bhooteahs were seen on that day on the road in a state of intoxication, what followed does not appear to me at all surprising; for I believe it required some management to restrain the Rajah's followers within bounds even in Gowahully, and this fresh successful raid no doubt stimulated to those which followed.

6. This case took place three days after the foregoing one, when the prosecutor's house was attacked by a large gang of Bhooteahs, who commenced by throwing stones, one of which hit prosecutor on the leg; on this he escaped, and alleges hid himself behind the wall, from whence he states he saw the prisoner Kapang, with Dajung Deodhur and other Bhooteahs, enter and dig up the floor with daos, or swords; and finding a pot, which contained 1,000 rupees, they took it up and carried it away with all his other property, including four ponies and six bullocks.

Trial, No. 91 of 1856.
Government on the part of Bhokut Churn Hara

versus
Kapang Bhot, son of Pensoojee Bhot.

Charge: Crime No. 9, Dacoity and plundering of cash and property, valued at 1290 rupees. Verdict of Jury—Guilty.

Opinion of Joint Magistrate—Concurs with the opinion of the Jury.

Sentence of the Deputy Commissioner—Acquitted in default of proof.

7. The prisoner Kapang denied the charge, and has done so throughout.

8. The jury were of opinion that the fact of the dacoity has been established, and that the prisoner has been sufficiently identified by the witnesses for the prosecution, as well as Dajung and Paseponchu, not yet apprehended.

9. The magistrate has concurred in opinion with the jury as to the guilt of the prisoner, and was of opinion that Dajung and Tasepanchu should be required to be given up by the Bhooteah authorities; he further agrees with the purchayet in thinking that no faith can be placed in the assertion, that 1,000 rupees was kept under ground by the prosecutor, and dug up by the prisoner and his party, and considers the loss sustained by the prosecutor to be only on the personal property to the value of 290 rupees.

10. The fact of the dacoity by a large gang of armed Bhooteahs admits of no doubt; but the difference between the statement made by the prosecutor before the magistrate in the preliminary investigation, and that made by him before the jury as to the manner in which he was attacked, and from whence he saw and recognised the prisoner is great; and as there

Opinion of the Deputy Commissioner.

is a still greater difference between the depositions of the persons who appear as eye-witnesses against the prisoner in their depositions in these Courts, I consider their evidence unworthy of belief, in respect to their having recognised the prisoner; and although he has adduced two witnesses who depose to his being elsewhere in the night of the dacoity, he is I think only entitled to acquittal for want of proof; I therefore pass sentence of acquittal.

"I concur with the magistrate, that there is no proof to establish that a pot containing 1,000 rupees was dug up and carried off by the dacoits; but I see no reason to doubt the carrying off the other property."

11. In this case the prosecutor's house was attacked by a large gang of Bhooteeahs, armed as in the other cases; they seized and bound the prosecutor, and afterwards rifled his shop and carried off his property, but beyond that the dacoits were Bhooteeahs, the prosecutor in his first statement said he could not recognize anyone in particular.

Trial, No. 90, of 1855.

Government on the part of Oottumchund Asowal,
versus

Kapeng Bhat, son of Punsoojee.

Charge: Crime No. 9, Dacoity and plundering of cash and property, valued at 775½ rupees. Verdict of Jury—Guilty.

Opinion of Joint Magistrate—Guilty.

Sentence of the Deputy Commissioner—Acquittal for want of proof.

12. The jury and joint magistrate relied on a confession alleged to have been made by the prisoner before the police in the Tezpoor district, and did not think that the prisoner had established his pleas in defence, which were alibi, and that he was not in his right senses from the ill-treatment when alleged confession was taken before the police; he further pleads that it was written in a language he does not understand. The magistrate, in regard to the property, observes: "I agree with the jury in supposing that the prosecutor can account for any of the property stated by him to be lost; as, in his opinion, the extent of the loss is in no way proved."

13. The prisoner in his defence called five witnesses, two of whom depose that he did not go forth with the dacoits from Dewangiri, and was punished by the Rajah for not going, and two others, that prisoner was severely beaten by the Namtollah Rajah when apprehended, and by whose order the cut on his head was inflicted. The fifth, the N. doctor, deposes that the prisoner was under his treatment at Tezpoor for a cut on his head, inflicted by some light cutting instrument, but that he was not insensible from it.

Opinion of the
Deputy Commis-
sioner.

14. There can be no doubt of the dacoity having being committed by a band of Bhooteeahs; but I am of opinion that the confession recorded by the police was taken under circumstances which render it untrustworthy as evidence against the prisoner, and as there is no other reliable proof to show that he was one of the dacoits, I acquit him, for want of proof.

15. In the above case I find from hearsay evidence given by Bhooteeah witnesses, both for the prosecution and defence, that the gang of dacoits went out under the sanction, if not under the orders, of the Dewangiri Rajah; but I must say that I do not place very implicit reliance on their testimony; yet from the appearance of the name of Dajung as ringleader in all the foregoing cases, and as this man held an official situation of Zinkaff, and was an under officer in attendance on the Dewangiri Rajah, who refused to give him up for trial, I think there is violent presumptive proof that the Rajah was fully aware of the lawless doings of his people, and connived at their deeds. Under these circumstances I am of opinion that the sufferers are entitled to compensation for their losses from the Bootan Government.

16. It is difficult to determine the true value of the property plundered, from the exaggerated prices the Assamese are notorious for putting on articles stolen; the total amount was first estimated at Rs. 8,620. 8., from this the Courts have struck off cash to the amount of 5,000 rupees, which they did not believe to have been taken; and in case No. 3, the joint magistrate considers the extent of the prosecutor's losses is not proved. Yet, admitting the articles to have all been taken as stated in the several lists, I think the valuation may fairly be reduced 20 per cent., which would bring down the actual loss to 2,868 rupees; and should the Government approve of a demand being made on the Bootan authorities for compensation, I would respectfully suggest that it be left to them, either to restore the stolen property or to pay this amount direct, or in default to have it deducted from the annual compensation payment of 10,000 rupees on account of the Doars.

17. As far as he was able the Deb Rajah appears to have been willing to make reparation for these acts of his people, by dismissing the Dewangiri Rajah, and imposing a fine on the Tongso of double the value of the losses first notified to him by Colonel Jenkins; and if compensation be made for these losses I should not recommend that any further demand be made for the surrender of the dacoits suggested by the magistrate. *Vide* 9th paragraph of this letter.

18. I would most respectfully solicit early instructions on the subject of the annual payment of 10,000 rupees on account of the Doars, as the doubts on the subject seem to have excited great uneasiness among the Bootan authorities on the frontier, and the present Dewangiri Rajah is most solicitous to be informed on this point.

Foreign Department.—(No. 1,471 of 1856.)

From *G. F. Edmonstone*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to *W. Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal : dated Fort William, 14th March 1856.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Under Secretary Mr. Russell's letter, dated 20th ultimo, No. 503, together with its enclosure from the Acting Agent in Lower Assam, submitting an abstract of the proceedings held in the trial of certain Booteeahs who were recently apprehended on a charge of committing dacoity under the instigation of the Dewangiri Rajah, and who have been fully convicted of that charge.

2d. In reply, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to request that you will refer the Acting Agent to the orders of Government conveyed in letter dated 11th January last, No. 186, paras. 7 and 8 of which dispose of the points on which he solicits instructions. The Agent was told in those paras. that "under any circumstances the value of the property plundered with the connivance of the Dewangiri Rajah would be deducted from the Booteeah share of the Doar revenues," and that it was not thought expedient to "declare that the payment of the share of the Doar revenue will be entirely withheld until all the offenders who have been demanded are surrendered."

3d. You will desire the Acting Agent to act on the orders in question, following, in the valuation of the plundered property, the principle proposed in the 16th paragraph of his own letter.

EXTRACT Fort William Foreign Consultation, dated 9th May 1856.

No. 40.

(Judicial.—No. 986.)

From the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department: dated Fort William, 2d April 1856.

Sir,

WITH reference to Mr. Edmonstone's letter, No. 186, dated the 11th January last, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward, for the purpose of being laid before the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the accompanying letter in original from the Agent to the Governor General in the North-east Frontier, with its enclosures.

No. 23, dated 18th ultimo.

2d. The return of the original papers is requested when no longer required.

(No. 23, of 1856.)

From Colonel *Francis Jenkins*, Agent, Governor General N.E. Frontier, to *William Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Judicial Department, Fort William: dated Gowhatty, 18th March 1856.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter, No. 107, of the 12th January, and its accompaniment, No. 186, of the 11th idem, from the Secretary to the Government of India, conveying the instructions of the Supreme Government on the replies made by the Tongso Pillo to my remonstrances

Forwarded with my letter, No. 163, of 13 November,

and Major Vetch's letters, Nos. 4 and 3, of 18 December and 12 January last.

on the subject of the aggressions committed by the followers of the Dewangiri Rajah, I have now to report our proceedings consequent on the orders above alluded to of the Most Noble the Governor General, with reference to my letter to you, No. 163, of the 13th November last.

2d. Major Vetch sent the Tongso Pillo a letter immediately on receipt of the above orders, and I beg to annex a translation of it. (Appendix A.) This was forwarded through the usual channel, the Dewangiri Rajah, and acknowledged by him in his letter of the 19th Maugh (Appendix B), reporting that he had immediately sent on the letter to the Tongso Pillo.

After a considerable interval, a letter to me was received from the Tongso Pillo (Appendix C), of the 25th Maugh, deprecating any breach of the amity between the two countries, and soliciting an early payment of the Booteeah share of the revenue of the Doar, but without any allusion to the receipt of Major Vetch's letter (A).

The Tongso's letter was accompanied by a letter from the Dewangiri Rajah (Appendix D), of the 20th Talgoon, in which he states that he had taken upon himself to suppress that letter of Major Vetch's, for fear of offending the Tongso Pillo, notwithstanding he had said that he had regularly transmitted it in his former letter.

3d. The Tongso Pillo and the Dewangiri Rajah have evidently collusively evaded the acknowledgment of the demand for an apology conveyed in Major Vetch's letter, and it seems therefore perfectly useless to refer the subject again to the Tongso Pillo. I have therefore abstained from doing so, but, to give the Government of Bootan a further opportunity of complying with the demands of the Supreme Government, I have thought it proper to make a further communication to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, and I beg to annex a translation of my letter (Appendix E) of the 16th instant, and I trust my having done so and the tenor of my letter will be approved by his Honour the Lieutenant Governor and the Supreme Government.*

4th. I might, under the instructions conveyed in the Governor General's letter, have recommended that the ultimate measures proposed by his Lordship should be carried into effect; but I have thought it proper to make the further reference to the nominal heads of the Government of Bootan, on account of the anomalous nature of their Government, so as to deprive them of any plea of ignorance, and to give them this one further opportunity of affording our Government the redress required.

5th. As the unhealthy season has now commenced, and two out of the three officers with the 2d Assam Light Infantry have already been disabled by sickness, it would not be expedient to take any active measures for the attachment of the Doars until after the close of the ensuing rains, so that no time will be lost from the step I have taken in carrying out the final decision of the Government.

6th. I have also to report that I have failed in procuring the surrender of the persons concerned in the outrage at Tukergunge,† in Zillah Rungpore, whose apprehension and surrender have been claimed by the magistrate of that Zillah, and I beg to annex a translation of a letter (Appendix G) from the Mynagooree Soubah, of the 7th Talgoon, just received, in which that officer begs for delay, on the grounds of his being newly appointed.

7th. I beg to add that a party of Cashmere merchants brought down the last letter of the Tongso Pillo.

They appear very respectable men, and mention that they have been in the habit of trading to Patna from Llassa through Nepal, but that the road being now obstructed by the Nepalese and Tibetan armies, they were induced to try this route, being the first merchants who have ever come this way from Llassa in progress to our provinces since our occupation of Assam.

They tell me the Tongso Pillo is quite a young man, and has not been long in office, and that the Dewangiri Rajah, whose followers committed the dacoities in Barsa Doar, is in imprisonment, and that they heard two of his followers had been put to death by drowning; but they throw a doubt on the death of the Deb Rajah, which was so confidently reported by several Booteeah Zinkaffs and others. They likewise assure me that the Tongso Pillo does not contemplate any aggression, or, at least, that he has not the power to do so this year, no troops being assembled.

Of the state of Bootan generally they appear to have very little information, but they speak well of the Tongso Pillo as an energetic, able man, and as having showed them much kindness.

I never heard before of the removal of the late Tongso Pillo, and that the change of so important an officer was never mentioned shows, I think, that we are purposely kept in ignorance of all which may be taking place in Bootan; and it seems that all we may be pretty certain of is, that the country is in a state of anarchy.

A party

* I also acknowledged the receipt of the Dewangiri Rajah's letter, informing him of the steps taken, and I beg to annex a copy of my letter, Appendix F.

† Gungagobind Chowdry v. Bagram, Mullik, Amundee, Jemadar, Angabe and others, dacoity attended with murder and theft of property to the extent of 4,000 rupees.

A similar letter to each sent separately.

A party of these merchants were with the Tibetan troops that came down to the frontier of Kooreeahparah in the disturbances of 1852-3, and were employed to write, as the communications we received were written in Persian. They tell me that the Llassa authorities were perfectly satisfied with the manner in which these disputes were settled.

They further report that the Nepalese have made no progress whatever in their invasion of the country, and have no chance of success whatever; and they say they heard Jung Bahadoor was a refugee from the army, he and his generals having quarrelled.

8th. Any reply or any further communication that I may receive shall be forwarded without delay.

(A.)

From Major *Hamilton Vetch*, Acting Agent, Governor General, Lower Assam, to the *Tongso Pillo*.

With the usual greeting,

Gowhattee, 21 January 1856.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that your letters were laid before the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, and his Lordship in Council authorises me to point out to you the extremely unbecoming tone of your several communications which they contain, and to require you on the part of the Governor General in Council to apologise for the disrespect which you have shown towards his Lordship's representative, and in his person to the Government of India, and to inform you that unless you forthwith accede to this demand, measures which you will be unable to resist, and which will have the effect of crippling your authority on the frontier, will be put in force.

2d. I am also directed to inform you that, under any circumstances, the value of the property plundered with the connivance of your brother, the late Dewangiri Rajah, will be deducted from the Booteeah share of the Doar revenues.

3d. I declare that payment of the share of the Doar revenue will be entirely withheld until all the offenders who have been demanded are surrendered.

(B.)

From the *Dewangiri Rajah* to Major *H. Vetch*, Acting Agent, Governor General, the 19th Maugh.

After Compliments,

I HAVE received your letter sent to my address, and also that to the address of the Tongso Soubah, by three burkundazes; the letter I immediately sent to the Tongso Soubah, and on his reply to it arriving, I will send it on to you. It is my belief that orders from the Government may have been received to stop payment of the revenues of the Doars, if the dacoits who plundered the Doars, with the plundered property, be not given over to you, and that the value of the plundered property will be deducted from the revenue of the Doars for the current year, but the revenue that is paid to us by you annually neither I nor the Tongso Soubah can make use of; we are required to give that money to the Dhurmah Rajah and 12 Gelongs. The cause for my frequent letters to you is, that the friendship between the two great Rajahs be not broken, for should there be a quarrel, the ryots will by various means suffer; and should there not, they will remain in comfort. This is my wish. The Deb and Dhurmah Rajahs will institute inquiries, and should they apprehend the dacoits, the property plundered by them may be returned, but the dacoits will never be made over to you; whatever punishment may be considered necessary, the Deb and Dhurmah Rajahs will themselves inflict it; this has been a custom that has been coming down from a former period. All your officers have observed this practice. Should, on inquiry, the dacoits not be apprehended, how are they to be given up? By your stopping the revenue of the Doars, no innocent person will be sent to you as being the guilty ones. All that I am continually writing I hope will not offend you, but trust that you will continue to hold me in favour. I am the Rajah between the two boundaries, and look upon you and the Dhurm Rajah in the same light. When any of your people come here, they are well fed, as far as our means will admit, and you will do the same. The three burkundazes, bearers of your letters, have been fed and sent back, and I beg that the Doars may be open as before to people going and coming.

Dispatched with Puttrochun, on the 19th May.

(C.)

From the Tongsoh Soubah of Bootan to the Agent Governor General, 25 Maugh.

After Compliments.

You are the punisher of all evi-doers, and supporter of all that do good in the southern part of the world, and maintain the poor and distressed as children. In this I rejoice, and I in like manner in this place, with the blessing of the Honourable Company, the Dhurm Rajah and yourself, with the strength of a lion of the hills, hold possession, and conduct the management of these parts.

I now write what is of more importance. You are the Odikar of the Honourable Company in the East, and I am the Odikar of the Dhurm Rajah in the eastern part of this country, and up to this time we have been as friendly as father and son, and there has been no quarrel between us. I now send you an emissary to make known to you all that I have to say, and with him I also send you some traders from Khachee, who, in consequence of a war between Jung Bahadoor and the Khampas, have not been able to travel by that route, and have come here; you will hear from them also of my affairs.

I have always made over to the Dhurm Rajah the annual tribute received from, and I do not see the necessity of sending you a letter under the seal and signature of the Dhurm Rajah to that effect, and therefore write that the annual tribute be sent by my emissary. You are the ruler of all inhabited parts of the world, and it cannot be supposed that the small tract of country under the hills, belonging to the Dhurm Rajah, for supplying him with pawn and betel, which you have taken possession of, can have been a source of great profit to you. I therefore write that, in consideration of my wishes, you will be pleased to give up the several Doars; should you not do so, the 10,000 rupees now given as tribute is scarce ample for the religious ceremonies of the Gossein, and it would be well if the tribute be settled annually at 20,000 rupees, payable in the month of Agrahein, as in that month various articles can be purchased by us, and that the tribute for this year, without any reference to the month of Borsag, be transmitted in the current month of Talgoon. Should you not do so, we will then consider that there are some evil-disposed persons who will cause a quarrel between us, and cause the ryots much distress. This I make known to you from my heart. Besides this, should you say that without orders from the Governor General you cannot do anything in this matter, then I ask whether I can send the Dhurm Rajah's letter and my petition to the Governor General direct, and what is your wish. You being the Odikar of the East, I make this known to you. You will be pleased to favour me with a reply.

Abor Dhurka accompanies this as Puttrochun.

(D.)

From the Dewangiri Rajah to the Agent Governor General, dated 20 Talgoon.

After Compliments.

THAT you are the ruler of this country, and support the people, is to me a matter of rejoicing. This is my prayer:—

The Toongsoh Soubah has sent a respectable man with the traders from Khachee to receive the revenue for the current year, and I have committed a very great fault against you, which is now giving me much anxiety, and it is impossible to express it in writing. On your proceeding to Upper Assam, Major Vetch, acting for you, sent a letter for the Tongso Soubah to the following effect—that the annual tribute will not henceforth be given. This letter I have not sent to the Soubah, because the Tongso had instituted inquiries as regards the dacoities and plundering of property said to have been committed by the former Dewangiri Rajah, and in the event of the apprehension of the perpetrators, I will forward the letter; by sending it to him now he is likely to be very much offended; but up to this time the perpetrators have not been apprehended, and the Tongso Soubah's men have in the meantime arrived to take the revenue for the current year. I therefore beg you will forgive the fault I have committed, and on hearing from the Tongso's people all particulars, you will favour me by paying the revenue for the current year. The rumours afloat of there being a war is false, and you will not give heed to it, but will so act as that our old friendship may remain unbroken; and should it be your wish that this friendship should continue, and have any doubts as to what I have said, I can give you an agreement which will be strictly fulfilled, and the person sent by the Tongso Soubah can also give an agreement; he is a respectable man, and the cause for the Tongso Soubah not sending the letter of the Dhurm Rajah in this instance is, that the Tongso Soubah always receives and presents the revenue, and you will not be in any doubt as to this. You are the Rajah of the country, and to quarrel about a trifling 10,000 rupees is anything but profitable.

Having agreed to pay the revenue, you have, up to the present time, done so, and the hope with which the Soubah has sent a man, who is a resident of the higher Bootan Hills, and who cannot understand any other language, and cannot withstand the heat of the sun: you will therefore be so good as give him the money, and send him back soon.

A Jamoha is sent as Puttrochun.

(signed) Dewangiri Rajah.

(E.)

To the Dhurm Rajah.

After Compliments.

I WROTE you on the 24th February last year, acknowledging the receipt of your letters by the hands of your uncle and the Dewangiri Raja; and after telling you that the Government had not authorised any increase of the share allowed you for the attached Doars, I mentioned that I was about to pay the revenue of the then current year to those Rajahs deputed by you to solicit an increase of your allowance from the Doars.

On the 29th March you were informed, by a letter of that date from Major Vetch, my deputy in my absence, that the attendants of the Dewangiri Raja, in proceeding home with the 10,000 rupees received from me, had been guilty of very serious robberies and dacoities, and as the Dewangiri Raja had failed to comply with the magistrate's demand for the surrender of the offenders, you were requested to cause them to be given up, and a list of the names of the perpetrators, as far as then ascertained, was attached to that letter.

On my return to Gowhatty, finding that there had been no offenders sent in, and that the country or the borders was much alarmed from armed parties of Booteeahs still prowling about and plundering our people, I wrote the Dewangiri Rajah a letter protesting against this state of misrule he was permitting to prevail, and warning him of the consequences of the continuance of these aggressions.

A copy of that letter of the 17th April was sent to you with my letter of the 18th April, and another copy was sent to the Tongso Pillo.

I have not yet been favoured with any replies from you to my letter above noted, and instead of meeting with any redress from the Tongso Pillo, I received two letters from that officer, written in such a very improper and offensive a style that I refused to hold any further communication with him until I received the orders of the Governor General, to whom I sent the Tongso Pillo's letters.

The Governor General's orders were received here by Major Vetch (in my absence) on the 21st January, and the purport of the orders of the Governor General was immediately communicated to the Tongso Pillo in a letter of that date, a copy of which is annexed for your information.

After a considerable lapse of time, a letter of the Tongso Pillo's of the 25th Maugh was received here on the 3d instant, but it makes no allusion to Major Vetch's letter forwarding the decision of his Lordship, but it was accompanied by a letter from the present Dewangiri Rajah of the 20th Talgoon, forwarding on the Tongso Pillo's letter in which he states that he had taken upon himself to keep back Major Vetch's letter to the Tongso Pillo, although in a former letter of the 19th of Maugh he informed that officer distinctly that he had sent on that officer's letter.

Copies of these three letters accompany this for your information.

My friend, I fear the Tongso Pillo and Dewangiri Rajah have been acting with duplicity as regards this last communication, conveying the displeasure of the Governor General with the very improper style of his replies to me, and I am somewhat at a loss how to proceed, but in the hopes of averting from you the consequences of a refusal of the redress his Lordship has demanded, I make this further reference to yourself, in the strong hopes that you will immediately insist on the Tongso Pillo's making that apology for his offensive letters, or that you will take such measures, and acquaint me with them, as may be satisfactory to his Lordship.

I beg you will take this letter into your serious consideration, and reply to it without delay, that I may stay the measures his Lordship may be pleased to take on your contumacious refusal of all redress.

I annex for your information copies of the two offensive letters* of the Tongso Pillo which I laid before the Governor General.

* Of 15 Bhadre and 9 Agran.

(F.)

To the Dewangiri Rajah.

After Compliments.

I HAVE been favoured with your letter of the 20th Talgoon, and I have also received the Tongso Pillo's of the 25th Maugh.

On receipt of this latter letter I was at a loss to conjecture how it was that the Tongso Pillo had not alluded to Major Vetch's letter of the 21st January, communicating to him the displeasure of the Governor General at the improper style of his letter to me.

Your letter explains the omission, as you state that you had taken upon yourself not to deliver it to the Tongso Pillo for fear of offending him.

I am unable to reconcile this statement with that made in your letter of the 19th Maugh, in which you informed Major Vetch that you had immediately forwarded on his letter; but if the statement made in your last letter is the correct one, I am obliged to inform you that you have taken a great responsibility on yourself, and I fear the withholding the letter may be injurious to you.

I am unwilling yet to tell the Governor General that the Tongso Pillo has refused that redress which was demanded from him; and to avoid the certain consequences I have now sent copies of all the correspondence to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs for their consideration, in the hope they will order a compliance with the just demands of the Governor General, and so restore the good understanding which has so long existed between our Government.

Pending their reply, I am unable to answer the Tongso Pillo's letter to me, or to enter into any consideration of the topics in your and his letters.

But I may mention that I now understand from your letter and the explanations of the merchants that came down with the Tongso's letter, that he and you wished the payment from the revenues of the Doar to be paid you in the beginning of the cold weather instead of when due, as being more convenient to you, to enable you to effect your remittances to the Dhurm Rajah.

That this was all that was intended by the urgent request of the Tongso Pillo for this money when not due I was not before aware, and if it had been before properly explained there would have been no difficulty in complying with your wishes, for it would be a matter of perfect indifference to the British Government at what date the money was paid, and of course in so small a matter I should have been glad to have met your wishes; but this subject as well as all others must now lie over until the Tongso Pillo has apologized for the want of respect with which he addressed me.

Be assured that I greatly regret the present suspension of our usual friendly relations.

I have, &c.
(signed) *F. Jenkins,*
Agent Governor General.

(G.)

From the Mynagoree Soobah to the Acting Agent Governor General, dated 7 Phalagoon.

After Compliments.

I HAVE received your letter and Puttrochun (a handkerchief), and have become acquainted with all particulars, to the effect that the dacoits in the case of Brijoo Soonder Chowdry of Sapotu Baree, who are in my territory and are demanded by you, are directed to be sent to the magistrate of Rungpore.

I am a newly appointed Soobah and am not aware of the particulars of this case, and therefore write to say that I will make myself acquainted with them, and also as regards the men demanded by you, and let you know the result by letter.

(True Translation.)
(signed) *Fras. Jenkins,*
Agent Governor General.

(No. 2506 of 1856.)

From *G. P. Edmonstone*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to *W. Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Fort William, the 7th May 1856.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Under Secretary Russell's letter, dated the 2d ultimo, No. 986, with its enclosure, from the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, reporting Major Vetch's and his own proceedings consequent on the receipt of the orders of Government regarding the outrages recently committed by the Booteeahs under the instigation of the Dewangiri Rajah and the Tongso Pillo.

2. In the present state of the case no fresh instructions seem to be required. But the Governor General in Council has noticed a serious mistake in Major Vetch's letter, dated 21st January last, to the address of the Tongso Pillo, which should be pointed out to the Agent.

3. The last paragraph of that letter is as follows: "I declare that payment of the share of the Doar revenue will be entirely withheld, until all the offenders who have been demanded are surrendered." This is in direct opposition to the orders of Government, dated the 11th January, which said, "It is *not* thought expedient to go beyond this, and to declare that payment of the share of the Doar revenue will be entirely withheld until all the offenders who have been demanded are surrendered."

4. The Governor General in Council, however, does not deem it to be necessary or advisable that any steps should be taken at present to remove from the mind of the Bootan Government the information which will have been conveyed to it by the above mistake.

5. The original papers which accompanied the letter under reply are herewith returned.

EXTRACT. Fort William Foreign Consultation, dated the 27th June 1856.

(Judicial.—No. 1705.)

No. 15.

From *C. T. Buckland, Esq.*, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department; dated Fort William, the 5th June 1856.

Sir,

I AM directed to forward, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, copy of a letter, No. 50, dated 14th ultimo, with enclosures, from the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, reporting the circumstances under which a person named Arung Sing, said to be the hereditary zemindar of Goonah Doar, in the Booteah territory, has been carried off by a party of armed Booteahs from his residence at Mouzah Pettah, in the district of Gowalparah, in the British territories.

2. The Lieutenant Governor is of opinion, that if the facts reported by Captain Agnew are correct (and there seems no reason to doubt them), viz., that Arung Sing has been permitted to take up his residence for three years within the British territory, whilst he still continued to hold his zemindaree in the Booteah country, so that he availed himself of his position to evade the payment of his just dues to the Booteah authorities, he ought, in the first place, not to have been permitted to remain on such terms in the village where he had established himself, and most certainly he ought not to have met with the direct encouragement which Colonel Jenkins appears very injudiciously to have shown to him, especially in allowing him to pay him what seems to have been a somewhat ostentatious visit at Gowahattee.

3. But as the treatment and patronage which Arung Sing has received from Colonel Jenkins have now been followed by the commission of an outrage on the British territory by the invasion of an armed body of Booteahs, whose acts it is impossible for the Government to overlook, the Lieutenant Governor would suggest that a friendly application should, in the first instance, be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, stating what has been reported, and requesting explanation of the occurrence, at the same time assuming that, if it has been correctly reported, the Bootan authorities will not fail to see the propriety of affording full reparation.

(No. 50 of 1856.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *William Grey, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, Fort William; dated Gowahattee, the 14th May 1856.

No. 16.

Sir,

WITH reference to the 3d and 4th paragraphs of my letter, No. 119 of the 17th August last, I have the honour to report that the person there adverted, Arung Sing, the hereditary zemindar of Goonah Doar, has been carried off from our purgunnahs of Goorlal, in which he has been established with his family for the last three or four years, by an armed body of Booteahs from Bulka Doar.

2. I beg to annex copies of the correspondence as per margin* regarding the abduction of the unfortunate individual.

The first information I received of this event was by a roobookaree from Captain Agnew, and as he appeared to have taken no steps whatever to make enquiry into the circumstances, I addressed him in the first letter to do so; and, not being satisfied with the manner in which he did so, I gave the more particular instructions in my second letter.

To this I have received his letter of the 9th May with the depositions accompanying.

3. Captain Agnew appears to me to take a wrong view of the aggression; he seems to think that they may be excused for carrying off any individual residing in our territory without any reference to our officers, because that person was supposed to be in charge of
a mehul

* 1. My letter to Captain Agnew, Principal Assistant, Goulparah, No. 197, dated 22 April 1856.

2. His reply, No. 71, dated 24th *idem*.

3. My further letter, No. 205, dated 26th ditto.

4. His reply, No. 85, of 9th May 1856, with translations of the depositions taken regarding the transaction in question.

a mehal within their jurisdiction. If any such excuse as this was admitted, there would be no end of such trespasses, for the Booteahs would only have to assert that the man carried off had been in their service, and was in debt to them, to cause the abduction of any one known to possess property whom they could surprise, and on some such grounds I believe they justify their late aggressions in the Rungpore zillah. But if any sufficient body of police or military detachment had been present, they would of course have interfered to prevent the abduction of the man, and a collision would consequently have taken place, and if such a procedure be permitted on their part, it must be allowed us to make refusals to apprehend offenders, and we should inevitably soon be involved in open hostilities.

4. In my opinion, the Booteahs cannot be suffered to indulge in such inroads on any grounds whatever; and to apprehend a criminal offender, even of any kind, residing within our boundary, they are bound to apply to our officers of districts or to myself.

In this case Captain Agnew alleges that Arung Sing had offended the Booteahs by coming up to Gowhattee to seek the protection of our Government, and had retained charge of his mehal. The zemindar's Mooktear here assures me that he has nothing to do with the collection of the revenue of the mehal for the last year, and it is not probable that he could make collections after retiring from the Doar. It is possible the ryots may have contributed something to his support, for he was not a mere zemindar, but the hereditary zemindar of the Doar; as the Sidlee and Brynee Rajahs and the witnesses depose to his having given the Booteahs no molestation since settled in our land. He might, no doubt, have had some expectation of being restored, as the Booteahs' local governors are always changing; but he had so far abandoned the hope that he was to have settled in Kunroop on waste land he obtained from the collector, and to get a grant was one of the chief objects of his coming up here.

Sic orig.

5. Arung Sing was in confinement in Bursa Doar for about a year, and effected his escape shortly before he came up here; this, and having secured, as he thought, his property, in our territories, more the offences he had committed; he was imprisoned and tortured by them to extort from him all the little wealth he had accumulated, just as they treated Shah Persund Sing. I fear he will meet with the same fate, and cruel death.

6. If I have taken a right view of this aggression, I would propose to write the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, pointing out the nature of the offence committed by the Doar authorities, and demanding the punishment of the offenders. It is just possible that they may be removed from their present charges, and perhaps the life of the captive may be saved.

(No. 197 of 1856.)

From the Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, to Captain *W. Agnew*, Principal Assistant of Gawalparah; dated Gowhattee, the 22d April 1856.

Sir,

WITH reference to your roobookaree of the 18th instant, just received, reporting that a party of 70 or 80 Booteahs have carried off Arung Sing from his residence in Goorial, and plundered his property, I have to request you will as quickly as possible report in an English letter, for submission to Government, all the particulars you may have since obtained of this occurrence, and inform me to what Doar the offenders appear to belong, and what orders you have issued on the subject of this aggression.

2. You don't mention that you have made any requisition for the immediate surrender of the unfortunate captive, who has been carried away from our territory, which I think should be done without any delay; for though I fear it may not be complied with, yet possibly it may have the effect of saving his life; and if you have not done this, I have to request you will immediately address the Soubah of the Doar in question.

(No. 71 of 1856.)

From Captain *W. Agnew*, Principal Assistant Commissioner of Gawalparah to the Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, Gowhattee; dated Gawalparah, the 24th April 1856.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter, No. 197, dated the 22d instant, desiring me to state what particulars I have received regarding Arung Sing since the date of my roobookaree reporting his seizure by the Booteahs, as also to what Doar the offender belongs, and the nature of the orders I have issued on the subject of the aggression, I have the honour to say, that I merely heard that, when carried off, the man was bound in a very inhuman manner, and that he was taken to Bulka, a place to the north of Goomah; I am further given to understand that the Subah of Baska Doar on the Cooch Behar frontier caused his capture, and that the principal person concerned in it was a man named Chunya Doji Katmee.

With regard to the orders passed by me in the matter, I beg to say I have given none, as I look upon Arung Sing neither as a British subject nor as a refugee entitled to Government's protection. He holds Goma Doar from the Booteahs, and has taken up his residence on

on this side of, and was for some years past just across, the frontier, merely to be able to claim British protection in his hour of need—in fact to make a convenience of our Government; and under the circumstances, how much soever I may pity the man,* I consider I should have been acting wrongly had I, on my own responsibility, made any demand for his release. Had he thrown up charge of Goomah, severed his connexion with the Booteah, and then had been carried away, it would have been a different matter, but he still held the Chowdryship of Goomah, either residing there, or keeping just within our frontier, as it suited his convenience.

With reference to the instructions contained in your second paragraph, I submit copy of the demand I have made for Arung Sing's surrender.

(No. 205 of 1856.)

From the Agent Governor General, North-East Frontier, to Captain *W. Agnew*, Principal Assistant Commissioner, Gowalparah; dated Gowhattee, the 26th April 1856.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 71, of the 24th instant, and in reply I have to request you will inform me how far the residence of the unfortunate Arung Sing was from our frontier; he appears to have been residing in Pettah Mouzah, but its position I am not aware of.

2. As Arung Sing was living within our territories it appears to me that under no pretence whatever can the Booteahs be justified for trespassing on our jurisdiction with an armed force, and carrying off a man actually residing under our protection. If he was making that protection a cover for any hostile attempts on the Booteahs, or for giving them any annoyance whatever, it was their duty undoubtedly, in the first instance, to have given you notice of any such plots or intrigues, and this done it was for you to inquire into the truth of their allegations, and to have removed the individual from his position, if necessary; but it can never be permitted that the Booteahs should enter our territory in this manner, and carry off a person living within it, at their will and pleasure; and that you should not immediately have made a more particular inquiry into all the circumstances of so unwarrantable an aggression, appears to me likely to be noticed by Government.

3. I have again to request that, after taking the necessary depositions on the subject, you will favour me with a full report, in English, on the whole affair; and you will be good enough in the report to state the circumstances under which Arung Sing came to reside in Goorlal, and what reason there is to suppose that he has been since concerned in any transactions likely to have irritated the Booteahs; and I further beg you to inquire whether the zemindar and talookdar of Pettah were at all aware that he was concerned in such transactions and kept them from your knowledge.

(No. 85 of 1856.)

From Captain *Agnew*, Principal Assistant, Gowalparah, to the Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, Gowhatty; dated Gowalparah, the 9th May 1856.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 205, dated the 26th ultimo, and to state in reply that the place from whence Arung Sing was carried off by the Booteahs is about three miles from the frontier.

2. I am not aware that Arung Sing, under cover of the protection he had sought by a residence in the British territories, was hatching hostile attempts against the Booteahs, or giving them any annoyance, or that he was concerned in any special transaction likely to irritate them; nor did I imply that he had so acted. I simply said that, holding a Doar under the Booteah Government, he chose, for his own convenience, to reside on this side of, and close to, the frontier; and that under these circumstances I considered he could not be looked upon as a refugee, and that had I, of my own authority, done anything towards his release that might have embroiled the states, I should have acted injudiciously.

3. You state that my conduct in this affair will be likely to bring on me the displeasure of Government. I am making use of no mere conventional phrase when I say that if such should be the result I shall feel it deeply, never having incurred reproof since I have been in the service; but I am unconscious of having acted wrongly, or with any degree of carelessness.

* I do not consider that this is a correct statement of the case; he came into our country after being imprisoned and barbarously ill treated, and has not since resided in Goomah.

(signed) *F. Jenkins.*

lessness. Had I, indeed, on my own view of the merits of the question, taken no notice of the case, then I should have been justly blameable; but having, on the contrary, forwarded for your orders the letter reporting the affair the very day it reached me, I submit with much deference, that I have done nothing to deserve censure, except, I must admit, in having had so little foresight as not to have anticipated that some such act of violence as has occurred, and which I should have taken precautions to prevent, would result from Arung Sing's conduct.

4. In the second paragraph of your letter you imply that I have disobeyed the orders contained in your first communication. I beg to say that in your letter, No. 197, dated the 22d ultimo, you did not order me to take depositions, you merely directed me to state what further particulars I had obtained since I first reported the affair, what Doar the offender belonged to, and the nature of the orders I had issued, which I did by return of post.

5. I have now to report that, from the evidence taken, it appears that a party of Booteahs from Bulka, whose number is variously stated from 25 to 70 men, under Chunya Doji Katmee, carried Arung Sing away from his house in Pitta on the 25th Choitra, and that he has since been removed to Bursa Doar. That the Booteahs also plundered their captive's property, but did not molest his family, or commit violence on any one. One man says they beat and took away a servant of Arung Sing's, and that they also beat his nephew; but this is not confirmed by the other witnesses, nor alluded to, as well as I remember, in Chundra Maller's letter to her moocktear, which I sent you. The only reason assigned for the outrage is the displeasure of the Booteahs at Arung Sing having gone to Gowhattay last year to meet you. They probably imagined that he could not have done so with any friendly intentions towards themselves.

6. It further seems that Arung Sing has been living at Pitta for the last three years. The witnesses profess not to know the reason of his having taken up his abode there; but the cause is so generally known that no evidence is required on the point. You must, I should suppose, be as well acquainted with it as I am, from the accounts Arung Sing has himself given me of his former imprisonment by the Booteahs and subsequent release, and the removal of his family to Pitta for their future security, which I should think he must have mentioned to you too.

7. I know also from Arung Sing's own conversation on the several occasions we have met, as well as from the evidence now adduced, that although he changed his residence to avoid a second captivity in Bootan, he still continued to hold his hereditary Chowdryship of Goomah Dwar, the boundary of which, indeed, he went over with me in February 1854. When I had occasion to traverse it after it had been defined by the deputy collector, and he again met me last year in Goomah, through an angle of which my road from Purbutzoor to Doobru took me, thus showing, if other proof were wanting, that he was still the recognized Chowdry of the Dwar.

8. He told me on both the occasions alluded to, that the Booteahs endeavoured to get as much money from him as they could; he, we may naturally presume, trying how little he could pay. Doubtless some uncomplained with demand, arbitrary enough, I dare say, will be pleaded by the Booteahs, as their excuse for seizing the Chowdry, in doing which, blameable though they may be, there is at least this excuse for them, that Arung Sing's conduct was extremely irritating and unseemly. Holding the Dwar from the Booteahs, he had no right, I think, to set them at defiance, as it were, by living just across the boundary; nor ought he, as their feudatory, to have excited their jealousy by going to Gowhattay for the express purpose, I believe, of laying his grievances before you. If he had wished for British protection, he should surely have severed his connection with the Booteahs. I do not argue that they are wholly free from blame: I merely submit that the case is a peculiar one, and I trust that Government will not view my conduct with reference to it in an unfavourable light.

9. I have only further to add that the Booteahs never brought any complaint against Arung Sing before me.

DEPOSITION of *Sobernal*.—Witness taken on Oath under Act V. of 1840, in the Ponzclary Adawlut of Zillah Gawalparah, 8th May 1856, corresponding with 27th Bysuck 1263, B.S.

Q. What is your name?—A. Sobernal, son of Subder; Caste Musselman; occupation, cultivator; age about 40 years, resident of Pettah.

Do you know of anything regarding Arung Sing Chowdry being seized, and taken away by the Booteahs?—The distance between mine and the Chowdry's new place of residence in Petlah is distant about half a coss. I am therefore aware that in the month of Choit of the past year—I do not recollect the date—40 or 50 Booteahs, with three elephants, attacked the house of the Chowdry at night, and having heard the noise, I went in the morning, and some of those Booteahs taking the Chowdry bound on an elephant with his property in the direction of Bolka Chung in the Booteah territory; why they had seized and were taking him away, I do not know, and what property they had taken I can give no account of. Afterwards I went to his house, and saw that the Chowdry's nephew

nephew Toolsing had been beaten, and left in the house, and a servant had also been beaten, but he was taken with the Chowdry to Bootan. I saw some boxes broken, and that the Chowdry's wife and family had been left with but a suit of clothes each, their ornaments having been taken from them; but they did them no other harm. The Chowdry is Zemindar of Goomah, in the Bootan territory, and had his house formerly in Goomah. It is now three years since he left his zemindaree and house in it, and resided in Petlah, in the Company's territory, distant about half coss from the Bootan jurisdiction. His Omlahs are in Goomah, and through them he realizes the revenue; and it is now three years that the Chowdry has not been there, and I never saw the Omlahs coming to him here, and I am not aware of his having any quarrel with the Booteahs since taking up his present residence.

What I have said of his realizing revenue through his Omlah, whether true or not, I cannot say, for I have merely said so by guess, and whether any revenue is realized or not, I cannot say, as I have not been to Goomah.

DEPOSITION of *Fyaze*.—Witness taken on Oath under Act V. of 1840, in the Tonzdary Adawlut of Zillah Gawalparah, 8 May 1856, corresponding with 27 Bysack 1263, B.S.

Q. What is your name?—A. Fyaze, son of Loab; caste, Mussulman; occupation, cultivator; age, about 40; resident of Koorsakata Dhee Petlah.

Are you aware of anything regarding Arung Sing Chowdry being seized and taken away by the Booteeahs?—I do not recollect the month or date, but it is now about one or two months past I heard that one day at dawn the Booteeahs had attacked Arung Sing's house in Petlah, and being in a state of alarm and astonishment, I went there and saw Arung Sing Chowdry tied on an elephant, and some Booteeahs taking him away in the direction of Bootan. I do not know the name of the place they were taking him to. The distance from my house to the Chowdry's is as far as the cutcherry is from the bazar; and it being so, I went and saw from 25 to 30 Booteeahs, with three elephants, and three bags of small stones for fighting with, plundering the property of the Chowdry, and seizing the Chowdry, saw them taking towards Bolka Chung, they having left his family with but a suit of clothes each. The Chowdry has not been released as yet, and I now hear that they have removed him from Bolka to Bursa Doar, and kept him in confinement. Why they have seized the Chowdry, and what the amount of property is that they have plundered, I cannot give any account of; they have taken away gold, silver, ornaments, plates, cash, and everything.

Has the Chowdry any lands in the Bootan jurisdiction?—Yes, he has; he is the Zemindar of Goomah, in the Booteeah territory. The Chowdry's place of residence was formerly in Goomah; why he settled there I do not know. It is now three years since he removed to Petlah, in the Company's territory, and lived there, but he did not give up his zemindaree; he had made his place of residence about 1½ coss distant from the Booteeah territory, close to Sumbabaree Ghat and Haut, or about as far to the north-west as the cutcherry is from the bazar. I do not know the Booteeahs who have seized and taken the Chowdry away. I have heard that they are people from under the Syah Katmah.

Do you know of there having been any ill feeling existing between the Chowdry and the Booteeahs?—I am not aware of there having been any.

Do you know whether Arung Sing was in the habit of going to Goomah since making his place of residence in the Company's territory?—I did not see him going to Goomah, nor do I know how he realized the revenue of Goomah.

DEPOSITION of *Bolah*.—Witness taken on Oath under Act V. of 1840, in the Tonzdaree Adawlut of Zillah Gawalparah, 8 May 1856, corresponding with 27 Bysack 1263, B.S.

Q. What is your name?—A. Bolah, son of Nasur; caste, Ragbungsee; occupation, cultivator; age, about 30; resident of Petlah.

Are you aware of any circumstance connected with the seizure of Arung Sing Chowdry by the Booteeahs, and his being carried away by them?—In the past month of Choit, I do not recollect the date, 50 or 60 Booteeahs, with three elephants, attacked the Chowdry's house in the latter part of the night. My house is somewhat distant from the Chowdry's. I went there in the morning and saw the Chowdry tied and bound on an elephant with his property, and saw him being taken away by the Booteeahs in the direction of Bolka. I do not know why they were taking him away, and what property they took with them. I am not aware of, but on going to his house and inquiring, I found that there was no property in it, and his family had only a suit of clothes each. Arung Sing Chowdry is Zemindar of Goomah, of the Bootan territory, and his place of residence was formerly in Goomah; why he left it I do not know, but it is now three years since he made Petlah his place of residence, which is distant about 1½ coss from the Booteeah territory. A dewan of the Chowdry realizes the revenue of Goomah, and has his residence there. Since removing to the Company's territory, he used sometimes to go during the day to his house in Goomah,

but he never did so at night. I am not aware of his having any dispute with the Booteahs since his removal into Government territory.

When the attack was made on the Chowdry's house his family were with him, but the Booteahs did them no harm, further than taking their ornaments from their persons.

Do you know those Booteahs?—I do not know them, but I heard they were the Syah Katmah's people.

DEPOSITION of *Phagoona*.—Witness taken on Oath under Act V. of 1840, in the Tonzdary Adawlut of Zillah Gawalparah, 8 May 1856, corresponding with 27 Bysack 1263, B.S.

Q. What is your name?—A. Phagoona, son of Gherloo; caste, Mussulman; occupation, cultivator; age, about 30 years; resident of Petlah.

Do you know of anything regarding Arung Sing Chowdry being seized and taken away by the Booteahs?—In the past month of Choit, I do not recollect the date, in the latter end of the month, one night 50 or 60 Booteahs attacked the house of Arung Sing Chowdry with three elephants; hearing of this in the morning, and being astonished and alarmed, I went and saw that it was true, and saw the Chowdry tied and bound on an elephant, and with his property being carried away towards Bolka, in the Bootan territory. I heard that there were people of the Syah Katmah, but I do not know them. I went to the Chowdry's house afterwards, and saw that no property was left in it. Boxes were lying about broken open, and the ornaments about his wife and family were also taken from their persons, but they did them no harm. I am not aware why they seized and took the Chowdry away; he is Zemindar of Goomah, in the Bootan territory, and from fear of Booteah it is now three years that he left that place and took up his present residence in the Company's territory, distant about $1\frac{1}{2}$ coss from the Booteahs. I am not aware whether his omahs are at Goomah or not for the purpose of realizing revenue, nor am I aware of the Chowdry having had any quarrel with the Booteahs since removing to the Company's territory. I never saw him going to Goomah. The Booteahs have not as yet released him. I can give no account of the property plundered, and why the Chowdry was seized and carried away.

DEPOSITION of *Ahyeat Mahomed*.—Witness taken on Oath under Act V. of 1840, in the Tonzdary Adawlut of Zillah Gawalparah, 8 May 1856, corresponding with 27 Bysack 1263, B.S.

Q. What is your name?—A. Ahyeat Mahomed, son of Holoye; caste, Mussulman; occupation, cultivator; age, about 38 years; resident of Petlah.

Do you know of any circumstance regarding Arung Sing Chowdry being seized and taken away by the Booteahs?—In the Bengalli month of Choit of the year, I do not recollect the date, one day at dawn 50 or 60 Booteahs, who I do not know, but who I heard were the people of Syah Katimah, with three elephants, attacked the Chowdry's house at Petlah, and seized and bound him on an elephant with all his cash, ornament, plates, and everything that he possessed, and took him towards Bolka Chang in the Booteeah territory, leaving the members of his family with but a suit of clothes each. The Chowdry's house is distant about one arrow's flight from mine, and I therefore saw the above circumstance; but I cannot specify what articles or what amount of property was plundered and taken away. The Chowdry is zemindar of Goomah in the Bootan territory, and it is now three years since he left his old place of residence in Goomah and settled in Petlah, in the Company's territory. Since leaving the Bootan territory he in great measure gave up all hope of his zemindary, and made this his place of residence, distant from the Bootan territory about $1\frac{1}{2}$ coss; and I am not aware of his having had any dispute with the Booteahs since making this his place of residence; but I have heard from others that the Chowdry having removed to the Company's territory, and sought the protection of the Commissioner personally during the year, is the cause of his being seized and taken away. Five or six days after his being carried off, I went to Bolka for the purpose of selling some things, and saw that the Chowdry had his legs chained.

Since making his residence in the Company's territory, do you know whether the Chowdry ever went to Goomah or not?

(True Translations.)

(signed)

F. Jenkins,

Agent Governor General.

(Foreign Department.—No. 3511 of 1856.)

No. 17.

From *G. F. Edmonstone, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of India, to *W. Grey, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, 25 June 1856.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Junior Secretary Buckland's letter, dated 5th instant, No. 1705, with its enclosures, reporting the circumstances under which a person named Arung Sing, said to be the hereditary zemindar of Goomah Doar in the Booteah territory, has been carried off by a party of armed Booteahs from his residence at Mouzah Petlah, in the district of Gowalparah, in the British territories, and suggesting that a friendly application should in the first instance be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajas, with a request that an explanation of the occurrence be submitted, &c.

2. In reply, I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council to communicate the following observations, &c.

3. His Lordship in Council is of opinion that it will not be consistent or politic in the Government of India, in dealing with this new aggression from Bootan, to take the very friendly and moderate tone recommended by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

4. The state of the case in his Lordship's view is this: On the 21st of January, Major Vetch, acting under instructions, informed the Tongso Pillo that unless he apologised for the disrespect with which, in some previous communication, he had treated the Governor General's Agent, measures would be taken to cripple his authority; that under any circumstances the value of property plundered with the connivance of the Dewangiri Rajah would be deducted from the Booteeah share of the revenue, and that payment of that share of Doar revenue would be entirely withheld until all offenders should be given up.

To Government of Bengal, No. 186,
dated 11 January 1856.

5. In making this last announcement Major Vetch exceeded his instructions, nevertheless, it was thought better that his communication to the Tongso Pillo once made should not be altered.

To Government of Bengal, No. 2506,
dated 7 May 1856.

6. The instructions under which Major Vetch acted further informed him that, if the above remonstrance should be responded to in a becoming spirit, it would be sufficient to warn the Tongso Pillo that any repetition of aggressions would be forthwith resented by the permanent occupation of the Bengal Doars. But as the result of the remonstrance is not yet known, this part of the instructions has not been carried out, and there the matter stands, so far as regards the offensive acts of which the Government of India had at that time to complain.

7. A new aggression has now been committed. A zemindar of Goomah Doar, but residing within the British territory, has been carried off by a body of armed Booteahs. The man is not a British subject, and it is probable that he used his residence within the British frontier to evade obligations which in his own country he would have been compelled to meet; but the violation of British territory is not less clear on this account, nor can it be passed over.

8. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal suggests that a friendly application should, in the first instance, be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajas (under whose authority the Tongso Pillo pretends to act), stating what has been repeated, asking explanation, and assuming that, if the report be correct, the Bootan authorities will not fail to see the propriety of affording full reparation. This, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, would be very proper if the offence were a first one, or if previous offences had been atoned for. But his Lordship in Council does not think that it is a mode of proceeding which will command attention or respect in the present circumstances. Considering what has passed and is still passing, any such application from the Government of India cannot becomingly or wisely assume a tone of friendliness, nor does it appear necessary to ask for an explanation of the violation of territory, the fact being beyond doubt, and the offence being one which, committed without notice or appeal to the Government of India, nothing can justify.

9. For these reasons, the Governor General in Council would prefer to state the facts, as we know them to have happened, to the Bootan authorities; to demand from them the punishment of the offenders, and an apology for the acts of their dependents; and to give them warning (already fully authorised) that if atonement is not made for this new aggression, the Government of India will hold itself free to take permanent possession of the Bengal Doars.

10. This course, his Lordship in Council observes, will not preclude the consideration of any explanations or excuses which the Tongso Pillo or the Rajahs may have to offer.

EXTRACT, FOREIGN LETTER from the Government of India to the Court of Directors, dated 21 March (No. 19), 1857.

1856.
Correspondence,
18 July, 17 to 21.

176. The correspondence with the Government of Bengal, noted on the margin, is forwarded, with reference to paragraphs 260 to 281 of our General Letter, No. 97, dated 20th September last.

177. The Bengal Government, in acknowledging receipt of our instructions of 25th June, for exacting reparation from the Bootan authorities, for the new aggression committed by them, forwarded a copy of a letter which had been received simultaneously with those instructions from the Agent in the North-East Frontier, reporting that the Dhurma and Deb Rajahs, the Tongso Pillo, and the Dewangiri had all made apologies for their previous misconduct; and recommending (without any reference to the subsequent case of Arung Sing) that he might be permitted to resume his correspondence with the Tongso Pillo as heretofore. Colonel Jenkins proposed to deduct the value of the plundered property, estimated at 2,868 rupees, from the Bootan share of the Doar revenue of 10,000 rupees, though he anticipated that such a deduction might cause the Tongso Pillo some disappointment. He also referred to the anxious desire expressed by the Bootan authorities that the revenue of the Doars might be raised from 10,000 to 12,000 rupees per annum; and he requested that he might be allowed to hold out hopes to them that the amount of 10,000 rupees now paid would be reconsidered by the Government on the satisfactory behaviour of the Booteahs at the expiration of another year. He finally recommended that an officer should be deputed to Bootan (if the internal state of the country should seem favourable to the measure) in order to promote a better understanding with the head of the Bootan Government.

178. The above suggestions were recommended by the Lieutenant Governor, with the exception of the proposal to depute an officer to visit Bootan. "Their adoption would, however, in any case," his Honour observed, "be entirely dependent on full satisfaction being afforded for the more recent aggression committed in carrying off Arung Sing from the British territories."

179. In paragraph 11 of his letter, Colonel Jenkins applied for instructions as to the course to be pursued by him in case of aggression, as it would, in his opinion, seem worse than useless to make demands for the surrender of criminals that we may not be prepared to enforce, but the Lieutenant Governor was not aware of any circumstance that would justify Colonel Jenkins in presuming that the Government of India was not fully prepared to enforce any demand for the surrender of a criminal from the Bootan Government which may have been made by a proper authority in a case of sufficient gravity to justify such a measure.

180. We concurred in the views of the Lieutenant Governor, as expressed above, and requested that orders might be addressed to Colonel Jenkins accordingly.

* Letter, No. 97,
of 1856, paras. 278
to 280.

181. It was observed that Colonel Jenkins's letter had crossed the instructions authorised to be made to him in our letter of 25th June,* on the case of the recent seizure and abduction of Arung Sing by Booteahs. But, as it appeared from paragraph 10 of Colonel Jenkins's letter that that aggression came from a part of the Booteah Doars which were not subject to the Tongso Pillo (to whose relations with the Government of India on other matters the letter from Colonel Jenkins related), there was no reason for suspending instructions upon the present reference.

182. Seeing,

182. Seeing, however, that Colonel Jenkins himself was not very certain of the extent of the Tongso Pillo's authority, the Lieutenant Governor was requested to caution the Agent not to act upon such instructions in such a way and at such a time as to interfere with the carrying out of those which would have reached him previously.

EXTRACT, Fort William Foreign Consultation, dated 18 July 1856.

(Judicial—No. 1761 of 1856.)

No. 17.

From *C. T. Buckland*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department; dated Fort William, the 16th June 1856.

Sir,

WITH reference to your Letter, No. 2506, dated the 7th ultimo, I have the honour by direction of the Lieutenant Governor, to forward, for the purpose of being laid before the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the accompanying copy of a communication from the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, enclosing a letter from Major Vetch, the Deputy Commissioner of Assam, expressive of his regret at the error which occurred in his letter to the Tongso Pillo. No. 56, dated 31st ultimo.

(No. 56 of 1856.)

FROM Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *C. T. Buckland*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the Judicial Department, Fort William; dated Gowahatty, the 31st May 1856.

Sir,

WITH reference to your Letter, No. 1792, dated the 14th instant, enclosing a copy of one from the Secretary to the Government of India, No. 2506, of the 7th idem, pointing out a mistake of Major Vetch, Deputy Commissioner, in his letter to the Tongso Pillo, and requesting me to send him a copy of the former letters for his information and guidance; I have the honour to annex, in original, a letter from the Deputy Commissioner, dated 30th instant, expressing his deep regret for the mistake he committed, which I hope will satisfy the Government that the error arose from an oversight.

FROM Major *H. Vetch*, Deputy Commissioner of Assam, to Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, dated Gowahatty, the 30th May 1856.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter, No. 274, of the 28th inst., with copies of Letters, No. 2506 of the 7th and 1792 of the 14th idem, the former from the Secretary to the Government of India, and the latter from the junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, pointing out a mistake committed by me in a letter to the Tongso Pillo, for which I beg you will express my deep regret, and which I confess arose from a misconception, on my part, of the passage in the paragraph adverted to, when draughting my letter to the Tongso, and I earnestly hope that no inconvenience may result therefrom.

(Judicial—No. 3 of 1856.)

FROM *C. T. Buckland*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated on board the Lieutenant Governor's Yacht "Rohtas," the 1st July 1856.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter, No. 3511, dated 25th ultimo, conveying the instructions of the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council, on the course to be adopted in demanding from the Bootan authorities, reparation for the aggression committed by them in carrying off a person named Arung Singh from his residence in the British territories.

2. Simultaneously with your Letter, a communication has been received from the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier (copy of which, with its enclosures, is herewith submitted), from which it will be seen that the Dharma No. 57, dated 3d ultimo.

and Deb Rajahs, the Tongso Pillo, and the Dewangiri Rajah, have all made apologies for their previous misconduct, and that Colonel Jenkins (without any reference to the subsequent case of Arung Singh), recommends that he may be permitted to resume his correspondence with the Tongso Pillo as heretofore.

3. Colonel Jenkins proposes to deduct the value of the plundered property, now estimated at 2,868 rupees, from the Bootan share of the Doar revenue of 10,000 rupees, and though he appears to anticipate that such a deduction may cause the Tongso Pillo some disappointment, he expresses a hope that it may not lead to further quarrels.

4. Colonel Jenkins also refers to the anxious desire expressed by the Bootan authorities, that the revenue of the Doars may be raised from 10,000 rupees to 12,000 rupees per annum, and he requests that he may be allowed to hold out hopes to them that the amount of 10,000 rupees now paid may be reconsidered by the Government, on the satisfactory behaviour of the Booteahs at the expiration of another year, observing that he would feel very confident that the Booteahs will permanently surrender all further claims on the Doars, and that an intercourse with them may be commenced on much more intimate and mutually beneficial relations than have yet existed.

5. He finally recommends that an officer, European or Asiatic, may be deputed to Bootan, if the internal state of the country should seem favourable to the measure, in order to promote a better understanding with the head of the Bootan Government.

6. The Lieutenant Governor would recommend to the favourable consideration of the Supreme Government, the suggestions made by Colonel Jenkins, with the exception of his proposal to depute an officer to visit Bootan. Their adoption would, however, in any case, I am directed to observe, be entirely dependent on full satisfaction being afforded for the more recent aggression committed in carrying off Arung Singh from the British territories.

7. The Lieutenant Governor observes that in para 11 of his Letter, No. 57, Colonel Jenkins has applied for instructions as to the course to be pursued by him in cases of aggression, as it would in his opinion seem worse than useless to make demands for the surrender of criminals that we are not prepared to enforce, but his Honour is not aware of any circumstance that would justify Colonel Jenkins in presuming that the Government of India is not fully prepared to enforce any demand for the surrender of a criminal from the Bootan Government which had been made by a proper authority in case of sufficient gravity to justify such a measure.

(No. 57 of 1856.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *William Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal Judicial Department, Fort William; dated Gowahatty, 3 June 1856.

Sir,

WITH reference to the orders of the Most Noble the Governor General, conveyed in

No. 1, from the Dhurm Rajah, without date.
No. 2, from the Deb Rajah, - ditto.
No. 3, from the Tongso Pillo - ditto.
No. 4, from the same - - ditto.

Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's Letter, No. 186, of the 11th January last, forwarded with your letter No. 107, of the 12th January. I have now the honour to report, having received letters from the officers of the Bootan Government, as per margin; translations of which I have the honour to annex.

2. The tenour of all these letters appears to me to be as satisfactory as we could well expect, and I should be inclined to consider that a sufficient apology had been made for the insolent and overbearing tone of the Tongso Pillo's communications to me, and I would accordingly recommend that I be permitted to resume my correspondence with that chieftain as heretofore.

3. There, however, remain one or two points on which I have to request the orders of Government.

Mr. Edmonstone's letter, No. 1471, of 14 March 1856, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

To Secretary to Government of Bengal, No. 3, of 12 January 1856.

His Lordship directed, under any circumstances, the value of the property plundered should be deducted from the Bootan share of the Doar revenue, valued on the principle laid down in the 16th para. of Major Vetch's letter; and agreeably to the statement there submitted, Major Vetch showed that the amount of actual loss, as shown by the trials of the

the offenders, would be reduced to 2,868 rupees. I consider myself, therefore, at liberty to pay to the Booteahs the difference of their share of 10,000 rupees, or 7,132 rupees, without reference to the circumstance of some (six) of the offenders not having been given up, in accordance with the tenour of his Lordship's orders; but before making any payment, I shall wait your reply to this letter, and I beg an early reply, for the Booteahs are very importunate in their demands for their share of revenue, and I believe are distressed from its non-payment.

4. In the Dhurm Rajah's letter, and the Tongso Pillo's (No. 3,) it is mentioned that I had proposed to allow them 12,000 rupees a year, instead of the annual 10,000 rupees hitherto given them, but the assertion that I had proposed to give it is a mistake.

In my letter, No. 3, of the 16th March 1855, I mentioned that the two Rajahs who had come to me on deputation from the Tongso Pillo, had made a demand for 15,000 rupees, which they stated they were aware Government had ordered to be paid them, and subsequently they solicited being allowed 12,000 rupees a year, a sum which the Booteah officers have not unfrequently said would satisfy them as a full compensation for the loss of the Doars.

But referring to the orders of the Supreme Government No. 4489 of the 21st October 1853, and No. 1216 of the 24th March 1854, I could only inform the Rajahs that I would lay any request of theirs for an increase of the share of the Doar revenue before the Government for favourable consideration; although, however, as I learnt from my interpreter, they had drawn up a rough draft of a letter, begging to be allowed 15,000 rupees a year, they did not deliver it, perhaps owing to the insolent and angry temper of the Jadoom (then Dewangiri) Rajah.

5. The insufficiency of the amount now allowed them has been again brought to notice, and if the surrendering this point would secure a freedom from the disturbances which we are always liable to, from the misbehaviour of some of the inferior Booteah authorities with whom we are more directly in communication, I should be disposed to recommend the increase they solicit. The sum now paid seems to be looked upon by all the Booteah authorities as inadequate, and it is possible that the consent of the Government to pay the additional sum of 2,000 rupees yearly, would be considered as a liberal concession to their representations, and it might have the effect of conciliating the heads of the Bootan Government, who, I think there is every reason to believe, are desirous of keeping on good terms with us, notwithstanding that the violent acts of the Doar Rajahs would seem to be supported by their superior officers; but the fact is, I conceive, that little which takes place along the frontier is known to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, but they certainly have in one or two instances immediately removed one of these subordinate officers on complaints from me having reached his superior authorities, though they have not usually communicated to me that they have done so in consequence of my representation.

6. We have lately been visited by six or eight Cashmere merchants, as noticed in the Tongso Pillo's letter, who from sickness and the want of carriage were detained here about a month, and I had frequent intercourse with them. Their trade is between Llassa, Patna, and Benares, and is usually carried on through Nepal, but the hostilities between that country and Tibet caused the merchants to try and open a route through Assam. These men appeared very respectable and intelligent, and they spoke very highly of the disposition of the Tongso Pillo, with whom they resided for some time. They represented him to be a young man of twenty-four or five, and they mentioned positively that he had not the slightest idea of attempting any aggression, but, on the contrary, had severely punished the late Dewangiri Rajah, and that he was confined in irons whilst they resided with him.

All other evidence seems to confirm this favourable account of the personal character of the Tongso Pillo, so that it would be very difficult to account for the tone of his late letters to me, which were full of threats and insolent defiance.

The same favourable account is given of the present Dewangiri Rajah, and his attempts to conciliate during the late misunderstandings appear to have been very praiseworthy. If we can trust to this information, we are, I think, on this frontier, likely to enjoy a freedom from any serious disturbances for some time to come.

7. Of the other great officers of the Bootan Government, I have little or no information; but I gather from these letters, and the little to be learnt by the zinkaffs, that the Dhurm Rajah has in great measure regained his power in the country; though, from an expression in the Deb Rajah's letter, the Para Pillo would still appear to be opposed to the officers at the head of the Government.

The acting Deb Rajah, or the officer who writes me in that capacity, seems to be a priest of high rank, who has unwillingly taken charge of secular affairs at the request of the Dhurm Rajah.

From the tenour of the letters of both these great officers, I am led to imagine the Tongso Pillo governs the Eastern Districts and Doars with almost independent authority.

The Thibetan trader alluded to by the Tongso Pillo, of the name of Oojil, who came from Llassa with the Mahometan merchants, unfortunately died here. He was an intelligent, well-informed man, and he fully confirmed the report of the other merchants as to the peaceable disposition of the Tongso Pillo.

A cousin, or other near relative; not a brother, as he gave out here.

8. On the whole, I see no reason against returning to our usual relations with the Booteah authorities on this frontier, that is within the extent of the Tongso Pillo's jurisdiction, or from the Monas West to Koriahparah Doar East. There seems good ground for ascribing the plunder of our ryots in Banska Doar entirely to the violent character of the late Dewangiri Rajah, who was besides irritated by the total failure of his deputation, and it was said he was further annoyed by want of that attention he expected from the Cacharee fiscal officers, whom the Booteahs are still inclined to treat as subordinate to themselves.

I fear the Tongso Pillo may be disappointed at the amount of the plundered property being deducted from their share of the revenue of the Doar, but I hope it will not lead to further quarrels.

Could I, however, be allowed to hold out hopes that the amount of 10,000 rupees now paid might be reconsidered by the Government, on the satisfactory behaviour of the Booteahs, at the expiration of another year, I should feel very confident of the Booteahs permanently surrendering all further claims on the Doars, and of our commencing an intercourse with them, through the influence of the Cashmere traders, who propose returning by this line, on much more intimate and mutually beneficial relations than have yet existed.

9. These merchants were at Llassa during our disputes with the Towang Rajah in 1852-53, and one or two of them accompanied the camp of the chiefs towards Assam, and acted as interpreters to the chiefs; and I am glad to say they report that the Llassa authorities were perfectly well satisfied with the manner in which our misunderstandings were adjusted; and this seems to be alluded to by an expression in the letter of the Dhurm Rajah, who has lately returned from Thibet.

10. I have not, in the paragraphs, adverted to the disturbances in our western frontiers—Rungpore and Gowalparah—the Booteah Doars in front of which are not under the jurisdiction of the Tongso Pillo; as I presume it may be more convenient to treat with the separate Vice-royalties of Bootan than with the general Government, in the anomalous state in which that Government seems to be.

The districts bordering on Rungpore and Gowalparah are, I believe, under the more immediate Government of the Deb Rajah; but whether the Deb Rajah, who has now addressed me, has gained authority over the Doar Rajahs, I am not informed.

The districts further west, bordering on Darjeeling and Denajpore, are under the Para Pillo, over whom the Supreme Government has not, it would appear, been able as yet to exercise its authority.

11. I would take this opportunity of bringing to notice that all the Booteah authorities seem to have come to a decision not to give up offenders at our demand, though they offer to punish such as are convicted of offences; and I would beg instructions, under these circumstances, what course is to be pursued in cases of aggression, as it would seem worse than useless to make demands for the surrender of criminals that we are not prepared to enforce.

What is wanting, I think, is a better understanding with the head of the Bootan Government, which might be effected by the deputation of an officer* to Bootan, if the internal state of the country should seem favourable to the measure; but without a restoration of power to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, we could not expect to effect much improvement in our relations with the subordinate authorities.

An intelligent person might, however, fish up much information that would be valuable to us, for we are now almost totally ignorant of what is taking place in a country so extensively connected with us.

From the Dhurm Rajah to the Agent Governor General.

After compliments,

I HAVE received the revenue of the Doars for the past year, amounting to 10,000 rupees, and also some cloths. You addressed me a letter regarding depredations committed by my people on the ryots, to which I was unable to give an early reply in consequence of having gone to Thacha Chasneyea to perform some religious ceremonies. I have now returned to my own house. The Tongso Soobah, from a former period, had control over seven Doars of the hills, and seven Doars of the plains; but for some years past you have taken possession of the Doars of the plains, and paid revenue for them to the Soobah; which I have received. The Tongso Soobah is an experienced and well-informed man; this I well know, and he is competent to conduct the affairs of a Raj. I have on these grounds given him the control of the seven Doars, and I regularly receive the revenue from him. The Soobah is a straightforward and upright man, and would be above committing an unworthy deed; he was not aware of the dacoity that had been committed on the boundary of the Doars, and the letter addressed by you to him he never received; he afterwards became aware of the circumstance through the Changar Deb Rajah, to whom you had written on the subject, and was not aware of it before. No dacoity could have been committed with his knowledge. The Soobah is a pious man, and it was owing to your having addressed a letter to the Deb Rajah, through the Puchim Doar, unknown to him, that he became enraged, and addressed you harshly on the subject; but I have written

* European or native.

to him to continue as formerly to hold friendly communication with you; and I have also written a strict letter to the Dewangiri Rajah, that the people of the Doars may not be oppressed or ill treated, and that on receipt of any letters from you to me, he was to forward them on with haste, and that no hindrance be given to traders going to and fro in the Doars, and so to manage his affairs that friendship may exist between you and the Tongso Soobah, that the people of both parties may enjoy peace and happiness; in his doing which I shall also be happy, for he is the Rajah on the boundary; and in this I require his assistance.

If the revenue of the Doars be sent to me either through the Eastern or Western Doar, I will receive it; and the 12,000 rupees proposed by you to be paid from this year, I agree to, for the ceremonies performed to the Namah Gooroo Deptah cannot be met with the 10,000 rupees; you will therefore be pleased to pay 12,000 rupees, and as usual send it through the Tongso Soobah, which I will receive. He is the Oodikār of the Sath Doars, and if the money be paid to the Dewangiri Rajah, the Soobah will receive it, and the receipt for the money will be sent you by him in the following year, and you will as usual take it from him.

I address the Dewangiri Rajah frequently, so to conduct his affairs that friendship may exist between you and the Tongso Soobah, and not to delay any of your letters, but forward them on with haste, for should any of them require an early reply, the Soobah must make inquiries of the Deb Rajah, and this cannot be done by deficient officers; his doing so will be of advantage to him as well as the Soobah. He is the Rajah on the boundary, and should there be any mismanagement, I will hold him to account; he should keep up friendly terms with the Soobah, and no doubt the Soobah will be interested in him; this I have desired him not to forget.

[Without date.]

From the Deb Rajah to the Agent Governor General.

After compliments,

I HAVE received your letter, forwarding a copy of the Tongso Soobah's disrespectful letter to you, and also a copy of one of little importance from the Dewangiri Rajah, with puttrochin, through the Soobah of Burra Buxa Dooar, on the 13th Bysak. On receipt of your letter I was glad, but on hearing the contents of its enclosures, I was much grieved.

The Bengallee Moonshee that was with me has been taken by the Para Pillo; and the cagotee that is now with me is very young, and cannot read properly; the letter received from you it took him two or three days to understand, and make known to me.

After the demise of the former Deb Raja, and on the return of the Dhurma Rajah from the Khampa* county, the people proposed that he should perform the duties of the Deb Rajah also, but he refused, as he was to perform some religious ceremony for three years, and gave me the power of the Deb Rajah. I was formerly the Nama Gooroo over all the Gelangs, and on getting old used merely to offer up prayers to the Deity, and it was from this that I was taken and appointed Deb Rajah; I am not, therefore, well conversant with the business of a Rajgee, and the letter received from you I took personally to the Dhurma Rajah, and made known to him all particulars; on which the Dhurma Rajah mentioned that your name was spoken of with praise, even in the Khampa county, and he directed me to write you such a letter that you may be pleased in favour to him to forgive all faults that may have been committed by the Rajahs under him, and has also advised the Tongso Soobah not to commit such an offence in future, and for him to ask your forgiveness for what he had done, and continue to hold a friendship with you. The Dewangiri Rajah has also been directed not again to behave as he has done, and I have written a letter to the Tongso Soobah reprimanding him. On representation of the Tongso Soobah, I sent for the revenue of the past year, with a letter to you, and also requested payment of the revenue for the current year. This letter, I believe, you must have received. You will in favour to us forgive the faults of all the petty Rajahs under us, and continue so keep up our former friendship. Should in future any disturbance take place on the boundary, please to write to the Tongso Soobah, who will forthwith settle any cause of dispute. Should he not, in accordance to your orders, you will then write to me. The seven upper eastern Doars, and the seven lower Doars, 14 Doars in all, are under the control and management of the Tongso Soobah; should there anything to be said regarding these Doars, the Soobah should be written to in the first instance. The Tongso Soobah is not a bad man, and he will, in accordance to my orders, respect and keep friendship with you. The revenue written for by the Dhurma Rajah please to send as soon as possible. I and the Dhurma Rajah are quite well.

* Thibet.

This letter is sent through Poona Kah. A Dharkah as puttrochin accompanies.

[Without date.]

From the Tongso Soobah, to the Agent Governor General.

After compliments,

You addressed a letter regarding me to the Deb Rajah *via* Buxar Dooar, and he has made known the same to the Dhurma Rajah, who being offended, has written to me, and has also sent a letter to you. I now make known to you all particulars. The Dewangiri Rajah went with the uncle of the Dhurma Rajah to pay you a visit at Gowhatti in the

past year, and in doing so, he may have committed some fault, owing to his or my bad fate. If you had at that time informed me of particulars, I would have apprehended the Khampa, the Batpahs, and the attendants of the Rajah, and the traders of the plains, and recovered the property plundered; not doing so, and addressing the Deb and Dhurmah Rajahs through the Western Doar unknown to me, you caused confusion, and no clue could be had of what became of the property, or who had taken it; this Deb Changa informed me of by a letter sent with a zinkoff, on receipt of which, I sent four zinkoffs to Dewangiri, with orders to seize and bring in the Dewangiri Rajah, and his people, and all the traders; not meeting with the latter, they merely brought in the Rajah and his people, and also attacked and brought away the Rajah's property. On their arrival, I threatened and punished them severely in various ways, but could not get them to confess to having committed any dacoity or plundering in the Company's territory; and on inspecting the property attached and brought in, no part of that said to have been stolen was found amongst it. In the meantime I was given to understand that the petty Rajahs subservient to the Deb and Dhurmah Rajahs had addressed you secretly, informing you that it would not be necessary to pay any revenue; placing reliance and belief in this, you blamed the Dewangiri Rajah of having committed depredations, and informed the Deb and Dhurmah Rajahs by letter through the Western Doar; that you had done so, I could not but believe, for if such had not been the case, you would have addressed me on the subject. In consequence of your having written to those Rajahs, twice the amount of money made mention of by you, had been demanded from me; and it was to ascertain from you who was to pay this amount that I addressed you a letter, and not that you should pay it. My letter writer or *cagotee* may have made some confusion in writing; I never purposely addressed you disrespectfully; on the contrary, I have always looked upon you as my father, yet you sent copies of mine, and the Dewangiri Rajah's letters, to the Deb Rajah through the Western Doar, and the Deb Rajah made known the contents to the Dhurmah Rajah, with whose orders the Deb Rajah addressed me very harsh letters, directing that I should apologise to you for my disrespectful letters, and keep in friendship with you, and obey all orders received from you. I never purposely committed any irregularity; this has been my first offence, and you will be pleased to forgive me, and should I in any way have offended the Sirkar Bahadoor, that you will also be pleased to pardon. We, Bootiahs, do not know how to write properly; should my *cagotee* at any time in future write anything improperly, you will be pleased to overlook and pardon any such irregularity. The Deb Rajah has written to me, saying that you have addressed him regarding a letter of Major Vetch's which the Dewangiri Rajah had not forwarded on to him. I therefore fined the Dewangiri Rajah 100 rupees, and warned him not to commit such an offence in future, under severe penalties; and at the same time desired him to look after the welfare of the people on the boundary, so that they be not oppressed or ill treated in any way. Should the Dewangiri Rajah, and his people whom I have confined with severity, and into whose misdoings I am making inquiries, confess to the crimes imputed to them, I will let you know, and you will be pleased to forgive all my offences, and pay the usual revenue to the zinkoffs that I have sent. You promised last year to the uncle of the Dhurmah Rajah, that you would from this year pay 12,000 rupees as revenue, and that you would get sanction for the same from the Governor General. Should the 12,000 rupees be sent, I will sign and seal any document you may write and send to me as an agreement, and return it to you; and from this time should there be any disturbance in these seven Doars, you will write a letter, and send a respectable man with it to me.

With, &c.
(signed) *Sobah Rajah.*

With a Dhurkah and Thongo as *puttrochin*.

From the Tongso Soobah to the Agent Governor General.

After compliments,

You are well aware of the friendship that has existed between us, and what am I to say? the ignorant traders and wicked people on the boundary having caused ill feeling between us by circulating false reports, was about breaking the friendship that had so long existed between us; but owing to my good fate, and your good wishes for a continuance of that friendship, some foreigners, traders from Cashmere, by name Ameer Meah, Abdool Gunnee, and Mahomed Sha, arrived here, and with them I deputed a trader of my country, by name Oojel, to you, with a letter, for the purpose of making known to you all I had to say, and that you may hear and understand from them all that was good or bad. Oojel having fallen sick, and being unable to return to me, addressed me a letter, saying that you were not offended with me for anything, except that I had demanded from you a share of the amount called for, from me, by the Dhurmah Rajah, but that if I should ask pardon for having done so, that you were willing to pay the revenue; and that you were offended with the Dewangiri Rajah for not having forwarded on your letter. This is what Oojel had written to me. Receiving the above letter, I addressed the Dhurmah Rajah, and made known to him all particulars, on which he sent a letter to your address, and one also to me, desiring that I should refrain from quarrelling with you, and that, should you be offended with anything that I had done, that I was to seek forgiveness from you, and warn the Rajah of the Doars so to conduct his affairs that the people on the boundary may not suffer from any depredations, and that on any letter
being

being received that was addressed to him by either a poor or a great person, that the same was to be forwarded on without delay; and this being my first offence, that he forgave me, but that I shall be severely punished if I commit any hereafter. I now, therefore, inform you that I did not knowingly commit any fault. My having written to you regarding a share of the demand made by the Dhurmah Rajah was not with the intention that you should pay that amount, but to acquaint you that during your absence some other officer, without informing me of anything that had occurred, had addressed a letter to the Deb Rajah, in consequence of which double the amount of money called for was demanded from me, and it was that you should decide whose fault it was owing to, and how I was to pay double the amount demanded, that I addressed you. Should I, in doing so, have offended you, I hope you will look upon me as your son, and pardon the offence, and not lay aside your fatherly feelings for me, for there are both good and wicked sons, yet the affection for neither can be repressed. I have become as your wicked son, and will you, in this my first offence, refuse to grant me pardon, and destroy me at once? I therefore beg you will so far favour us that the friendship existing between the Dhurmah Rajah and yourself may remain unbroken, and that your multifarious communications with me may remain uninterrupted. You will become aware of all facts from the Dhurmah Rajah's letter, in which he has, no doubt, said something about the revenue. When the Sath Doars of the plains were under my control, the religious ceremonies of the Deptahs were performed regularly and properly; but since these Doars have been taken possession of by you, and 10,000 rupees paid for them, the expense for such can barely be met. I therefore beg that you will take the letter of the Dhurmah Rajah, as well as my own, into your consideration, and grant 12,000 rupees annually. The Dhurmah Rajah has also written to me desiring that I should, after this year, grant receipts for that money; that he will do so no more. I am not a common man, but a Rajah under the Dhurmah Rajah.

[Without date.]

From the Dewangiri Rajah to the Agent Governor General.

After compliments,

THE Dhurmah Rajah has received the revenue sent for the past year, and also the broad cloth, &c., through his uncle Penger, and his letter to you in acknowledgment of the same, and he also writes for the revenue of the current year. With the above letter there came one from the Tongsah Soobah, and the Tongsah Soobah writes to me saying that the Dhurmah Rajah has issued orders on him for me to transmit, without delay, any letters that may come to my hands for them, and should there be any disturbance on the boundary, for me to institute proper inquiries into it; and if there be anything wrong, that you will be severely punished, and I now make known to you my wishes. I am a dependent of the Tongsah Soobah, and as you look upon me as your son, and in affection for me grant all that I wish and ask for, I do not receive such from the Soobah. The faults that I may have committed, you will in favour to me be pleased to forgive them, and so act that the friendship between you and my superior Rajahs may remain unbroken, for on a friendship between you both depends our and the ryots comfort and happiness. All particulars are made mention of in the Dhurmah Rajah and Tongsah Soobah's letters, and zinkaffs have been sent for the revenue of the current year; be pleased to send it without delay.

Dated 11 Bysack.

(True translations.)

(signed) *F. Jenkins,*
Agent Governor General.

(Foreign Department.—No. 3839 of 1856.)

From *G. F. Edmonstone*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to
C. T. Buckland, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated
Fort William, the 16 July 1856.

No. 21.

Sir,

I HAVE received and laid before the Governor General in Council your letter dated the 1st Instant, No. 3, acknowledging the instructions of the Government of India, conveyed in my despatch, dated the 25th ultimo, No. 3511, for exacting reparation from the Bootan authorities for a new aggression committed by them, and forwarding a copy of a letter received, simultaneously with those instructions from the Agent to the Governor General in the North-east frontier, dated the 3d ultimo, No. 57, reporting that the Dhurma and Deb Rajahs, the Tongso Pillo and the Dewangiri Rajah, have all made apologies for their previous misconduct, and recommending (without any reference to the subsequent case of Arung Singh) that he may be permitted to resume his correspondence with the Tongso Pillo as heretofore.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General in Council concurs in the views of the Lieutenant Governor as expressed in paras. 6 and 7 of your despatch under acknowledgment, and requests that orders may be addressed accordingly to Colonel Jenkins at once, in reply to his despatch dated the 3d ultimo, No. 57.

3. His Lordship in Council observes that this letter from Colonel Jenkins has crossed the instructions authorised to be made to him in my letter dated the 25th ultimo, No. 3511, on the case of the recent seizure and abduction of Arung Singh, a zemindar, from within British territory, by a party of Booteahs. But as it appears from para. 10 of Colonel Jenkins's letter, that that aggression came from a part of the Booteah Doars which are not subject to the Tongso Pillo (to whose relations with the Government of India on other matters the present letter from Colonel Jenkins relates), there is no reason for suspending instructions upon the reference now before the Government.

4. Seeing, however, that Colonel Jenkins himself is not very certain of the extent of the Tongso Pillo's authority, his Lordship in Council requests that the Agent be cautioned not to act upon such instructions in such a way and at such a time as to interfere with the carrying out of those which will have reached him previously.

EXTRACT POLITICAL LETTER from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated 11th November (No. 41), 1857.

2. In the opinion of the local authorities, the robberies and dacoities committed by Booteahs in British territory were organised by the Dewangiri Rajah, a relative of the Tongso Pillo, the chief Booteah authority on the frontier, and at least connived at by the Tongso Pillo himself. On receiving a representation from Colonel Jenkins, the Deb Rajah removed the Dewangiri Rajah from office, and imposed on the Tongso Pillo

Foreign letter, dated 20 September (No. 97) 1856, p. 260 to 281.

Foreign letter, dated 21 March (No. 19) 1857, p. 176 to 182.

Proceedings respecting aggressions by Booteahs on the Banska Doar.

a fine of double the amount stated to have been plundered. On this the Tongso Pillo addressed insolent and threatening letters to Colonel Jenkins. An apology was demanded, and, by command of the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, was tendered. The usual intercourse was thereupon resumed, and the amount of the property actually plundered was deducted from the payment due to Bootan on account of the Doars. After such conduct, however, on the part of the Booteahs, and after a Zemindar named Arung Sing, who had taken up his residence in our territory, had been forcibly carried off by Booteahs (though the latter were under a different jurisdiction from that of the Tongso Pillo), we should not have been disposed to encourage hopes that the payment for the Doars would be increased from 10,000 rupees per annum to 12,000 rupees; and we cannot consent that this should be done until full redress has been obtained for the seizure of Arung Sing, nor unless the behaviour of the Booteahs shall have given no cause of complaint for at least the period of a year, as proposed by Colonel Jenkins.

EXTRACT FOREIGN LETTER from the Government of India to the Court of Directors, No. 56, dated 8 September 1857.

1857.
Cons. 23 January,
10 to 13.
Cons. 17 April,
62 to 65.

Para. 182. THE Bengal Government in acknowledging receipt of the instructions conveyed in our Secretary's letter of 25th June 1856,* for exacting reparation from the Bootan authorities for a new aggression committed by them, forwarded a copy of a letter received simultaneously with those instructions from the Agent to the Governor General on the north-east frontier, dated 3d June, reporting that the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, the Tongso Pillo, and the Dewangiri Rajah, had all made apologies for their previous misconduct; and recommending (without any reference to the subsequent case of Arung Sing) that he might be permitted to resume his correspondence with the Tongso Pillo

as

* Letter, No. 97, of 1856, paragraphs 260 to 281.

as heretofore. Colonel Jenkins proposed to deduct the value of the plundered property (now estimated at 2,868 rupees) from the Bootan share of the Doar revenue of 10,000 rupees. He also referred to the anxious desire expressed by the Bootan authorities that the revenue of the Doars should be raised from 10,000 to 12,000 rupees per annum, and he requested that he might be allowed to hold out hopes to them that the amount of 10,000 rupees now paid would be reconsidered by the Government on the satisfactory behaviour of the Booteahs at the expiration of another year; observing that he felt confident that the Booteahs would permanently surrender all further claims on the Doars, and that an intercourse with them might be commenced on much more intimate and mutually beneficial relations than had yet existed. He finally recommended that an officer should be deputed to Bootan (if the internal state of the country should seem favourable to the measure), in order to promote a better understanding with the head of the Bootan Government. The Lieutenant Governor recommended the suggestions made by Colonel Jenkins, with the exception of his proposal to depute an officer to visit Bootan. Their adoption would, however, be entirely dependent on full satisfaction being afforded for the more recent aggression in carrying off Arung Sing from the British territories. In paragraph 11 of his letter dated 3d June, Colonel Jenkins applied for instructions as to the course to be pursued by him in cases of aggression; as it would, in his opinion, be worse than useless to make demands for the surrender of criminals that we would not be prepared to enforce. The Lieutenant Governor remarked that he was not aware of any circumstance that would justify Colonel Jenkins in presuming that the Government of India was not fully prepared to enforce any demand for the surrender of a criminal from the Bootan Government which had been made by a proper authority in a case of sufficient gravity to justify such a measure.

183. In reply, we concurred in the views of the Lieutenant Governor, and requested that orders might be addressed to Colonel Jenkins at once. We observed that the letter from the Agent, north-east frontier, had crossed the instructions authorised to be made to him in our Secretary's letter of the 25th June, on the case of the seizure and abduction of Arung Sing by Booteahs; but that as it appeared from paragraph 10 of Colonel Jenkins's letter that that aggression came from a part of the Booteahs' Doars which are not subject to the Tongso Pillo (to whose relations with the Government of India, on other matters, the letter from Colonel Jenkins related), there was no reason for suspending instructions upon the reference then before us. Seeing, however, that Colonel Jenkins himself was not very certain of the extent of the Tongso Pillo's authority, we requested that the Agent should be cautioned not to act upon such instructions in such a way, and at such a time, as to interfere with the carrying out of those which would have reached him previously.

Dated 16 July
1856.

184. Subsequently the Bengal Government forwarded a letter from the Agent reporting the reply which had been returned by the Deb Rajah to the representation made, under our instructions of 25th June and 16th July, respecting the aggression committed upon British territory, in the violent abduction of Arung Sing. The reply of the Deb Rajah was not satisfactory. He admitted the act, and defended it, on the ground that the person carried off was a servant of his own who had offended; and no notice was taken of the demand for an apology and for the punishment of the aggressors upon British territory.

6 December 1856.

185. There was a further letter from the Deb Rajah in answer to a demand that he should direct certain persons charged with murder upon British territory, to be made over to the British authorities, which was equally unsatisfactory. This gave additional proof of the tone which this personage was disposed to take towards the Government of India.

186. It became necessary to decide what steps should be taken towards the execution of the threat which had been given to the Booteah Rajah.

187. The political condition of the country was very little known to us. We were not sure in whose hands the chief authority rested, or whether there was any effective chief authority. We did not even know where the jurisdiction of the different subordinate rulers along our own frontier began, and Colonel Jenkins stated that the contention for the Supreme Government, which appeared to have

existed for many years amongst the principal families of the country still continued, but that he was not certain how far the authority of the Dhurm Rajah and Deb Rajah (who seemed to be colleagues, with co-ordinate powers) extended. He was not sure that there were not two Deb Rajahs; and the Tongso Pillo, who was nominally a minister of these Rajahs, was believed by Colonel Jenkins to be, in his own district, almost independent. We have had occasion more than once to complain of this last functionary's conduct, and of his insolence to the officers of the British Government, but amends had been made, so far as he was concerned, and the offence for which atonement had now to be exacted appeared to have been committed from a part of the Bootan territory where his authority did not run, although it was certainly under that of his masters, the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs. The boundary of the Tongso Pillo's jurisdiction was, according to Colonel Jenkins, the Monass River. East of this the Tongso Pillo governs more or less authoritatively, and east of this lie the Doars, which we have already taken into our hands, and from the revenues of which we pay an annual allowance to the Bootan Government. West of it, in the districts bordering upon Goalpara and Rungpore, Colonel Jenkins believed the Government to be more directly in the hands of the Deb Rajah; and it was to a place in these districts, Balka Doar, 30 or 40 miles west of the Monass, that Arung Sing had been carried. But in truth, considering that Bootan is a neighbouring state; that the country has a government of some sort, and established rulers; and that our intercourse with the people is constant, and on the whole not unfriendly; our knowledge of its condition was curiously imperfect. We considered it necessary that this fact should be strongly pressed upon the notice of Colonel Jenkins. Meanwhile, it was not the less necessary to act; and as the first step, we deemed it expedient that a regiment of native infantry should be sent to Rungpore, the point which most effectually threatened the Western or Bengal Doars, and which was without any troops, whilst at Goalpara there was only a detachment of an Assam battalion. The necessary orders for sending a regiment to Rungpore were directed to be issued accordingly from the Military Department.

188. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was told that having done this, we would still avoid, if possible, not only a collision with the Booteahs, but the incumbrance of an additional charge of territory, which, although productive, was described as formidably unhealthy to native as well as to European troops, and the retention of which by peaceable neighbours we would greatly prefer to the occupation and administration of it by ourselves. In this view we thought it worth consideration whether the pressure which it was proposed to apply to the Bootan Government, by seizing the Western or Bengal Doars, might not be equally applied by withholding that portion (10,000 rupees) of the proceeds of the Eastern Doars which was annually remitted to Bootan. The answer would depend, we observed, upon the degree to which the Eastern Doars were independent of the Western Doars. In strictness, we would be justified in dealing with the whole country and its government as one, and in recognising no division of authority or interests from one end of Bootan to the other. But to act upon this view might not only fail of success, but prove practically unjust. It was not certain that the withholding of money conceded from the revenues of the districts under the Government of the Tongso Pillo would be a matter of concern to his fellow Governors further west, or to any superior authority; and it might be that the Tongso Pillo would be powerless in the present case to obtain for us the satisfaction which was required. The doubt was one which could be cleared up only on the spot, and we were desirous that this should be done before any other steps than that of moving the regiment to Rungpore were taken.

189. The Lieutenant Governor was about to proceed to that part of Bengal, and was expected to be in personal communication with Colonel Jenkins. Our views, as expressed above, were therefore made known to him, in order that he might furnish us with all the information which he might be able to obtain as to the true condition and relation to each other of the Bootan authorities on our border.

190. In his reply, dated the 5th March, the Lieutenant Governor stated that the impression left on his mind by his communications with Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins

Jenkins, and with the better-informed natives or residents of the north-east frontier, and of Cooch Behar, with whom he was enabled to confer, was that the Central Government of Bootan did, under ordinary circumstances, exercise an effective control over the subordinate Provincial Governors or Soobahs; but that the degree of this control was liable to variation, according to the state of parties at the seat of the Central Government, and had, in fact, during some years past, and up to a recent time, been greatly impaired by contentions regarding the office of Deb Rajah.

191. The Government of Bootan, the Lieutenant Governor observed, was exercised as to spiritual matters by the Dhurm Rajah and his conclave of priests, and as to temporal matters by the Deb Rajah, who is elected or appointed from time to time from among certain great functionaries of State. The late or present Deb Rajah was said to have been an usurper, and upheld by a party in opposition to the party of the Dhurm Rajah. Hence there had been much irregularity in the Central Government, but it was reported that the rebel or usurping Deb Rajah had demised, and that a new Deb Rajah had been placed in office, with the entire assent and agreement of the party of the Dhurm Rajah, and it was supposed that this change of administration was likely to be favourable to the cause of order and good government on the frontier. While each Doar and several sub-divisions of Doars had respectively their own local governors, it seemed that the eastern territory is under the general rule of a functionary called the Tongso Pillo, and the western under the Paro Pillo. Several central Doars, including the Doars concerned in the abduction of Arung Sing and of Ramdoolall, are more immediately under the Deb Rajah, without the intervention of either Tongso or Paro Pillo; but each Doar has its assigned Soubah or local governor.

192. The recent acts of outrage in our territory and in that of Cooch Behar, were believed to have been directed or connived at by chiefs immediately subject to the Deb Rajah, and more closely connected with the Paro Pillo or western governor, than with the Tongso Pillo, who, in the judgment of Colonel Jenkins, was now desirous of conducting himself amicably towards the British Government, and had no concern in any recent offences.

193. The Lieutenant Governor remarked, that without pretending to have arrived at any very accurate knowledge of the subject, he had been led to adopt the opinion of Colonel Jenkins, that it was not advisable at present to proceed to the coercion of the Central Government by the stoppage of the payment made through the Tongso Pillo out of the revenue of the Assam Doars. That such a measure would be ultimately felt by the Deb Rajah, the Lieutenant Governor was fully disposed to believe; but would, he remarked, probably fall more heavily, as it would also fall primarily, on the Tongso Pillo, who was well disposed, and with whom it was advisable to preserve amicable relations. But the Lieutenant Governor saw no good reason for altogether resigning this method of affecting the Deb Rajah, and he said that he would be ready hereafter to advise that the subsidy in question should be stopped after fair notice to the Tongso Pillo, if the Central Government should fail to give satisfaction, and if other approved modes of coercion should be found insufficient. There had, however, been some indications, from which it was inferred that the offences of which we complained were about to be in some measure atoned for, in consequence of our remonstrances and subsequent military movements.

194. Various endeavours had been made by the heads of villages in the country opposite to Julpigoree to persuade the British authorities to invade the Doars, and free them from the oppressive government of Bootan. Messages to that effect had been sent across, and a deputation of heads of villages attempted to see the Lieutenant Governor, probably with that object; but he had declined to give them an interview. Assurances were conveyed through our own subjects, that the people of the Doars were very anxious to come under our rule; and it was said that a very little encouragement would induce the people of the Doars to rise upon the present rulers. But these and similar communications were not encouraged by the Lieutenant Governor. On the other hand, various reports were current that our threats and military movements had sensibly affected the Central Government, so that they had sent down armed men from the Hills to garrison their forts or stockades, and the idea of the people on our side of the boundary was, that the Booteahs were alarmed for their possessions. But these

movements of the Booteah troops had occasioned much apprehension in the Rungpore frontier villages.

195. In this state of affairs, the season being too far advanced for any active operations, it was the opinion of Colonel Jenkins, in which the Lieutenant Governor expressed his concurrence, that a communication should be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, through both the Paro and Tongso Pillors, in such a manner as to make them aware of its purport, solemnly warning them against trifling with the forbearance of the British Government, and for the last time calling upon them to deliver up Arung Sing and Ramdoolall, or abide such measures as the British Government may, on failure of full satisfaction, adopt on its own account towards the vindication of its rights and power.

196. The information embodied in the letter from the Bengal Government, dated 5th March, as the result of the Lieutenant Governor's visit to the Bootan frontier, and of his personal communications with the Governor General's Agent on the north-east frontier, was new and important. It supplied a deficiency which had hitherto made it difficult and hazardous to come to any conclusion as to the best mode of meeting the aggressions which the Booteahs had recently committed beyond their own boundary. It gave a hope that our just demands upon the Government of Bootan may be responded to; and it establishes, beyond a doubt, the measures which should be taken if this hope should be disappointed.

197. Having regard to the change which had taken place in the persons composing the Government in Bootan and apparent in the temper of those authorities, we entirely concurred in the suggestion of the Lieutenant Governor, that one more demand should be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs (the Tongso and Paro Pillors being made aware of it) for the delivery of the two persons, Arung Sing and Ramdoolall, lately abducted, adding the warning that if the demand should fail of success, the Government of India would take measures, at its own pleasure, for enforcing it.

198. It was evident that if measures of force should become necessary, the first to be adopted should be the seizure, in permanent possession, of the tract of country which the Bootan Government held on this side of the Teesta, and which was ceded to them more than 70 years ago. This district is already held by our officers in farm. This step, we observed, would put no encumbrance upon us, although it would be a loss and a humiliation to Bootan; and if when the time comes there should be reason to think that it would not be sufficiently coerced, the occupation and retention of the Julpeah district, beyond the Teesta, but not reaching to the Doars, would be open to us. The Julpeah district formerly belonged to the Zemindary of Rungpore; therefore the re-annexation of it to the British territory appeared to be a very natural mode of punishing the Government which now holds it. This could be effected, in the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor, without any risk to the health of the troops and others engaged on the measure, and without embarrassing ourselves with holding and defending an inhospitable country, such as the Doars, close under the Bootan Hills. Meanwhile, the Lieutenant Governor was requested to direct that a fresh demand should be made upon the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, taking care that nothing be said which shall in any degree hamper the Government of India in determining hereafter when and how it shall act in the event of the demand being refused.

199. The Lieutenant Governor was informed that he had acted with sound judgment in refraining from receiving a deputation from the Booteah villages, and from encouraging invitations to send British troops into the territory of Bootan.

(Judicial.—No. 3080.)

EXTRACT, Fort William, Foreign Consultation, dated 23d January 1857.

From *C. T. Buckland*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, 6th December 1856.

No. 10.

Sir,

WITH reference to the recent correspondence with the Government of India as noted in the margin,* I am desired by the Lieutenant Governor to forward, for the consideration and orders of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, a copy of a letter, No. 125, of 13th ultimo, from the Agent in the north-east frontier, and of its enclosures, showing the reply made by the Bootan authorities to the demand for the surrender of Arung Sing, and of the parties charged with the murder and dacoity which occurred at Shaftabarri, as well as the measures which Colonel Jenkins recommends for adoption in consequence.

2. I am directed to forward, at the same time, a copy of another letter from Colonel Jenkins, No. 130, of the 21st ultimo, and of its enclosure reporting two cases, one of the detention of a British subject by the Bootan authorities, and another of the violent abduction of two men and their wives from the Cooch Behar Rajah's territory.

(No. 125 of 1856.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *C. T. Buckland*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Foreign Department, Fort William; dated Gowhatty, 15th November 1856.

No. 11.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letters Nos. 252 and 253†, both of the 1st August last, and the instructions conveyed in the annexed correspondence from the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, I have the honour to forward a translation of a letter from the Deb Rajah of Bootan, of the 11th Kartick, in reply to mine of the 15th August to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, demanding the restoration of Arung Sing, late Jemadar of Gooma, and informing them of the determination of the Right Honourable the Governor General to annex the Bengal Doars in case of their not complying to make atonement for the abduction of Arung Sing.

2. I take this opportunity of also submitting a reply from the Deb Rajah, of the 28th Assin, to my letter demanding him to direct the Mynahgooree Soobah to make over to the magistrate of Rungpore, the persons charged with murder and dacoity at Shaftabarri in that zillah.

3. I beg likewise to advert to the translations of the magistrates and deputy magistrates of Rungpore, forwarded with my letter, No. 122, of the 4th instant, to the address of Mr. Secretary Grey, as showing the disturbed state of our frontier from the misgovernment of the Booteah Soobahs in charge of the Doars.

4. To the best of my judgment, there is no reasonable expectation that any reform of the management of their districts on the plains will be effected by the Government of Bootan. The contention which appears to have existed for so many years among the chief families of Bootan for the supreme government of the country, appears to be still continued; and I am just informed by the Tongso Pillo, as a reason for my not receiving an answer from the Dhurm Rajah, that this officer has retired from Government to devote the next five years to spiritual ceremonies for the good of his country. It is probable he is set aside, for it is only lately that he returned from Thibet, to which he was said to have gone on pilgrimage; but I imagine he really fled there for refuge from the officer now acting as Deb Rajah.

His absence from the Government may be further inferred by my only receiving replies from the Deb Rajahs on this occasion, contrary to the usual custom.

5. As these letters of the Deb Rajah seem to me to be entirely evasive of the demand made upon the Bootan Government, and most unsatisfactory, I would beg to submit that further references to the authorities who rule in Bootan would seem to be useless, and that we have no alternative but to take measures to obtain redress for, and the prevention of, the constant outrages committed by the subordinate Booteah officers on our subjects; and the only measure which promises to be effective is the annexation of the Bengal Doars.

6. The

* Letter No. 3,511, dated 25th June 1856, from Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department; Letter No. 3, dated 1st July, to Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department; Letter No. 3,880, dated 16th July, from Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department.

† Your letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, No. 3, of the 1st July, and in reply of Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's, No. 3,889, of 16th July.

To Mr. Secretary
Grey.

6. The adoption of this measure was contemplated by the Most Noble the Governor General, with reference to the robberies committed on the Assam frontier by the followers of the Dewangiri Rajah, as communicated in Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's letter, No. 186, of the 11th January 1856, in case of the recurrence of such outrages, and again by the Right Honourable the Governor General in the Secretary's letter, No. 3511, of the 25th June last,* should adequate atonement not be made for the abduction of Arung Sing from his residence in our Pergunnah Ghoorlah.

The Tongso Pillo has indeed made an apology which has been considered sufficient for the first offences, which were committed by officers under his superintendence, but the Deb Rajah has only made an evasive answer to the just demands of Government, with reference to the seizure of Arung Sing, which was effected by officers directly under his control; nor has he afforded any redress for the outrages committed in Zillah Rungpore, which were also committed by persons within his own special jurisdiction, and it appears to me that in connection with a long series of outrages preceding, there has been sufficient cause shown for carrying out the measures proposed by the Government.

7. The Doars now adverted to embrace a very large tract of country from the Monas River (the boundary of the Gawalparah District) to the Teesta River District, under the superintendence of Darjeeling, consisting generally of very fertile plains, of which the eastern portion, from the Teesta River to the Monas, is almost entirely abandoned from the misrule of the Booteah Government; the only district which of late has been comparatively populated was Doar Goonah, before the frontier soobahs drove off Arung Singh by their dreadful system of extortion.

The large Doars of Bijnee and Sidlee are literally rendered desolate, and within this week the magistrate of Gawalparah has sent me a private letter from the Rajah of Sidlee, to the effect that the oppressions of the Booteahs were beyond all endurance, and the man who delivered it said that the object of his master was to prevail on us to take possession of the country; but that if his communication was by any means made known to the Booteahs, his life would be endangered.

8. No doubt the annexation would be considered a mercy by all the inhabitants of the country, and though we should have their entire good will to assist us in this occupation, our Government might find still some difficulty in effecting the quiet possession of the Doars. The chief obstacle to our giving effectual protection to the people of these tracts arises out of their extreme unhealthiness to strangers (and to such men as compose our troops), and the consequent difficulty of guarding the passes on the border of the hills along the most pestilential districts of these Doars, everywhere more or less unwholesome; so that whilst the Booteahs would have the power of making incursions by the numerous passes, which I see no means we have of effectually blockading, our protection of the inhabitants would be nearly nominal, and the country might be kept so greatly disturbed as to render them unproductive, and to force us to the further necessity of invading the hills.

9. That the Booteahs would resent the occupation of the Doars to the utmost, if not allowed any participation in the revenue, is almost certain, as they are almost entirely dependent on the Doars for grain and clothes. I should therefore think it expedient, on all accounts, to allow them a portion of the revenue, and by doing so I think it likely we shall prevent their attempting to make any reprisals; and I am further clearly of opinion that this arrangement will be advisable in an economical point of view, as they might otherwise make the Doars useless to us by the constant alarms to the cultivators, and the necessity of maintaining a large body of military and police.

10. I would therefore, on the assumption of the Doars, most strongly recommend that we should at once proclaim that we had been obliged to occupy the Doars from the misrule of the soobahs in charge of them; but that we proposed admitting the Booteah Government to a share in the revenue, as has been done with the Assam Doars; and under these circumstances I think it is probable we shall succeed in the peaceful occupation of the Doars, and not drive the Booteahs to the extremity of forcing us to make a conquest of the hill country.

From the Deb Rajah of Bootan to the Agent, Governor General;
dated 11th Kartick, 347 S.

After compliments,

ON our seizing and taking away Arung Sing Chowdry this year, you wrote to me a letter dated 25th Bysack, which I received on or about the 8th or 10th Kartick, and became acquainted with its contents as regards the Chowdry's seizure, according to the request of the Dhurmah Rajah. Several mooktars were sent to Assam for the purchase of dried fish, and they on their way stopped for a night at Arung Sing Chowdry's house, who beat them and seized all the property they had, and therefore I had him seized and brought to me. I have not done any injury to any one of your subjects; it is well known that the Chowdry has been for many years a zemindar of Bootan, and not a subject of your territory. It was to make inquiries into the circumstances of this case that the Chowdry was seized. I have not treated him harshly, nor have I put him in irons; it is only to investigate the case that I have

* As quoted in Mr. Secretary Grey's, No. 252, of the 1st August 1856.

I have detained the mooktars and the Chowdry. You have written me to release the zemindar and send him back, and that it will not bewell if I do not do so. The zemindar has all along been a servant of mine, and you write to say that there will be a quarrel if he is not sent back. I have not done any injury to a subject of your territory. There is no power greater than that exercised by the Honourable Company and the Dhurmah Rajah, and being on friendly terms it is not proper to write about such trifles; but if the zemindar has written to you, you will let me know, for even his doing so was improper.

From the Deb Rajah of Bootan to the Agent to the Governor General; dated the 10th Kartick, 347 S., corresponding with the 28th Assin, 1263 B.S.

After compliments,

I RECEIVED your letter of the 23d Bysack on or about the 8th or 10th Kartick, and have become acquainted with its contents. I wrote you a letter some time before, regarding the Shaftabarri dacoity case, and you must ere this have become aware of it. The wicked and evil-disposed people of your territory enter into mine and commit serious depredations, and I have written you to apprehend and send them to me, whether they be Booteahs or not, or else inquire into their cases yourself. You now address me regarding the Shaftabarree dacoity case, and accuse the Katma of Mynagooree Syapeigoo of bad practices. I therefore sent a zinkaff with a written letter to make inquiries on the subject, and learnt that some intriguing people of Shaftabaree entered my territory and constructed forts and stockades in Boothallee and other places, and commenced fighting with my people, and that the Katma had driven them out of my jurisdiction; on which they had burnt their houses, and given out all manner of evil reports about the Katma. I now write to inform you, that the evil-disposed and wicked people of your territory enter into mine and annually commit depredations, which is not proper. You are the ruler of the territory, and will make inquiries regarding this. The Honourable Company and the Dhurmah Rajah have always been on friendly terms with one another, and it is these designing people that cause ill feeling between us. I have written to the Katma of Mynagooree, and sent a zinkaff with my orders on this subject, requesting him to make all necessary inquiries, and you will also keep the people in that quarter under proper control. The people of Shaftabaree commit depredation and blame the Mynagooree Katma and the people of Bootan. This is very improper.

(True Translation.)

(signed) *F. Jenkins,*
Agent to the Governor General.

(No. 130, of 1856.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *C. F. Buckland*, Esq, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Judicial Department, Fort William; dated Gowhatty, 21st November 1856.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter, No. 125, of the 15th instant, and with reference to the second and third paragraphs, I beg to bring to notice that the magistrate of Rungpore has reported another instance in which the Soobah of Mynagooree Door has refused compliance with his requisition for the release of a British subject detained, viz., a merchant, Salgaram Oswal, who had proceeded to the post of the Soobah to trade, and who has been detained under the false pretence, as the magistrate alleges, of having property in deposit belonging to a subject of Bootan.

I have written to endeavour to effect his release.

2. There is also just reported by the Government Vakeel of Cooch Behar a case of violent abduction of two men and their wives from the Rajah's territories, accompanied by much ill-treatment.

The particulars of this case have not yet been reported to me by the Surbarakar, but I have no reason to doubt its substantial correctness, and such incidents are not rare, the people on the frontier being carried off under pretence of debts, and detained till ransomed by presents to the Booteah officers.

I beg to append a copy of the magistrate's letter * regarding the charge made against Salgaram Oswal.

* No. 325, dated
10 Nov. 1856.

(No. 325.)

From the Officiating Magistrate, Rungpore, to the Agent Governor General, North-East Frontier, Gowhatty; dated Rungpore, 10th November 1856.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter, No. 454, of 12th September 1856, I have the honour to inform you that from inquiries made by the police, it appears that the assertion of the Soobah that the trader in question held certain articles of Chya Phyoo, deceased, appears not to be true. The report of the Darogah, with the evidence taken by him, is sent herewith in original.

No. 12.

MINUTE by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India (concurred in by the Members of the Board), dated the 15th January 1857.

BOOTAN.

THE instructions issued by the Government of India on the 25th of June and 16th of July respectively, on the aggression committed upon British territory in the violent abduction of Arung Sing by a party of armed Booteahs, have been executed through the Government of Bengal, but have not produced the desired effect.

The correspondence of the Governor General's Agent on the north-east frontier, submitted by the Government of Bengal, reports the reply which has been returned by the Deb Rajah to the representation made under the above instructions.

That representation was addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs jointly.

It sets forth the facts of the case, and demanded from them the punishment of the offenders, and an apology for the acts of their dependants; and it warned them that if atonement were not made, the Government of India would hold itself free to take permanent possession of the Bengal Doars.

The reasons for which this language was held, and not that of simple remonstrances, are already on record.

The reply of the Deb Rajah is not satisfactory. He admits the act, and defends it on the ground that the person carried off is a servant of his own who has offended; and no notice is taken of the demand for an apology and for the punishment of the aggressors upon British territory.

There is a further letter from the Deb Rajah, in answer to a demand that he should direct certain persons charged with murder upon British territory to be made over to the British authorities; which is equally unsatisfactory. It does not relate to the matter now in hand, but it gives an additional proof of the tone which this personage is disposed to take towards the Government of India.

It now becomes necessary to decide what steps shall be taken towards the execution of the threat which has been given to the Bootan Rajah.

The political condition of the country is very little known to us. We are not sure in whose hands the chief authority rests, or whether there is any effective chief authority. We do not even know where the jurisdictions of the different subordinate rulers along our own frontier begin and end. The Governor General's agent informs us that the contention for the supreme government, which appears to have existed for many years amongst the principal families of the country, still continues; but he is not certain how far the authority of the Dhurm Rajah and Deb Rajah (who seem to be colleagues with co-ordinate powers) extends; he is not sure that there are not two Deb Rajahs; and the Tongso Pillo, who is nominally a minister of these rajahs, is believed by Colonel Jenkins to be, in his own district, almost independent. We have had occasion more than once, and had long ago, to complain of this functionary's conduct, and of his insolence to the officers of the British Government; but amends have been made so far as he is concerned; and the offence for which atonement has now to be exacted appears to have been committed from a part of the Bootan territory where his authority does not run, although it is certainly under that of his masters, the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs. The boundary of the Tongso Pillo's jurisdiction is, according to Colonel Jenkins, the Monass river. East of this the Tongso Pillo governs more or less authoritatively; and east of this lie the Doars which we have already taken into our hands, and from the revenues of which we pay an annual allowance to the Bootan Government. West of it, in the districts bordering upon Goalpara and Rungpore, Colonel Jenkins believes the Government to be more directly in the hands of the Deb Rajah; and it is to a place in these districts, Balka Doar, 30 or 40 miles west of the Monass, that Arung Sing was carried.

But in truth, considering that Bootan is a neighbouring state, that the country has a government of some sort and established rulers, and that our intercourse with the people is constant and, on the whole, not unfriendly, our knowledge of its condition is curiously imperfect. I consider it necessary to press this fact strongly upon the notice of the Governor General's Agent.

Meanwhile, it is not less necessary to act; and, as the first step, I propose that
a regiment

a regiment of native infantry be immediately sent to Rungpore, the point which most effectually threatens the Western or Bengal Doars, but which is now without any troops, whilst at Goalpara there is only a detachment of an Assam battalion. The 6th Regiment, now stationed at Jumaulpore, may without inconvenience or risk be withdrawn for this purpose.

Having done this, I would still avoid, if possible, not only a collision with the Booteahs, but the encumbrance of an additional charge of territory, which, although productive, is described as formidably unhealthy to native as well as to European troops, and the retention of which by peaceable neighbours I should greatly prefer to the occupation or administration of it by ourselves. In this view I think it worth consideration whether the pressure which it is proposed to apply to the Bootan Government by seizing the Western or Bengal Doars may not be equally applied by withholding that portion (10,000 rupees) of the proceeds of the Eastern Doars, which is now annually remitted to Bootan.

The answer will depend upon the degree to which the Government of the Eastern Doars is independent of that of the Western Doars. In strictness the Government of India would be justified in dealing with the whole country and its Government as one, and in recognising no division of authority or interests from one end of Bootan to the other. But to act upon this view might not only fail of success, but might prove practically unjust. It is not certain that the withholding of money conceded from the revenues of the districts under the Government of the Tongso Pillo would be a matter of concern to his fellow governors further west, or to any superior authority; and it may be that the Tongso Pillo would be powerless in the present case to obtain for the Government of India the satisfaction which is required.

The doubt is one which can be cleared up only on the spot, and I propose that this shall be done before any other step than that of moving the regiment to Rungpore be taken.

The Lieutenant Governor is about to proceed to that part of Bengal, and will be very shortly in personal communication with Colonel Jenkins. I submit that the views of the Government of India should be made known to his Honour, with a request that he will furnish to the Governor General in Council all the information which he may be able to obtain as to the true condition and relation to each other of the Bootan authorities on our border.

(signed) *Canning.*

I concur,

16th January 1857.

(signed) *J. Dorin.*

16th January 1857.

J. Low.

19th January 1857.

J. P. Grant.

19th January 1857.

B. Peacock.

(Foreign Department.—No. 263.)

From *G. F. Edmonstone*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Fort William, 20 January 1857.

No. 13.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch dated the 6th ultimo, No. 3,080, and its enclosures from the Agent to the Governor General on the north-east frontier, reporting the reply which has been returned by the Deb Rajah to the representation made under the instructions issued by the Government of India on the 25th June and 16th of July last, respecting an aggression committed upon British territory in the violent abduction of Arung Sing by a party of armed Booteahs.

2. That representation was addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs jointly. It stated the facts of the case, and demanded from them the punishment of the offenders,

offenders, and an apology for the acts of their dependents; and it warned them that if atonement were not made, the Government of India would hold itself free to take permanent possession of the Bengal Doars.

3. The reasons for which this language was held, and not that of simple remonstrance, are already on record.

4. The reply of the Deb Rajah is not satisfactory. He admits the act, and defends it on the ground that the person carried off is a servant of his own who has offended, and no notice is taken of the demand for an apology, and for the punishment of the aggressions upon British territory.

5. There is a further letter from the Deb Rajah, in answer to a demand that he should direct certain persons charged with murder upon British territory to be made over to the British authorities, which is equally unsatisfactory. It does not relate to the matter now in hand, but it gives an additional proof of the tone which this personage is disposed to take towards the Government of India.

6. It becomes necessary to decide what steps shall be taken towards the execution of the threat which has been given to the Booteah Rajahs.

7. The political condition of the country is very little known to us. We are not sure in whose hands the chief authority rests, or whether there is any effective chief authority. We do not even know where the jurisdictions of the different subordinate rulers along our own frontier begin and end. Colonel Jenkins states that the contention for the Supreme Government, which appears to have existed for many years amongst the principal families of the country, still continues, but he is not certain how far the authority of the Dhurm Rajah and Deb Rajah (who seem to be colleagues with co-ordinate powers) extends. He is not sure that there are not two Deb Rajahs, and the Tongso Pillo, who is nominally a minister of these Rajahs, is believed by Colonel Jenkins to be in his own district almost independent. The Government of India has had occasion more than once, and not long ago, to complain of this last functionary's conduct, and of his insolence to the officers of the British Government, but amends have been made so far as he is concerned; and the offence for which atonement has now to be exacted appears to have been committed from a part of the Bootan territory where his authority does not run, although it is certainly under that of his masters, the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs. The boundary of the Tongso Pillo's jurisdiction is, according to Colonel Jenkins, the Monass River. East of this the Tongso Pillo governs more or less authoritatively, and east of this lie the Doars, which we have already taken into our hands, and from the revenues of which we pay an annual allowance to the Bootan Government. West of it, in the districts bordering upon Goalpara and Rungpore, Colonel Jenkins believes the Government to be more directly in the hands of the Deb Rajah; and it is to a place in these districts, Balka Doar, 30 or 40 miles west of the Monass, that Arung Sing was carried.

8. But in truth, considering that Bootan is a neighbouring state, that the country has a Government of some sort, and established rulers, and that our intercourse with the people is constant and, on the whole, not unfriendly, our knowledge of its condition is curiously imperfect. The Governor General in Council considers it necessary that this fact should be strongly pressed upon the notice of Colonel Jenkins.

9. Meanwhile, it is not the less necessary to act, and, as the first step, his Lordship in Council deems it expedient that a regiment of native infantry should be immediately sent to Rungpore, the point which most effectually threatens the Western or Bengal Doars, and which is now without any troops, whilst at Goalpara there is only a detachment of an Assam battalion.

10. The 6th Regiment, now stationed at Jumaulpore, may, without inconvenience or risk, be withdrawn for this purpose.

11. The necessary orders for sending the regiment to Rungpore will be issued from the Military Department.

12. Having done this, the Governor General in Council would still avoid, if possible, not only a collision with the Booteahs, but the encumbrance of an additional

tional charge of territory, which, although productive, is described as formidably unhealthy to native as well as to European troops, and the retention of which by peaceable neighbours his Lordship in Council should greatly prefer to the occupation and administration of it by ourselves. In this view the Governor General in Council thinks it worth consideration whether the pressure which it is proposed to apply to the Bootan Government by seizing the Western or Bengal Doars may not be equally applied by withholding that portion (10,000 rupees) of the proceeds of the Eastern Doars which is now annually remitted to Bootan.

13. The answer will depend upon the degree to which the Government of the Eastern Doars is independent of that of the Western Doars. In strictness, the Government of India would be justified in dealing with the whole country and its Government as one, and in recognising no division of authority or interests from one end of Bootan to the other. But to act upon this view might not only fail of success, but might prove practically unjust. It is not certain that the withholding of money conceded from the revenues of the districts under the government of the Tongso Pillo would be a matter of concern to his fellow governors further west, or to any superior authority, and it may be that the Tongso Pillo would be powerless in the present case to obtain for the Government of India the satisfaction which is required.

14. The doubt is one which can be cleared up only on the spot, and the Governor General in Council is desirous that this should be done before any other step than that of moving the regiment to Rungpore be taken.

15. The Lieutenant Governor is about to proceed to that part of Bengal, and will be very shortly in personal communication with Colonel Jenkins. The views of the Government of India, as expressed above, are therefore made known to his Honour, in order that he may furnish to the Governor General in Council all the information which he may be able to obtain as to the true condition and relation to each other of the Bootan authorities on our border.

(No. 264.)

ORDERED, that paragraphs 9, 10, and 11 of the above letter be sent to the Military Department for information and further orders.

(No. 507.)

EXTRACT, Fort William Foreign Consultation, dated 17th April 1857.

No. 62.

From *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 5th March 1857.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Lieutenant Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 263, of the 20th January, containing the instructions of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, regarding the transactions with the Booteahs on the north-east frontier.

2. In a Despatch of this date to the Military Department, the Lieutenant Governor has communicated the reasons which have induced him to place the 73d Regiment of Native Infantry and the detachment of Irregular Cavalry at Jaldigoree on the right bank of the Teesta.

3. Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins, who has entirely agreed with the Lieutenant Governor in the propriety of thus placing the troops in the Rungpore district, proposes to detach a strong party of the 2d Assam Light Infantry to the north-west corner of the Gowalparah district, where it meets with the Goomah Doar on the north, and with the Cooch Behar territory on the east. The position which Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins would assign to this detachment is nearly due east of Julpigoree, so that a line drawn eastward from the latter place to the station proposed for the detachment of Assam Light Infantry would pass nearly along the northern frontier of Cooch Behar.

4. In this manner Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins is of opinion that the assailable frontier of the Gowalparah district and the eastern half of that of Cooch Behar may be securely protected from any incursion by the Booteahs, while the troops at Julpigoree will ensure the safety of the Rungpore frontier as well as the western half of Cooch Behar.

5. Previously to coming into personal communication with Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins at Julpigoree, the Lieutenant Governor received from him a despatch on the subject of the present Government of the Bootan Doars, No. 13, of the 28th January, of which a copy is appended for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council. The further communications of the Lieutenant Governor with Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins on this subject were chiefly verbal.

6. On the whole, the impression left on the mind of the Lieutenant Governor by his communications with Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins, and with the better informed natives or residents of the north-east frontier and of Cooch Behar with whom he was enabled to confer, was that the Central Government of Bootan at Lassisuden does, under ordinary circumstances, exercise an effective control over the subordinate provincial governors or Soobahs, but that the degree of this control is liable to variation according to the state of parties at the seat of the Central Government, and has, in fact, during some years past, and up to a very recent time, been greatly impaired by contentions regarding the office of Deb Rajah.

7. The Government of Bootan, as the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council is aware, is exercised as to spiritual matters by the Dhurm Rajah and his conclave of priests (the Dhurm Rajah being a functionary for life, miraculously invested with the supreme spiritual authority from infancy), and as to temporal matters by the Deb Rajah, who is an officer elected, or appointed from time to time from among certain great functionaries of state.

8. The late or present Deb Rajah is said to have been in some measure an usurper, and upheld by a party in opposition to the party of the Dhurm Rajah. Hence there has been much irregularity in the Central Government, extending down to the latest occasion of our difference with the Bootan authorities. But it was reported on the frontier while the Lieutenant Governor was at Julpigoree, and the rumour was believed by Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins, that the rebel or usurping Deb Rajah had demised, and that a new Deb Rajah had been very recently placed in office with the entire assent and agreement of the party of the Dhurm Rajah; and it was supposed that this change was likely to be favourable to the cause of order and good government on the frontier.

9. While each Doar, and several sub-divisions of Doars, have respectively their own local governors, it seems that the eastern territory is under the general rule of a functionary called the Tongso Pillo, and the western under the Paro Pillo. Several central Doars, including, as it would appear, the Doars concerned in the abduction of Arung Sing, and more lately in the abduction from Cooch Behar of Ramdoolal, are more immediately under the Deb Rajah without the intervention of either Tongso or Paro Pillo. But each Doar has its assigned Soobah or local governor.

10. The recent acts of outrage in our territory, and in that of Cooch Behar, are believed to have been directed or connived at by chiefs immediately subject to the Deb Rajah, and more closely connected with the Paro Pillo, or western governor, than with the Tongso Pillo, who in the judgment of Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins is now desirous of conducting himself amicably towards the British Government, and has no concern in any recent offences.

11. Without

11. Without pretending to have arrived at any very accurate knowledge of the subject, the Lieutenant Governor has been led to adopt the opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel Jenkins, that it is not advisable at present to proceed to the coercion of the central Government by the stoppage of the payments made through the Tongso Pillo out of the revenue of the Assam Dooars. That such a measure would be ultimately felt by the Deb Rajah, the Lieutenant Governor is fully disposed to believe; but it would probably fall more heavily, as it would also fall temporarily, on the Tongso Pillo, who is at present well disposed, and with whom it is advisable as long as possible to preserve amicable relations. But the Lieutenant Governor sees no good reason for altogether resigning this method of affecting the Deb Rajah, and he would be ready hereafter to advise that the subsidy in question should be stopped, after fair notice to the Tongso Pillo, if the central Government should fail to give satisfaction, and if other approved modes of coercion should be found insufficient.

12. There have, however, been some indications from which it may be possible to infer that the offences of which we complain may be about to be in some measure atoned for in consequence of our remonstrances and subsequent military movements. It is certain that the Katmah of Madaree in Luckie Doar has been removed and another substituted. It was the former by whom Ramdoolall was seized and carried off from Cooch Behar, and it was supposed that his deposition would be followed by the restoration of Ramdoolall.

13. Various endeavours have been made by the heads of villages in the country opposite to Julpigoree, to persuade the British authorities to invade the Doars, and free them from the oppressive Government of Bootan. Messages to that effect have been sent across, and a deputation of heads of villages attempted to see the Lieutenant Governor, probably with that object. But he declined to give them an interview. Assurances were conveyed through our own subjects that the people of the Doars were very anxious to come under our rule, and it was intimated that if we would only send troops all supplies should be ready for them without expense. It was said among the better informed of our subjects on the frontier, that a very little encouragement would induce the people of the Doars to rise upon their present rulers; but these and similar communications were not encouraged by the Lieutenant Governor.

14. On the other hand various reports were current which purported to come from merchants and travellers recently arrived from the Dooars, that our threats and our military movements had sensibly affected the central Government, so that they had sent down armed men from the hills to garrison the forts or stockades of Madaree in Luckie Doar and Mynagoree in Dalimkote or Zamerkote Doar, and the idea of the people on our side of the boundary was that the Booteahs were alarmed for their possessions. But these movements or reported movements of Booteah troops had occasioned much apprehension in the Rungpore frontier villages.

15. In this state of affairs, the season being too far advanced for any active operations, it was the opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel Jenkins, in which the Lieutenant Governor desires to express his concurrence, that a communication should now be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs through both the Paro and Tongso Pillo in such a manner as to make them aware of its purport, solemnly warning them against trifling with the forbearance of the British Government, and once more, and avowedly for the last time, calling upon them to deliver up Arung Singh and Ramdoolall, or abide such measures as the British Government may, on failure of full satisfaction, adopt in its own account towards the vindication of its rights and power.

16. Upon the ultimate result of this final remonstrance and admonition, the Government will then take the course that may appear proper, and if this course should be to march into and take possession of one or more of the Bengal Doars, the Lieutenant Governor would state his opinion that the movement would be attended, at the proper season, with very little difficulty, especially as it would be easy to transport a couple of howitzers to Julpigoree by the Teesta during the rains, together with their complement of Native artillerymen, to be ready in case of need.

17. It is probable, in the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor, that the best course to pursue would be to take possession in the first instance, and as a strictly punitive measure, not of all the Bengal Doors, but of a portion of territory most convenient to invade and to hold. It may be observed that the Bootan western boundary in the time of Major Rennell, or thereabouts, did not come down to the Teesta, but was brought down to it, and even in one place (Ambarree Fallacotta) to the right bank of it by a cession of territory made to the Booteahs in 1780, 1784 and 1787 (*see* Pemberton's Report, page 73). At this hour the little village and tract called Ambarree Fallacotta, 14 miles inland in the neighbourhood of the Teesta, is Bootan ground, though managed by our officers as a farm for a term of years, under an engagement not long since concluded by Dr. Campbell, of Darjeeling. The Julpeah tract on the left bank of the Teesta, now in Bootan, was undoubtedly part and parcel of the Bykuntpore zemindary of Rungpore, belonging to the Rajah of Julpigoree, and it is still looked upon by that old family and its retainers and dependents, and indeed by the whole country side, as a piece of their old domain improperly given up to the Booteahs, and likely some day or other to be recovered. Julpesh itself, which is not far from the Bootan fort of Mynagoree, is the seat of the old family temple of the Bykuntpore (or Julpigoree) family.

18. It would therefore be an easy, simple, and on our side very popular measure, while it would be felt as a marked blow and punishment by the Booteahs, to deprive them, if necessary, of all that they acquired by the cessions of 1780, 1784 and 1787, and the territory we should thus acquire could be easily retained without any strong force, and without advancing into any unhealthy country.

19. If more were needed, it might be next, or perhaps, according to circumstances, a simultaneous operation to take possession from Gomalparah of the Gooma Door. This also would be an easy, inexpensive, and not unhealthy acquisition.

20. In short, it seems to the Lieutenant Governor that our punitive operations on the Booteahs might very properly be small and successive, so that each blow should be seen and felt to be a distinct and decisive punishment for a declared offence. The Right Honourable the Governor General in Council is aware that the Doors are not, in fact, worth acquiring; and that while it is necessary to make the Booteahs understand that no unatoned-for offence will go unpunished, it may be advisable, on the other hand, to acquire as little as possible, to advance into that inhospitable and unwholesome territory no further than we can help, and to keep as far as we can, and as long as we can, from all contact with the actual confines of the Booteah hills and strongholds above the plains.

21. The Lieutenant Governor has, however, already trespassed too much on the province of the Supreme Government, and will therefore cease from any further suggestions regarding matters on which it is rather his duty to furnish information, in order to enable the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council to come to a just determination.

(No. 13 of 1857.)

No. 63.

From Colonel *Francis Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *C. T. Buckland, Esq.*, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Camp Coode, Behar, 28 January 1857.

Sir,

WITH reference to the fourth paragraph of my letter, No. 12, of the 26th instant, I have now the honour to submit the information I have been able to collect from the persons I therein alluded to, but neither of the three have been in the Doors or Bootan for some time, and what transpires above seems to be in great measure kept from the knowledge of the people below by the Soobahs of the Doors, who are in a great measure independent, and seem

seem to be under no check, as long as they contrive to remit the expected revenue from their districts. The information therefore is not, perhaps, altogether to be relied upon.

2. The whole power of Central Bootan was, until lately, in the hands of a chief named Ooma-deo,* who has kept the Doars and the country in a state of disturbance and of anarchy for upwards of 20 years. He is said to have died about six or eight months ago, a rumour I had heard before; but though another person, called the Puttar Sahib, has been nominated as Deb Rajah by the Dhurm Rajah, Tongso Pillo and eastern chiefs, he does not appear to have established his authority over the western chiefs.

3. The Dhurm Rajah has retired to Ghumpal, a convent or temple in or beyond the hills, the usual place of residence of the spiritual chief.

4. The residence of the Deb Rajah is usually at Tassisudon, and subject to him directly are the three Dooars of Bhulka, Buxa, and Lucki (or Borea) Dooar.

5. East of Tassisudon are two chiefs who seem to be nearly independent, or at least they were not in obedience to the late Deb Rajah. They are the Daka or Tagana Pillo, who has under him Rephoo Dooar, and the Wandipoor Gimpi, who holds the two strong fortresses of Punakha and Wandipoor; under him is the Chevang Soobah, the manager of Chevang Dooar, which includes the two Doars of Sidlee and Bijnee. These two chiefs, I understand, obey the Dhurm Rajah.

6. The remaining eastern districts within the Hills and the Dooars beyond the Monass (all now annexed by us), are within the jurisdiction of the Tongso Pillo, under whom are several great officers, the Lam Tassi,† Leugloom, Tassgong, and Jongar zimpoons, many of whom and the Pillo are relations of the Dhurm Rajah. The Tongso Pillo is very well spoken of by every one, and the country under him is said to be generally very well managed.

7. The western districts of Bootan are under the Paro Pillo. The officer now in charge of this office, seems to have been in league with the late Deb Rajah. Under this chief are the Dooars west of Lucki Dooar. One of the subordinate chiefs is the present Katmah of Mynagooree, who seems to be now merely the leader of a gang of robbers, many of whom are from our country. The present Katmah is a man called Kotah Mookee (or trader): he succeeded an officer, the Kan Zimpi, who was in charge only for a short time; his predecessor was Syaporujoo Katmah,‡ who retired into the Hills and has since died.

There are two ex-Paro Pillors.

8. It appears therefore that all the offences lately committed, the carrying off of Arung Singh,§ to Bux Dooar by Cheya Doje Katmee, of Bhulka; the abduction of Randoolall and family from Cooch Behar by the Katmah of Madaree, under the Soobah of Luckie Dooar; the outrages of Shaftabarri, and the many minor cases alluded to in my letter, No. 122, dated the 4th November last; the detention of Lalgram Osowali at Mynagooree (who I hear is still in confinement there), are all traceable to the officers and people of the Doars under the late Deb Rajah and present Paro Pillo.

9. The son and nephew of the late Katmahs of the five Western Dooars, Daney Kunt and Indro Neohun, residents of Patgong, in Rungpore, claim to have been Katmahs of the Doars for four generations, and they impute the murder of Hurgovind, and their expulsion, and the plunder of their property, to the Doondeal Rajah, who, unable to conquer them himself, called in Doorga Deb and other members of the Bykuntpore family to aid him. They had four Talooks in Mynagooree in Zemindaree,|| and were managers of two Khan Talooks in Luckie Dooars.¶ Two of their brethren, Gour Molum and Nubbee Kunt (lately died), were bound down in mochulkas of 4,000 rupees each, by the magistrate of Rungpore, not to take armed men into the Dooars, as they say they could easily possess themselves of Mynagooree, and they assert that they have been invited to do so by the nominated Deb Rajah.

Sukhan and Hargovind.

He was treacherously murdered, trusting to Booteah good faith.

10. Since writing the above, I have been visited by the Kugadhur Kanjee, who is own brother to the now Dangar (chief) Ranee of Cooch Behar, and at present settled here on a small jote. From papers he has shown me, it would appear his family were for nine generations

* Called also the Doondeal Rajah, a term, I believe, equivalent to robber, or a chief of banditti.

† Formerly the Dewangiri Rajah, with whom I had an interview some years back, and who was apparently a well-informed and superior chief to most of the Bootan officers.

‡ Often mentioned in the Rungpore proceedings. The Jan Poyjoo of Captain Pemberton's Report, page 83: he went with his father, the Chenang Soobah, to Calcutta.

§ I am sorry to say I can learn nothing certain of his fate, but the Katmahs say they heard he was killed. He has fallen into the hands of the brutal savage who killed Sibpersand Singh by shocking tortures.

|| Gopalgunge, Mynagooree, Clungmarra, and Bothath, for which they paid a revenue of 80,000 rs.

¶ Madura and Pleulla Kattia.

generations zemindars in and managers of the five Dooars, and that his father was expelled and the family ruined by Luckhun Katmah, the above Davey Katmah's father; since then the family has resided in Cooch Behar. He has in his possession an invitation from the Doondeal Rajah to come back to his estates, and also one from seven talookdars, or heads of villages, to the same effect, but he could not trust himself in the Doars in their present state.

11. What further details of information I may pick up I will bring with me, and I would only now add that these Bengal Doars (as the Assam Dooars) paid a tribute to our Government in offering of ponies, blankets, swords, &c., but which have been discontinued for many years, probably on account of the very reduced value of the articles presented, as was the case in Assam.

No. 64.

MINUTE by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India (concurred in by the Members of Council), dated 1 April 1857.

BOOTAN.

THE information communicated by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in this letter on the result of his Honour's visit to the Bootan Frontier, and of his personal communications with Colonel Jenkins, Governor General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, is new and important. It supplies a deficiency which has hitherto made it difficult and hazardous to come to any conclusion as to the best mode of meeting the aggressions which the Booteahs have recently committed beyond their own boundary; it gives a hope that our just demands upon the Government of Bootan may be responded to, and it establishes beyond a doubt the measures which should be taken if this hope should be disappointed.

Having regard to the change which has lately taken place in the persons composing the Government in Bootan, and apparently in the temper of those authorities, I entirely concur in the suggestion of the Lieutenant Governor, that one more demand should be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs—the Tongso and Parro Pillos being made aware of it—for the delivery of the two persons, Arung Sing and Ramdoololl, lately abducted, the first from British territory, the second from Cooch Behar, adding the warning that if the demand should fail of success, the Government of India will take measures at its own pleasure for enforcing it.

It is, I think, evident that if measures of force should become necessary, the first to be adopted should be the seizure in permanent possession of the tract of country which the Bootan Government hold on this side of the Teesta, and which was ceded to them more than 70 years ago. This district is already held by our officers in farm.

This step would put no encumbrance upon the Government of India, although it would be a loss and a humiliation to Bootan, and if, when the time comes, there should be reason to think that it will not be sufficiently coercive, the occupation and retention of the Julpeah district beyond the Teesta, but not reaching to the Dooars, will be open to us. The Julpeah district formerly belonged to the zemindarry of Rungpore, therefore the re-annexation of it to the British territory appears to be a very natural mode of punishing the Government which now holds it. This can be effected, in the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor, without any risk to the health of the troops and others engaged on the measure, and without embarrassing ourselves with holding and defending an inhospitable country such as the Dooars, close under the Bootan Hills.

Meanwhile it will be advisable that the Lieutenant Governor should be requested to direct that a fresh demand be made upon the Dhurm and Deb Rajas, taking care that nothing be said which shall, in any degree, hamper the Government of India, in determining hereafter when and how it shall act in the event of the demand being refused.

I would

I would inform the Lieutenant Governor that, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, his Honor acted with sound judgment in refraining from receiving a deputation from the Booteah villages, and encouraging invitations to send British troops into the territory of Bootan.

(signed) *Canning.*

I quite concur,

(signed) *J. Dorin.*

3 April 1857.

I concur,

(signed) *J. Low.*

5 April 1857.

(signed) *B. Peacock.*

11 April 1857.

(Foreign Department.—No. 1603.)

From *G. F. Edmonstone*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to *A. R. No. 65.*
Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William,
14 April 1857.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 5th ultimo, No. 507, regarding the aggressions of the Booteahs on the North-East Frontier, and in reply to communicate to you, for the information of the Lieutenant Governor, the following observations of the Governor General in Council.

2. The information embodied in the above letter as the result of the Lieutenant Governor's visit to the Bootan Frontier, and of his personal communications with Colonel Jenkins, Governor General's Agent in the North-East Frontier, is new and important. It supplies a deficiency which has hitherto made it difficult and hazardous to come to any conclusion as to the best mode of meeting the aggressions which the Booteahs have recently committed beyond their own boundary; it gives a hope that our just demands upon the Government of Bootan may be responded to; and it establishes beyond a doubt the measures which should be taken if this hope should be disappointed.

3. Having regard to the change which has lately taken place in the persons composing the Government in Bootan, and apparently in the temper of those authorities, the Governor General in Council entirely concurs in the suggestion of the Lieutenant Governor, that one more demand should be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, the Tongso and Paro Pillors being made aware of it, for the delivery of the two persons, Arung Sing and Ramdoolal, lately abducted, the first from British territory, the second from Cooch Behar, adding the warning, that if the demand should fail of success, the Government of India will take measures at its own pleasure for enforcing it.

4. It is evident the Governor General in Council thinks that if measures of force should become necessary, the first to be adopted should be the seizure, in permanent possession, of the tract of country which the Bootan Government held on this side of the Teesta, and which was ceded to them more than 70 years ago. This district is already held by our officers in farm.

5. This step would put no encumbrance upon the Government of India, although it would be a loss and a humiliation to Bootan; and if, when the time comes there should be reason to think that it will not be sufficiently coercive, the occupation and retention of the Julpeah district beyond the Teesta, but not reaching to the Dooars, will be open to us. The Julpeah district formerly belonged to the zemindary of Rungpore, therefore the re-annexation of it to the British territory appears to be a very natural mode of punishing the Government which now holds it. This can be effected, in the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor, without any risk to the health of the troops and others engaged in the measure,

and without embarrassing ourselves with holding and defending an inhospitable country such as the Dooars, close under the Bootan Hills.

6. Meanwhile, it is requested that the Lieutenant Governor will direct that a fresh demand be made upon the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, taking care that nothing be said which shall in any degree hamper the Government of India in determining hereafter when and how it shall act in the event of the demand being refused.

7. The Governor General in Council is of opinion that the Lieutenant Governor acted with sound judgment in refraining from receiving a deputation from the Booteeah villages, and from encouraging invitations to send British troops into the territory of Bootan.

EXTRACT, POLITICAL DESPATCH from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated 18 August (No. 45) 1858.

General Letter in the Foreign Department, dated 8 September (No. 56) 1857. (Paras. 182 and 99). Further proceedings respecting Booteeah aggressions on the North-East Frontier.

42. IN para. 2 of our political letter, dated 11th November (No. 41) 1857, we expressed our dissatisfaction at the proposal made by Colonel Jenkins, and supported by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, to meet insolent language and conduct on the part of the Booteeah authorities by pecuniary concessions. We find that your Government, moved doubtless by the apologetic letters from those authorities, subsequently forwarded by Colonel Jenkins, gave a conditional assent to the proposal; but we presume it was definitively abandoned when the Deb Rajah replied to your demand for the release of the abducted Arung Sing, by avowing and justifying the seizure; and made an evasive answer to a demand for the surrender of persons charged with murder in British territory. As these offences had no connection with the Tongso Pillo's district, and as his conduct had of late been satisfactory, you did not think it advisable for the present to withhold the payment which is made through him on account of the Eastern Doars. If the military movements which you have ordered should not (as there was some hope they would) put an end to the Deb Rajah's recusancy, your intention was, after due warning, to resume not the Bengal Doars, but the additional territory on the British side of the Teesta, which is not an old possession of Bootan, and is already under the temporary management of our officers, and, if this should fail, to take possession of the Julpeah district, which formerly belonged to the zemindary of Rungpore.

43. We wish to be informed whether Arung Sing and the other abducted person, Ramdoolal, have been liberated.

(No. 108.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Lord *Stanley*.

Fort William, Foreign Department,
2 July 1859.

WITH reference to paras. 42 and 43 of the Despatch from the Honourable the Court of Directors, No. 45, dated 18th August last, we have the honour to forward a further correspondence* with the Government of Bengal, on the subject of Booteeah aggressions on the North-East Frontier.

2. It will be seen that both the individuals who were abducted, Arung Sing and Ramdoolal, are reported to have died in confinement; but the Cooch Behar Mooktear, with Colonel Jenkins, believed that the latter was still alive, though still in confinement.

3. On

* From Agent N. E. F. to Bengal Government, dated 30th December 1857.
From Secretary to Government, Bengal, to Agent N. E. F., dated 28th January 1858.
To Secretary, Government, Bengal, dated 5th November 1858.
From ditto dated 2nd April 1859.
From ditto dated 15th " "
From ditto dated 7th May " "

3. On the subject of the Honourable Court's remarks regarding the Lieutenant Governor's acquiescence in the proposal made by Colonel Jenkins to meet insolent language and conduct on the part of the Booteah authorities by pecuniary concessions, his Honor stated that he was not aware that he had laid himself open to the imputation, and he referred to the previous correspondence.

4. In December 1857, on a representation from the Agent, North-East Frontier, it was considered expedient to refrain from acting on our orders of 14th April, and the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was requested to suspend the execution of the instructions in question. With regard, however, to the recent occurrences reported in Colonel Jenkins' letter, No. 19, dated 9th March last, the time seemed to have arrived when the instructions of 14th April 1857 should be acted on. The recent conduct of the Soobah rendered it necessary that some decisive step should be taken either to compel the Rulers of Bootan to control the proceedings of their local functionary and to punish his insolence, or to take the matter into our own hands.

1857. Cons. 14 Dec.
Nos. 13 and 15.

Enc. of letter from
Secretary to Govern-
ment of Bengal,
dated 15 April 1859.

5. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has accordingly been requested to carry out the instructions of 14th April 1857, without delay.

To Secretary,
Government of
Bengal, dated
10 June 1859.

We have, &c.

(signed)

Canning.

J. Outram.

H. B. Harrington.

(No. 157 of 1857.)

From Colonel *Francis Jenkins*, Agent Governor General, North - East Frontier, to *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, Fort William; dated Gowhatee, 30th December 1857.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to submit a translation of a letter from the Ranees of Cooch Behar, informing me of the occurrence of a serious dacoity committed by a party of armed Booteahs at the house of one Sakaloo Parmanick of Chucklah Khettee, in their territories, who plundered property to a large amount, wounded four chowkeedars, and carried off the brother and son-in-law of the proprietor; the same party having a few days previously attacked a herd of buffaloes belonging to Sakaloo above-named, whilst grazing, I presume according to custom within the Doars, and placed in confinement two of the cowkeepers in charge of the animals.

2d. To prevent these aggressions the Ranees solicit that a guard of our sepoy be again placed on the frontier of the Raj Cooch Behar.

3d. A guard of sepoy from the 2d Assam Light Infantry was posted at Khetti in 1849-50, and as long as it was stationed there I believe it was effectual in deterring the Booteahs from the commission of any aggressions; it was withdrawn in 1852, under the instructions conveyed in Mr. Secretary Dalrymple's letter, No. 77 of the 13th May 1852; but I was desirous that it should have been replaced by a detachment from the Hill Rangers, which was negatived by the Government of Bengal.

A guard should I think be again posted there, but it is not practicable to send any sufficiently large detachment from the 2d Assam Light Infantry at present; and I would beg to suggest that Colonel Sherer, commanding at Julpigooree, might be desired to detail a detachment of the strength of a company under a European officer, to remain at Khetti until the beginning of the hot weather, when all the party might be taken off, but a small detachment of about 30 sepoy with their Native officers.

4th. I would beg with much deference to observe that it seems to be of no use whatever writing to the subordinate Booteah officers on that frontier for the surrender of captives as plunder, in the event of future aggressions, but I would earnestly recommend that the officer on the spot should be authorised, on ascertaining the fact of any dacoity, to proceed in pursuit of the offenders, if he considered himself to have a sufficient force for the occasion, or otherwise to communicate with the officer commanding for such further reinforcement as might be considered adequate, Lieutenant Colonel Sherer of course directing the operations to be undertaken.

5th. Such a procedure might oblige us to take all the Bootan Doars, but as long as there is a corps disposable at Julpigooree, this measure, with no additional military preparations and the attachment of the Doars, would be fraught with the greatest benefit to our whole frontier.

From Kamessur and Brindessur Deboti, Matin Rannees of Cooch Behar, to the Agent Governor General, North-East Frontier.

After the usual compliments,

WE are informed by a report of the Fouzdaree Abilkar, that a herd of 123 buffaloes belonging to Sakaloo Parmanik, ryot of Tengenmari, village of Chucklah Khetti, was kept at Luckipore, within the Bootan territory, for the purpose of grazing. On the 4th of Ogrohoon last, Ketow, Bhattooah Karkoon, Kaloo Kaith, and Ram Lochun Paleoh fell upon the Bathan by orders of Sreenath, zemindar of Luckipore, and carried off Hoorkoo and Hedlah Rakhals as prisoners, together with the whole herd of buffaloes, to the house of the zemindar. On the morning of the 13th, Sreenath zemindar, accompanied by his nephew, Bhojram Meeh, Ketow, Bhattooah, Karkooah, Ramlochun Paleah, Kaloo Keth, Bhondooro Saood, and the Katma of Katalbaree Chang, mounted upon two elephants, with about 300 or 400 followers, consisting of Bhooteahs, Meehes, and other ryots, armed with muskets, "bhotcheras," spears, holgojahs, and sticks, attacked the house of Sakaloo, and, on the first instance, severely wounded Joroo and four other chowkeedars of the house, laid them nearly dead on the spot, and then entered the inner apartment of the house, and, after breaking the chests and digging the floor, carried away a booty in gold and silver jewels, and in cash to the extent of Rs. 20,936. 12. worth; carrying with them Modum Kam Dass, the brother of Sakaloo, and his son-in-law, Ram Chand Dass, as prisoners, by tying up their hands with ropes and beating them along to the Katalbaree Chang, where they are kept in confinement, but we have not heard whether they are still alive or dead. The above robbers are still wandering about the Chucklah to commit similar aggressions upon other ryots.

It appears from a report of the Jemadar of Thannah Golluhdanjah, that the ryots of that place (knowing the intentions of the plunderers) have deserted from the place with their families and all, but we have issued instructions to the Darogah and Jemadar of Thannah Bhobangunge to make a strict inquiry on the above subject, and to take strong measures to prevent the Booteahs from committing aggressions in future. We have also written to the magistrate of Rungpore, requesting him to issue instructions to the several thannahs under him, on the borders of Bootan, to take measures for the purpose of protecting the ryots from being molested by the Booteahs. We beg to express our wish that a guard of four sepoy be stationed on our boundary, sir. In order to prevent further aggression, we have sent out a guard of one officer and eight sepoy to be located at the place of disturbance; but we beg to inform you, that unless you be pleased to take the above subject into favourable consideration and adopt measures for the prevention of such outbreaks, we ourselves are unable to resist the aggressions that have hitherto taken place on the borders of our territory, sir. In consequence of various outbreaks of the Booteahs, a guard of sepoy was stationed on the borders of our territory by your Government which had depressed their aggressions greatly, but on that guard being withdrawn a few years ago, the Booteahs have since recommenced molesting our ryots. Under these circumstances, we beg that you may be pleased to use your best exertions, to detach one of your own regimental guards as heretofore, in order to stop further aggressions of the Booteahs within our dominions.

(True Translation.)

22d Ogrohaon, 348 Raj Soka, or 1264 B. S.

(signed) *F. Jenkins,*
Agent, Governor General.

(Judicial.—No. 398 of 1858.)

From *C. T. Buckland, Esq.,* Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier; dated Fort William, the 28th of January 1858.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 157, dated the 30th ultimo, with its enclosure, reporting the occurrence of a serious dacoity in Cooch Behar by a party of Booteahs, and suggesting that a detachment of the 73d Native Infantry should be stationed at Khetti, on the borders of Cooch Behar, to prevent the recurrence of such aggressions in future.

2. In reply, I am desired to inform you that the Lieutenant Governor is unable to recommend that any part of the 73rd Native Infantry should be detached on this duty; but that as soon as affairs at Julpigoree become more settled, the subject will be reconsidered.

(Foreign Department.—No. 3763.)

From the Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, 5th November 1858.

Sir,

WITH reference to the correspondence noted on the margin,* I am directed to transmit for information the enclosed extract, paras. 42 and 43, from a despatch from the Honourable the Court of Directors, No. 45, dated 18th August last, regarding Booteah aggressions on the North-East Frontier, and to call your attention to the remark contained in the 43d para., in order that you will obtain the required information from the Agent for submission to the Home authorities.

(Political.—No. 79 of 1859.)

From A. R. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Under Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

Sir,

Fort William, 2d of April 1859.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Officiating Under Secretary Chapman's letter, No. 3763, dated the 5th November last, with an extract from a despatch from the Honourable the Court of Directors, enquiring whether Arung Sing and Ramdoo Lall, who were carried off by the Booteahs, have yet been released, and to transmit, for the information of the Home Authorities, a copy of a communication† from the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, furnishing the information required, and reporting further aggressions by the Booteahs on the North-East Frontier. † No. 2, dated 5 Jan. 1859.

2. The Lieutenant Governor did not at the time understand that it was intended, in paragraph 2 of the Honourable Court's Political Despatch, No. 41 of 1857, to charge him with supporting a proposal made by Colonel Jenkins, to meet insolent language and conduct on the part of the Booteah authorities by pecuniary concessions. His Honour is not aware that he has laid himself open to this imputation; but is ready to submit to the rebuke without complaint, if it be really the case that any expression he has used is susceptible of this interpretation. Should it be otherwise, he trusts that his Excellency the Governor General in Council will exonerate him from the suspicion of having committed so great an error.

3. His Honour observes that the despatch of the 18th August last goes on to say:—"We (the Honourable the Court of Directors) find that your (India) Government, moved, doubtless, by the apologetic letters from those (Booteah) authorities, subsequently forwarded by Colonel Jenkins, gave a conditional assent to the proposal." This would seem to imply that the Lieutenant Governor had recommended this measure before the submission of the apologies referred to; but this, it will be seen, was not the case. The apologetic letters were received with Colonel Jenkins' communication, No. 57, dated 3d June 1856, and the proposals therein contained were recommended to the favourable consideration of the Government of India in this office letter, No. 3, dated 1st July following. The sanction of His Lordship in Council to those proposals was conveyed to his Honour in Mr. Edmonstone's letter of the 16th idem (No. 3889).

(No. 2 of 1859.)

From Colonel F. Jenkins, Governor General's Agent, North-East Frontier, to A. R. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Camp Debrooghur, the 5th of January 1859.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 2310, of the 6th ultimo, inquiring, by desire of the Honourable the Court of Directors, whether Arung Sing and Ramdoo Lall, who were carried off by the Booteahs, have yet been released.

2. I beg to inform you that neither of the individuals has yet been released, as far as my information goes.

Arung Sing was carried up into the hill country, since which I have received no tidings of him through any one of his own people; but the Deb Rajah, in answer to my last demand for his release, replied that Arung Sing's case was being inquired into.

Ram

* From Junior Secretary, Government of Bengal, dated 6th December 1856, No. 3080.
 To - ditto - ditto - " 20th January 1857, No. 263.
 From Secretary - ditto - " 5th March 1857, No. 507.
 To - ditto - ditto - " 14th April 1857, No. 1613.
 From - ditto - ditto - " 26th October 1857, No. 1337.
 To - ditto - ditto - " 8th December 1857, No. 4901.

Ram Doolal was reported to have died; but it is believed, as the Cooch Behar Mooktear informs me, that he is still alive and in confinement with three others of his relatives.

3. I am sorry that the correspondence referred to is not now with me; but I will make inquiry of the Ranees as to the number of their subjects still detained in the Bootan Doars.

4. I take this opportunity of mentioning that I have just lately received a letter of the 7th of November 1858, from the Deb Rajah in reply to mine regarding the seizure of Sakaloo's relatives, which I had the honour of reporting to Government in my letter, No. 157, of the 30th December 1857.*

* See Mr. Buckland's reply, No. 398 of the 28th January 1858.

The Deb Rajah tells me he will send a zinkaff to meet persons who may be deputed by the Ranees to the spot, to make inquiry into the alleged aggression; and I beg to add I have directed my vakeel at Cooch Behar to meet the zinkaff, and desired the Ranees to send two respectable officers with him.

5. I have now further to report that another recent dacoity has been committed by the Booteah authorities of Bhulka Doar, in which Rattuhur Mondul and six other subjects of Cooch Behar were carried off into the Booteah territory. Regarding this atrocity, I wrote to the Buxa Dwar Soobah and Deb Rajah on the 26th November last; and I have this day received a reply from the former chief, that he knows nothing of the occurrence, but will inquire into it, and has forwarded my letter to the Deb Rajah.

(Political.—No. 150 of 1859.)

From *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, 15th April 1859.

Sir,

IN continuation of the letter from this office, No. 79, dated the 2d instant, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward, for the favourable consideration of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, copies of two further communications† from the Governor General's Agent, North-East Frontier, with their enclosures, regarding the aggressions committed by the Booteahs on the Cooch Behar territory, and suggesting, with a view to put a stop to these daring inroads, the posting of a considerable force on that frontier, and the occupation of one or more of the Doars until our demands are fully complied with.

† No. 18, dated 9th March 1859.
No. 19, do. - do.

(No. 18.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated 9th March 1859.

Sir,

WITH reference to my letter, No. 2, of the 5th January last, and your letter, No. 2310, of the 6th December last, I have the honour to submit a translation of a letter from the Ranees of Cooch Behar, of the 28th Magh 1265, forwarding three statements of aggressions committed by the Booteahs since 1263 (1857-58), viz., 1st. A general statement of all the cases; 2d. A detailed list of the cases in which persons or cattle were carried off by force; and 3d. A list of cases of the forcible cutting of crops.

2. I have also the honour to submit a copy of a letter from the principal assistant of Gawalparah, in reply to my letter of the 6th January, inquiring regarding the present state of Arung Sing.

3. With regard to the Cooch Behar cases, I beg to say several have never been brought to my notice, and I have not failed to write to the Deb Rajah and local officers concerned, respecting those reported to me, but without any redress in any instance.

4. The case No. 1 was brought to the notice of Government in my letters early in 1857, the last of which was dated 25th February 1857, in which I mentioned the report that Ramdoolal had been released; but it appears the report was incorrect, and five persons then carried off are still detained in captivity.

5. The case No. 11, reported to Government in my letter, No. 157, of the 30th December 1857, I will more particularly refer to in a separate letter. The only man who remained in captivity has been ascertained to have died.

6. The case No. 26 is that referred to in the fifth para. of my letter above quoted. I have received no reply from the Deb Rajah in answer to my letter regarding it, nor have I been more successful in obtaining answers to two letters I have written to the Deb Rajah respecting the case No. 3, in which three women who were carried off are still detained in captivity, nor to three letters addressed to the same authority for the release of Arung Sing.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Maharanee of Cooch Behar, to Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, dated the 28th Magh 1265.

After compliments.

AFTER receiving your letter of the 20th Pong, we understood the contents of it, requesting us to write clearly for transmission to England, what ryotts within our jurisdiction have been carried away captives by the Soobah Kutwah, Booteah, of what Doar, the reason, the date and month they have been taken away, the persons released out of those in captivity yet, and those that have made their escape.

Kind sir, the above I requested the Fouzdary Abilkar to report upon as ordered by you, and from his report we learn that in 1260 B. S.,* the Court-house was burnt, and before that period what ryotts were carried away by the Booteahs cannot be found out; and from inquiries made now, it appears that the ryotts near the boundary are never in settled habitations; consequent to it, all the cases that here transpired cannot be known. A statement of the persons that have been seized and carried away from 1263 B. S. to this date is forwarded in original (copies having been kept by us) for your consideration.

* A.D. 1854-1855.

To write more respecting the depredations of the Booteahs besides the above is useless, as you know perfectly well.

GENERAL STATEMENT showing the Total Number of CASES of AGGRESSION, &c., committed by the Booteahs, that have come under the cognizance of the Fouzdary Court of the Cooch Behar, 349 R. S. 1265 B. S. 26 Magh,

Total Number of Cases.	Number of Persons Captured by the Booteahs.	Number of Persons Released.	Number of Persons that Escaped after being Captured by the Booteahs.	Number of Persons in Captivity at present.	Quantity of Land Encroached upon.	Quantity of Paddy Plundered.	REMARKS.
23	40	27	1	20	Quantity of land unknown, from its not being surveyed.	Unknown, from its being plundered from the barnhouse.	From inquiry made respecting the 27 men released, one named Roop Chand Doss died; and another, Chunder Doss, is kept back by the sepoys. Of the 20 persons now in captivity, one, named Gopee Banmajee, is not heard of. In some of the cases the Booteahs have taken away men, in some paddy, and in some property, &c. All the cases have been reported to the Maharanees.

DETAILED LIST of the Number of CASES of AGGRESSIONS, &c., committed by the Booteahs, at have been instituted in the Fouzdary Court of *Behar*, 349 R.S., or 1265 B.S., 26 Magh.

Serial Number.	Number of Cases.	Name of Plaintiff, and Residence.	Name of Defendant, and Residence.	Explanation of Cases.	Date of Institution.	Names of Persons Captured by the Booteahs, and their Residences.	Names of Persons Released, and their Residences.	Names of Persons Escaped, and their Residences.	Names of Persons in Captivity, and their Residences.	REMARKS.	
1	98 heinous cases. 1263 B.S.	-- Instituted in Ghiladang Thana; Joladhan Doss, of Salbaree.	-- Seraj Meekutkaah, and others.	-- At 12½ a.m. the defendants, with 50 or 60 armed men, cut the tattlee of his house, and plundered Rs. 1,276. 12. cash, and other property, beat and bound the plaintiff, his father, wife, and aunt, and carried them away captives to Bootan.	-- 1263 B.S., 24 Assin, Thursday, at 12½ a.m.	-- 1. Julol Doss, residence, Salbaree, and his father, Ramdoolal Doss, residence, ditto. 3. Humnahan Doss, residence, ditto, plaintiff's wife. 4. Manickfrin Dassuah; residence, Salbaree. 5. Doorgah Doss; residence, ditto. 6. Neckaru Doss; residence, ditto. Names of persons captured when carrying for the above individuals provisions:-- 1. Rampersad Doss. 2. Subahand Doss. 3. Toomol Doss. Total, 9.	-- Month of Ag- hoon, date un- known. 1. Julbil. 2. His wife. 3. Doorgah Doss. 4. Mohoun Doss.	-- -- --	-- 1. Ramdoolal 2. Humnahan. 3. Subehand. 4. Rompersand. 5. Tureah. 6. The residence of all, Shalmara.	-- The plaintiff used to trade between Bootan and Behar, in paddy, rice, and tobacco, and he always paid for the articles purchased by him in Bootan. However, Seraj Kutmah, of the Mardasee Soobul, wrote a letter to Ramdoolal, the plaintiff's father to wit, that Julbil owed him 400 rupees, and for him to repay that amount soon; but, as the above accusation was false, he refused to pay. On this they seized 57 bullocks belonging to one Hawai and others, who afterwards joined with the Kutmah, and plundered the plaintiff, &c. On investigation this was found to be correct, and a letter was written to the Deb Rajah, but he has not replied to it, neither has he liberated the prisoners. It has been reported to the Maharanees.	
2	-	-- Khandoora Doss; residence, Phoolbaree.	-- Bhowerah Kurkoon, and others; residence, Dwar Luckhipore.	-- The defendants broke open the house and seized the plaintiff's wife and child, and carried them away captives to Bootan.	-- 1263 B.S., Karie, date not known.	-- 1. Name of wife and child not known. Total, 2.	--	--	-- Plaintiff's wife and child, but other man is not known.	-- From the report of the Darogah of Gheela-dangah, it appears that the prisoners have not been released. The case has been reported to the Maharanees.	
3	52 heinous cases.	-- Doonum Bewah; residence, Ambaree.	-- Subaram Kyut, and others; residence, Bootan.	-- In the night they broke open the plaintiff's house, and carried away the daughter and grand-daughter captives to Bootan.	-- 1263 B.S., Falgoon, date unknown.	-- 1. Patamee Doss. 2. Akadasee. 3. Ramjonab Doss.	--	--	-- 1. Patamee. 2. Akadasee. 3. Ramjonab Doss.	-- The case has been investigated, and from the witnesses it appears that they were taken prisoners by the defendants, but they have not yet been released. The case has been reported to the Maharanees.	
4	43 heinous offences. 1264 B.S.	-- Bangalow and Jeetram Doss; residence, Chatbhalka.	-- Sewah Durze Kutwab, and others; residence, Bootan.	-- It appears that about 50 or 60 Booteahs plundered the houses of the villagers of Chuthalka, and carried away many of them captives.	-- 1264 B.S., date unknown.	-- 1. Jhoroo Doss. 2. Meetarum Doss. 3. Moheeram Doss; residence of all, Chatbhalka.	-- 1. Jhoroon. 2. Meetarum. 3. Moheeram.	--	-- All are released	-- From investigation made by the Darogah, it appears that the prisoners were kept in confinement for seven days, and then released, but then with the loss of Rs. 100. 8. The case has been reported to the Maharanees.	
5	-	-- Jebun Kisto Doss, of Behar.	-- Name of the Booteah unknown.	-- The defendants committed depredations on Talook Lowkutta, belonging to Ambeka Kusepersand Buwee, the master of the plaintiff, and seized Rogoonath Sircar, and imprisoned him, but was released on the payment of 130 rupees. The defendants have also arrested the Perry Ghaut and its adjacent lands on the Godadhar River.	-- 1264 B.S., 30 Assor, at 10 a.m.	-- 1. Rogonath Sircar; residence, Lowkutta.	-- 1. Rogonath Sircar; residence, Lowkutta. Released after 12 or 13 days.	--	-- Released	-- The plaintiff intimated that these depredations were committed by the Booteahs of Ching Choonga, and it was also found on investigation, and the case has been reported to the Maharanees.	

6	1264 B. S.	-- Phagoenah Doss, plaintiff, for the Biesheburnath Sing Resaldar.	-- Hooconm Chand Ooswal, and others.	-- The plaintiff's master's father, when living, had formed 18 doozars, for the purpose of catching wild elephants. In the year 1260 B.S. Mohun Persaud, and eight elephants and men, Bhaddo, Khagoro, Takura, and Kolin Mahout, went out to catch wild elephants in Bootan, in Bees Parmichona. A resident of Bootan, Joulch Dewan, and others, surrounded and plundered the above elephant-catchers, and one of the elephants (Mohun) ran away in the jungle; they also beat the men, and carried away five elephants and Kolum Mahomed and another captive.	-- 1260 B.S., date unknown.	-- 1. Kori Mahmood. 2. Oozir Nesso.	-- 1. Boodhoroo. 2. Mohun. 3. Dhaberoo. 4. Chandoo.	-- 1. Kori Mahmood. 2. Oozir Nesso.	-- Gowbah Dewar, resident of Bowcories, in the jurisdiction of the Soobah of Cherring Doot, and others, and Hooconm Chand Ooswal, and others, in the jurisdiction of the Rajah of Bojnec, after plundering the elephants and property, carried into captivity Kori Mahmood and others. The plaintiff's father reported the case to the Rajah of Bijnec, and under whose orders Hooconm Chand Ooswal gave up two of the elephants, and the remaining elephants and property, and Kori Mahomed and another are still with the Soobah of Cherring Doot, who has intimated to the plaintiff that, on payment of a ransom, they will be released, and the plaintiff's master sent up Mohun Burkundaze with the ransom, but the Soobah took the money and confined him. After a few days he released two elephants, Mohun Burkundaze and another, Boodharoo, and his servants; the remainder, Kori Mahmood and Oozir, and one elephant (Sreepersaud), are still in confinement. The plaintiff's master has reported the case to the Agent, Governor General, and the petition was sent to the Maharanes for investigation, and by whom it was forwarded to the Foudlary Court, and investigated by the Darogah, and the evidence brought home against the defendants, and reported to the Maharanes.
7	Ditto	-- Radah Cham Doss, of Khetti Phoolbarre.	-- Goroopused Tangon and others, Bootan, Luckipore.	-- Seized and carried away the plaintiff's wife and child.	-- 1264 B.S., Sraboon, date not known.	1. Plaintiff's wife. 2. Ditto child.	-- 1. Luckee Manjee, of Khatii.	1. Plaintiff's wife. 2. Ditto child.	-- From the report of the Darogah of Ghechadanga it appears that the prisoners have not yet been released, and the case has been reported to the Maharane.
8	Ditto	-- Umreah Doss, of Khetti Phoolbarre.	-- Berig Kar-koon and others, Bootan, Dowa, Luckipore.	-- The defendants plundered the plaintiff's 15 buffaloes, and carried them away to Bootan.	-- 1264 B.S., Bhadro, date unknown.	-- 1. Plaintiff's wife. 2. Ditto child. Their names not known.	-- 1. Luckee Manjee, of Khatii.	-- No persons in confinement.	-- From the report of the police anlah it appears that the buffaloes were released on a payment of 70 rupees, and the case has been reported to the Maharanes.
9	Ditto	-- Luckee Manjee, of Khatii.	-- Berig Kar-koon and others, Bootan, Dowa, Luckipore.	Seized and carried away captives	-- 1264 B.S., Kartic, date unknown.	-- 1. Luckee Manjee, of Khatii.	-- 1. Luckee Manjee, of Khatii.	Released	-- From inquiry, it appears that the prisoners were released after a few days, on a payment of ransom of 20 rupees. The case has been reported to the Maharanes.
10	Ditto	-- Tumeah Doss, of Khetti.	-- Sheebnath, zemindar, of Bootan, kept Karkoon, and others.	-- From the Rajah's jurisdiction the defendants plundered and seized 19 cows, and carried them away.	-- 1261 B.S., Kartick, date unknown.	--	--	-- No person in confinement.	-- From investigation of the case, it appears that the cows have not yet been given back. The case has been reported to the Maharanes.
11	Ditto	-- Shialoolo Preed-hore, of Tengua Maree Thannah, Ghechadanga.	-- Sreemath, zemindar, Bootan, Kuttulbarree.	-- Sreemath, zemindar, and others, about 300 men, armed with divers weapons, plundered the plaintiff's house, cut and wounded the chowkedar (Jaroo) and others dangerously with sword and spear, entered the house, and broke open a chest, and plundered property and cash amounting to Rs. 20,936.12. They also seized the plaintiff's brother, Muddon Khan Doss, and carried him away captive. The chowkedar (Jaroo) died of his wounds.	-- 1264 B.S., 2. Kartic.	-- 1. Muddon Khan Doss. 2. Roop Chand Doss. Both of them resident at Tengua Maree.	-- 1. Muddon Khan Doss, in 1264; residence, Tengua Maree.	-- Roop Chand Doss died in confinement.	-- From investigation, it appears that Sreemath, zemindar, and others, in the jurisdiction of the Soobah of Bala Dowa, plundered the plaintiff's house, and the manner the plaintiff made his escape from prison, and the death of Roop Chand in Bootan. The case has been reported to the Maharanes.

DETAILED LIST of the Number of Cases of Aggressions, &c., committed by the Bootahs, that have been instituted in the Fouzdary Court of Behar, &c.—*continued.*

Serial Number.	Number of Cases.	Name of Plaintiff, and Residence.	Name of Defendant, and Residence.	Explanation of Cases.	Date of Institution.	Names of Persons Captured by the Bootahs, and their Residences.	Names of Persons Released, and their Residences.	Names of Persons Escaped, and their Residences.	Names of Persons in Captivity, and their Residences.	REMARKS.
12	1264 B.S.	-- Shakoloo Preed-hore, of Tengua, Maee Thannah, Gheelodanga.	-- Sreenath, zemindar, Bootan, Kuttulan, barree.	-- From the buffalo fold (Baihan), at Luckipore, the defendants carried away two cowherds named Hadolah Huddoo, with 123 buffaloes.	-- 1264 B.S., Aghou, date not known.	-- 1. Huddoo, 2. Haddolah.	-- 1. Huddoo. 2. Haddolah, released in 1264, Assin.	-	Released	-- From investigation it appeared that after a few days the two individuals were released on a payment of a few rupees, but the buffaloes have not yet been released.
13	Ditto	-- Biaboo Doss, of Phoolbarree.	-- Maie Doss, and others, of Khorojaugur Bootan.	-- In the first instance they carried away 11 cows, and lastly, took the plaintiff captive.	-- 1264 B.S., Magh, date unknown.	-- 1. Bishoo Doss, of Phoolbarree.	-- Released in 1264, Magh. 1. Bishoo Doss, of Phoolbarree.	-	ditto	-- From the police report it appears that they released the plaintiff, but kept back the cows. The case has been reported to the Maharanees.
14	Ditto	-- Koharoo Doss, of Khitti Phoolbarree.	-- Bhowla Koon, Paneah, and others; residence, Kuttulan, leore Chung.	-- They plundered and carried away the plaintiff from the Rajah's dominions.	-- 1264 B.S., Phalgoun, date unknown.	-- 1. Koharoo Doss, of Phoolbarree.	-- 1. Koharoo Doss, of Phoolbarree.	-	ditto	-- It appears, on investigation, that the prisoner was released on a ransom of seven rupees, after a few days captivity.
15	Ditto	-- Chundernath Doss, of Khitti Phoolbarree.	-- Rai Doss and others, of Khorojaugur.	-- In the act of carrying away the plaintiff they were encountered by the Sepoys of a guard, who released the prisoner.	-- 1264 B.S., Boiskh, date unknown.	-- 1. Chundernath Doss; residence, Khetti.	-- 1. Chundernath Doss; residence, Khetti.	-	ditto	-- From investigation it appears that the prisoner was saved by the Sepoys of a guard, and the case has been reported to the Maharanees.
16	Ditto	-- Horee Churn Doss, of Phoolbarree.	-- Kutwah, of Kuttabarree, and others.	-- Plundered the plaintiff of a cow, &c.	-- 1264 B.S., Joisto, date unknown.	1. Ditto	-	-	No one confined	-- From the police report it appears that the cow was let off on a payment of a sum of money. The case has been reported to the Maharanees.
17	Ditto	-- Toiroo Doss, of Phoolbarree.	-- Hureah Doss, Koroojam, of Bootan.	-- Seized the plaintiff's wife, and carried her away captive.	-- 1265 B.S., 10 Joisto.	1. Plaintiff's wife	-	-	Released	-- It appears, on investigation, that the prisoner was released on a payment of a sum of money. The case has been reported to the Maharanees.
18	Ditto	-- Lakhon Basahoneah, of Goo-gomary.	-- Kutwah, of Madaree, and Bootahs of Madaree Chung.	-- The defendants carried away the plaintiff captive with the hope of possessing nine chalu of land, but released him on a payment of a sum of money.	-- 1265 B.S., 29 Joisto.	-- 1. Lakhon Basahoneah, of Goo-gomary	-	-	ditto	-- It appears, on investigation, that the prisoner was released on a payment of a sum of money. The case has been reported to the Maharanees.
19	Ditto	-- Sonatun Doss, of Phoolbarree.	-- Luckhee Bosboneah, and others.	Carried away cows, &c.	-- 1265 B.S., Joisto, date unknown.	-	-	-	No one confined	-- On investigation, it appears that on the receipt of 11 rupees the cows were released. The case has been reported to the Maharanees.

20	Ditto	-- Sohanee Nosh- ja, of Khetti Lucki- pore.	-- Dewan Ko- yah, and others, of Kharojan, Bootan.	Carried away cows, &c.	-- 1265 B.S., Strabon, date unknown.	-	-	-	ditto	-- It appeared, on investigation, that the cow has not yet been released, and the case has been reported to the Maharanes.	
21	-	-- Shongoth Ram, and Monem Nos- khatta.	-- Khotre Ka- soo Kutma and Booranah Ka- yah, and Zalpo Thakoorah Mo- neam Doss Jemadar, Choo- neah Thakoo- rah, and 125 Bozeahs of Bhoolkar Chang, Bootan.	-- Plundered the plaintiff (Shon- goth Ram) of his cows, and seized Monem and the plaintiff, and carried them away captives, and tied them to a stake for 20 or 25 days, and took a kuboollet from Songoth seven rupees, and Monem nine rupees, and then released, and requested the payment of the above sum.	-- 1265 B.S., Strabon.	-- 1. Songoth Ram Doss, Deantikhatta. 2. Monem.	-- Released after 20 or 25 days.	Released	-	-- From the investigation it appeared they were released on a payment of a sum of money, and the case has been reported to the Maharanes.	
22	-	-- Plaintiff, Jegul Doss Boyagee, of Deantikhatta.	- ditto	-- The defendants, armed with guns and other weapons, marched to the Talook with beat of drums; and, after plundering, they entered the plaintiff's house and plundered his property, and carried him away captive to Bholka Chang, and tied him to a pole, and beat him, but released him after a period of 20 or 22 days, on the payment of 300 rupees.	-- 1265 B.S., 15 Bhadroo.	-- 1. Gogal Boyra- gees, Deantikhatta.	-- Released after 20 or 22 days.	- ditto	-	-- From investigation it appeared that the cap- tive was released on the payment of a ransom of 300 rupees, and the case has been reported to the Maharanes.	
23	-	-- Plaintiff, Bhoo- droo Doss, of Na- zeeran.	- ditto	-- Seized and carried away Lol- chand Doss, Boisagoo Doss, Mees- taram of Talook Nazeran, to Bholka Chang, and imprisoned them, and tied them to a stake, and took from each of them 30 or 40 rupees, and requested a kuboollet for lands, but, on refusing, were not liberated.	-- 1265 B.S., 9 Kartic.	-- 1. Meestaram Doss, Luckipore. 2. Lolchand Doss, of ditto. 3. Boisagoo Doss, ditto.	-- 1. Meestaram Doss. 2. Lolchand Doss. 3. Boisagoo Doss.	- ditto	-	-- It appears, on inquiry, that the captives were released on the payment of a little money, and it has been reported to the Maharanes.	
24	-	-- Plaintiff, Zee- bhoth Surma, of Bheabarun.	- ditto	-- They plundered by force the property and 62 cows.	- ditto	-	-	-	No one captured	-	-- On investigation, it appears that the cows are still kept back, and it has been reported to the Maharanes.
25	-	- ditto	- ditto	-- Plundered Rattee Bor Doss' house at Talook Deantikhatta of pro- perty, and burnt the building, and carried away an individual named Godolee Doss and Rattee Bor to Bholka Chang, and imprisoned them, and tied them to stakes, and took 50 rupees as present. What became of the children of the cap- tives is not known.	-- 1265 B.S., 9 Kartick, at about 10 a.m.	-- 1. Gatoloo Doss. 2. Rattee Bor Doss, of Deantikhatta.	-- Released after some days, 1. Gadoolo Doss. 2. Rattee Bor Doss.	Released	-	-	-- On investigation, it appears that the captives were released after a few days on payment of a ransom, and the case has been reported to the Maharanes.

DETAILED LIST of the Number of Cases of Aggressions, &c., committed by the Booteahs, that have been instituted in the Fouzdary Court of Behar, &c.—continued.

Serial Number.	Number of Cases.	Name of Plaintiff, and Residence.	Name of Defendant, and Residence.	Explanation of Cases.	Date of Institution.	Names of Persons Captured by the Booteahs, and their Residences.	Names of Persons Released, and their Residences.	Names of Persons Escaped, and their Residences.	Names of Persons in Captivity, and their Residences.	REMARKS.
26	-	- - Plaintiff, Boodharoo Doss, Rampore. Thakoreah Moneram Doss Jemadar, Chooneah Thakoreah, and 125 Booteahs of Bhoolkar Chung, Bootan.	- - Khotee Kasoo Kutna and Booranah Kanyah, and Zalpoor Moneram Doss Jemadar, Chooneah Thakoreah, and 125 Booteahs of Bhoolkar Chung, Bootan.	- - Plundered the plaintiff's brother, Pirsoo Ram, and his ryott, Gopee Bunyah, of their property, and carried them away captives, also the father's pregnant wife and daughter; to the Chang above written. What became of the Bunyah is not known.	- - 1265 B.S., 14 Agran.	- - 1. Pirsoo Ram Doss. 2. Gopee Bunyah. 3. His wife. 4. His daughter.	- -	- -	- - 1. Pirsoo Ram Doss. 2. Gopee Bunyah. 3. His wife. 4. His daughter.	- - On inquiry, it appeared that the prisoners are still in captivity, and it has been reported to the Maharanees. Wrote for their release to Deb Rajah, 26 November 1868, begging him to issue the necessary orders on the Khumah of Bhoolka.
27	-	- - Mateah Doss, Phoolbaree.	- - Moi Doss and Dewan Koyah, of Dewar, Luckipore, in Bootan.	- - Seized and carried them away captives.	- - 1265 B.S., Agran, date unknown.	- - 1. Mateah Doss; residence, Phoolbaree.	- -	- -	- - Released	- - On investigation, it appears that the prisoner was released after three days, on the payment of Rs. 45. 8., and the case has been reported to the Maharanees.

STATEMENT of Cases showing the Quantity of Paddy Plundered and Land ENCROACHED UPON by Force by the Booteahs on the Dominions of the Rajah of Cooch Behar.

Serial Number.	Number of Cases.	Plaintiff's Name and Residence.	Names of Defendants and Residence.	Explanation of Cases.	Date of Institution.	Quantity of Land wrested by Force.	Quantity of Paddy Plundered.	REMARKS.
28	714 1264 B.S.	- - Subarour Nai; residence, Khetti Dewar, Kuckipore.	- - Booteah and others.	- - Cut crops by force	- - 1264 B.S., Assin, date known.	- - Took the standing crop of paddy, and also from the barn-house; the precise quantity is not known.	- - From the land not being surveyed, the quantity of land cannot be made out.	- - On investigation, the quantity of paddy carried away could not be arrived at, and it has been reported to the Maharanees.
29	715 1264 B.S.	- - Dokheeram Doss; residence as above.	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto
30	716 1264 B.S.	- - Sobal Noshiya; residence as above.	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto
31	717 1264 B.S.	- - Kotab Nosbya	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto
32	718 1264 B.S.	- - Hurrepersad Doss; residence as above.	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - ditto
33	1264 B.S.	- - Hakimbooa	- - Booteahs of Kallabarree and others.	- - Preventing Rajah's hant from being held.	- - ditto, Magh	- - ditto	- - ditto	- - From the report of the Darogah of Gheeladangah, it appears that the Booteahs prevented a hant from being carried on, situated a great way from the south of the Bootan boundary; and the case has been reported to the Maharanees.

(signed) F. Jenkins,
Agent, Governor General.

(No. 13.)

From Captain *W. Agnew*, Principal Assistant Commissioner and Magistrate of Gowalpora, to Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent, Governor General, North-east Frontier; dated 14th February 1858.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 3, dated the 6th ultimo, with your rocbacary of the previous day's date, and to say in reply that I have had Arung Sing's nephew, Protap Chunder Chowdrie, before me, and that he states that nothing whatever is known to the family in regard to the fate of his uncle. He says that a servant named Bysagoo, who was also carried off by the Booteahs, but released about a month afterwards, reported that he left his master bound and in close confinement, and this is the only news that has ever been received concerning the unfortunate man.

(No. 19.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to Governor General, North-east Frontier, to *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to Government of Bengal, dated Fort William, 9th March 1859.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter of this date, No. 18, regarding the aggressions of the Booteahs on the territory of Cooch Behar, I have the honour to forward a letter from the Maharanees of Cooch Behar, of the 9th Falgoun 1265, and a report from the Government vakeel, regarding the proceedings of a deputation from Bootan and Cooch Behar, to make an inquiry into the case of dacoity No. 11 of the detailed list submitted with my letter alluded to above, in which the house of Shakaloo Pradhan, of Tengamaree, was plundered of property to a large amount,* one of his chowkeedars was killed, other servants were wounded, and his brother and brother-in-law were carried away captives, the former of whom has escaped, and the latter died in confinement.

* See my letter, No. 157, of the 30th December 1857.

2. From these documents, it will appear that the Deb Rajah did send a zempo with orders to the Soobah of Bala Dwar to meet the officers attending on the part of Cooch Behar and Government, but the Soobah refused to take any steps to investigate into the dacoity, until a revision was made of the boundary laid down by Colonel Matthie and Mr. Bedford in 1851-52.

3. On referring to the proceedings of those officers in laying down this part of the boundary,† I find that a guard was then stationed at the very spot where this dacoity occurred, in order to uphold a decision of Dr. Campbell's in 1845, which Mr. Bedford observes the Booteahs had been trying to evade in 1856.

† Vide the papers submitted with my letter, No. 123, of the 14th September 1852, to Mr. Secretary C. Beadon.

Mr. Bedford with reference to this observation quotes a report of Mr. Lushington's, No. 2, of the 1st January 1850, but I am not able at present to find that report in my office.

Dr. Campbell's report on this dispute will be found in his letter to Mr. Secretary Halliday, of the 6th March 1845, accompanied by a sketch of the locality, and the individual Shakaloo on whom this dacoity has been committed, was the principal complainant in the case before Dr. Campbell; and there can be little doubt, I think, that the present violent aggression of the Booteahs was made in revenge for Shakaloo's having gained his cause against them, and with the full knowledge also of the manner in which the army of Government was then engaged against the mutineer sepoys, they took the advantage of the opportunity to plunder this wealthy talookdar.

4. It will be observed in the report of the Government vakeel that the Soobah, who appears to have come to the meeting with a large body of armed followers, and to have conducted himself throughout in a violent manner, requested to be informed who were the Booteah officers and who were the witnesses, when Colonel Matthie laid down the boundary, and it is deserving of notice that both when Mr. Bedford surveyed the boundary, and Colonel Matthie decided on the same, neither of our officers could obtain the attendance of the Soobah and officer of this Dwar, of which I presume the Soobah was perfectly well aware when he proposed the questions.

5. The guard at Khetti, in the immediate vicinity of this spot, was withdrawn at the recommendation of Colonel Matthie, on the presumption that the Booteahs would commit no further trespasses after the formal manner in which the whole line of boundary was then surveyed, and marked out in the presence of the head men concerned throughout the line, and mostly of the Booteah authorities of the respective Dwar; but any dependence on the consistent conduct of the Dwar Soobahs for any length of time is entirely out of place, and when reporting this dacoity in my letter, No. 157, of the 30th December 1857, above quoted, I had recommended that if possible a guard under an officer should be detached to Khetti, and the command of a European officer, as the only means of securing this frontier from the encroachments of the Booteahs.

6. Circumstances did not then admit of the posting of the guard ‡ at Khetti as suggested, and the Cooch Behar authorities having had only their own wretched sepoys to depend on (who are both insufficient in numbers to afford detachments of strength, are totally undisciplined and badly appointed), the Booteahs have been suffered to commit transgressions along all the frontier with impunity.

‡ See Mr. Secretary Buckland's letter, No. 398, of the 28th January 1858.

7. Nothing I conceive will effectually put a stop to these daring inroads, but the posting of a considerable force of Government troops, disposed in one or two detachments, on the frontier of Cooch Behar; but the mere presence of these guards will not be sufficient, I fear, to induce the Booteah authorities to give up the unfortunate individual now detained in captivity, and the restitution of the value of the property which has from time to time been plundered from the border villages, except by the actual occupation of one or more of the Dewars, until our demands are fully complied with.

8. The superior officers of Bootan are possibly well disposed towards our Government, but they have no effectual control over the Soobahs of Dewars, nor the Soobahs over their subordinate Kutwahs, as I have often attempted to point out; and unless our Government themselves punish the Soobahs by the attachment of the Dewars, our captive subjects and dependents who cannot escape, or effect their own ransom, will end their days in confinement, and those who have been forcibly robbed will in vain look for the restoration of their property from the supreme Government of Bootan.

9. I observe in the letter of Dr. Campbell's, which I have above referred to, that this officer's experience of the dishonesty of the Booteahs, led him to recommend to Government the same course of procedure as I have now suggested, and in fact always advised, and which I would again respectfully beg to submit for the consideration of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor.

From the Maharanees of Cooch Behar to Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to Governor General, North-east Frontier.

After compliments.

Dated 9 Falgoun 1265, B.S.

WE have received and learnt the contents of your letter of the 18th Pous, respecting of what we had written relative to the plunder of buffaloes and property belonging to Shakaloo Paromanick, of Chuckla Khetti, within our jurisdiction, and the carrying away of his brother and son-in-law captive, and that the same had been written to the Deb Rajah, and who had intimated that he would send a Zinkaff in the month of Meagh to investigate inquiries into the case; also respecting as to depute two officers, on our hearing of his arrival, to be present for the promotion of the inquiry, likewise for the Government vakeel to be in attendance also.

* Poonaka.

The Zampo of Pana* intimated to the ryotts of Chuckla Khetti, that he would arrive at the place plundered on the 20th Meagh. On hearing of this we deputed the Sudder Ameen Ramkoute Majoomdar to be in attendance at the place. From his report we learnt that before the 20th the Zinkaff of the Deb Rajah, the Zampo, and the Bela Dwar Soobah had united themselves, and spoke thus to the vakeel and the Sudder Ameen.

The Sudder Ameen opened the subject first, by explaining the case of Shakaloo Paromanick, and requested them to investigate it. The Soobah and Zampo answered, "first settle the boundary dispute." The Sudder Ameen replied (exhibiting the map of Colonel Matthie), "we must keep the boundary as demarcated by Colonel Matthie," but the Zampo and Soobah refused, and wanted to define a new boundary to the south of Colonel Matthie's line of demarcation, so as to include the lands wrested by force by the Booteahs from Cooch Behar; and added, "if you do not agree to it, we inform you that it will not be well with you all." They then made preparations to drive bamboo stakes, but did not execute it. After this the men of the Raj told them that they would point out the boundary, but the Soobah's man intimidated them, therefore they did not show it. The Sudder Ameen informed them that he could not define a new boundary without our orders, but that copies of Colonel Matthie's map had been forwarded to this Raj and the Deb Rajah, and then no one disputed the boundary. However, they would not listen to his words, but went away. Afterwards the Sudder Ameen wrote a letter to the Zampo Sobib, requesting him to uphold the boundary, but he did not reply to it. Honoured sir, the ways of the Booteahs are not hid from you; by degrees they have encroached on a great portion of land belonging to the Raj. When Colonel Matthie defined the boundary, he demarcated agreeably to under whom the lands were in possession at that time, so we lost a considerable portion. Now they again wish to define a new boundary, to include all the lands encroached upon us by force; by-and-by they may intrude more and more in the same way; we cannot comply, so Colonel Matthie's boundary has been confirmed by Government, and the Government have the expense of it. On the 29th May 1259, B.S., you wrote to us that whoever disputed the boundary would have had to pay the sum the Government expended for the demarcation. The Booteahs have not attended to it, but have commenced to contend it.

We are greatly dejected, in that the case of Shakaloo Paromanick (relative to the plunder of his property) has not been inquired into, nor has his brother or son-in-law been released from captivity. After this, for the Booteahs to commit further depredations there is no wonder, and if we were to take any measures to uphold the boundary, and to the protection of the ryotts, we fear they would not keep quiet.

Therefore, you will kindly favour us with a detachment of sepoys, raised in Assam, that in your judgment would be sufficient in keeping the boundary from encroachment, and for the investigation of the case of Shakaloo Paromanick, and the releasement of his brother-in-law from captivity.† You will kindly take the matter into consideration.

† In the statement of persons confined this individual, Roop Chand Dass, is said to have died in confinement.

7 February 1859.

REPORT of Petumber Chottopadbye, Government vakeel at Cooch Behar, on the Agent, Governor General's Perwannah, No. 49, of the 3d January 1858, respecting the dacoity committed in Chuckla Khetti, within the Cooch Behar jurisdiction, on the property of one Shakaloo Paromanick, viz. 123 buffaloes and Rs.2,935. 12. worth of property, and the carrying away the brother and son-in-law of the aforementioned captives, by Sennoth Zemindar and the Rutmah of Kuttalbarree by force, and ordering the inquiry of the case with the Zincoff on the part of the Deb Rajah, along with two officers of the Cooch Behar Government to the Bala Dewar, deputed by the Ranees, and for me to report on the same, and which I have now the honour to submit.

Sir,

On the 19th January or 7th Magh, I, on the part of Government, and Rama Kanto Majoomdar Abilkar, of Seemabundee, and Sudder Ameen, on account of the Cooch Behar Government, left Behar for the purpose cited above, and on the 21st January or 9th Magh we arrived at Chuckla Khetti, between the boundary of Behar and Bootan. Through the Seezowal and Mohurer of Khetti and the Mohurer of Ghuladanga we learnt that the Zinkaff of the Deb Rajah was not at Bala Dewar, and we then intimated our arrival to the Zempo Sahib of Pana. On this the Zempo and the Soobah of Bala Dewar arrived at Kuttalbarree on the 27th January or 15th Magh, and informed us of the same through a Zinkaff. I then wrote a letter, sealed with my own seal, to Zempo Sahib, inquiring of him on what date and place I could see him. On the 28th January I received his answer, informing me that on the 28th, at 3 p.m., his Zinkaff would arrive at Khetti, and there make known personally the date, and how he would meet us. The Zinkaff did not arrive on that date, but on the 29th, at 1 p.m., he made his appearance, and informed us that the Soobah of Bala Dewar and Zempo Sahib had left for the boundary. I, and the Sudder Ameen, with others, left for the boundary, and arrived on the south bank of the new stream of the Gurunder River, the place where the Maharajah Bhoop Bahadoor had a guard, but now it is occupied by the Booteahs, and here we met the Zempo of Pana and the Soobah of Bala Dewar, and showed your perwannah to them, and explained the case of Shakaloo Paromanick; and they replied, that on to-morrow, the 30th January, or 18th Magh, after seeing the boundary, they would investigate the charges against Sreewath Zemindar and the Kutmah of Kuttalbarree. Having spoken thus much, they left the Kuttalbarree, and we left for Khetti, and the morning of the 30th of January the Sudder Ameen, the Soobah of Bala Dewar, and Zempo Sahib, went to the place in dispute on the west of Chamoorchee and Luck Dwor's boundary, viz. the Dhuporee Banda Beel, from which the present stream of the Gurunder River issues. The Sudder Ameen and other officers, on the part of the Cooch Behar Government, showed the map on which the boundary was worked, as defined by Colonel Matthie, but the Soobah gave no heed to it, and intimated his intention of driving bamboo stakes on the margin of the land lately occupied by them, along with more land up to the Gurunder River; and as the Sudder Ameen was against it, an altercation arose between them, and which lasted to the end of the day, but they promised, on parting, to go up to the boundary the next day, and settle the dispute. On the 31st January (19th Magh) the Soobah, the Zempo, the Sudder Ameen, and myself, went again at the place, where we first encountered the Soobah and Zempo, on the 30th January. The Soobah, who had an armed force of 200 or 300 warriors and other men of the plains, surrounded us, and said, "that when Colonel Matthie laid down the boundary there was no person present on their part, and how could the boundary be correct when only one side was present." On this I showed the map to the Soobah and Zempo, and explained to them clearly the boundary according to Colonel Matthie's map, viz., on the west, the boundary of Chamoorchee; Dewar east, the boundary of Dewar Maddaree; and on its east the boundary of Banska Dewar: to this they concurred. Lucki Dewar and other places, according to the map they had also agreed to, so why should they differ in two or three other places? I likewise intimated that copies of Colonel Matthie's map had been forwarded to the Deb Rajah, to the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, and to the Government, where the boundary laid down by Colonel Matthie was confirmed, and I pointed out that no fresh disputes had arisen between the Deb Rajah and the Maharajah respecting the boundary, and requested him to investigate the dacoity case; after defining the boundary according to the map, Zempo Sahib confirmed the boundary agreeably to Colonel Matthie's map, and I was led to believe that he would also investigate the dacoity case. But the Bala Dewar Soobah and the Kuttalbarree Kutmah would not agree to the boundary laid down by Colonel Matthie, and said, "that such a map they could also draw up, and if a new boundary was defined, inclusive of the lands belonging to the Rajah, and wrested by force, they would inquire into all cases, or else not." I informed them, that without your orders I could not define a new boundary, but that I would ascertain and give a reply. After this I went away to the guard, stationed about the distance of the flight of two or three arrows. On my arrival at the above place the armed men of the Bala Dewar, with coats of mail and men of the plains armed with divers weapons, reached also, and the Soobah, Zempo, and the Sudder Ameen entered into a conversation. The Soobah and Zempo proposed to the Sudder Ameen that on part of Bootan three or four old Goon Boorahs would take the usual oaths, and point out the boundary, and that the same be done on account of Cooch Behar, and if then there should be any little difference, a proper inquiry would be made, and a boundary defined; after which the dacoity case would be investigated. The Sudder Ameen, through fear of the armed men, replied that he would send the Goon Boorahs, and went away with that pretext to the Rajah's guard. The Soobah is an angry

man, and it appeared to me that the Kutmah and Sreenoth Zemindar committed the dacoity with his orders, and had also removed the boundary line. We were led to believe that if Colonel Matthie's demarcation was not altered a dispute would take place, and as they were prepared to fight, the Sudder Ameen thought it expedient to send two or three Goon Boorahs, after making them take the usual oaths. The Goon Boorahs on the part of the Bootan Government showed a boundary, encroaching on land belonging for a long time to the Cooch Behar Rajah on the south of Colonel Matthie's demarcation. After this the Goon Boorahs, on account of Behar, left to point out the boundary as defined by Colonel Matthie. When they were a little way off they were seized by three men of the Soobah of Bala Dewar and Kutmah of Kuttalbarree, who threatened, and desired them to show the same boundary as described by the Booteahs; but if they showed the Sahib's boundary, their heads would be cut and made red, so the Goon Boorahs returned with great fear.

Then the Sudder Ameen, through a Zinkaff, intimated to the Soobah of Kutmah, that if they wished to define a new boundary, to-morrow, after considering on the matter, he would make known his intentions. The Zempo Sahib on learning this told the Soobah to abide by Colonel Matthie's boundary, and to commence investigating the case, and so terminate the dispute. The Soobah would not be advised, but made preparations to plant bamboo stakes on the land subject to the Rajah; however the Zempo would not allow him to do it, and said to the Soobah, that, before investigating the case, to define a new boundary was not proper, and that he would write about his misconduct to the Deb Rajah. The Soobah, on hearing this, desisted from carrying out his intentions, and I learnt from the Booteahs that the Soobah went amongst his armed men and hoisted the war flag, and commenced parading them, shooting arrows, drawn up in battle array; we, therefore, returned to our house in Khetti, and the Zempo and Kutmah returned to their charge at Kuttalbarree. That very night, near the guard stationed on the north bank of the Gurunder River, a number of Booteahs, mustering about 100 or 150, entered a Booteah house, and commenced shouting and yelling, and the guard fired blank cartridges at them twice, which quieted their shouting. The sepoys were great alarmed, and kept up watching till morning.

On the 1st February (20th Magh) the Sudder Ameen wrote a letter to the Zempo Sahib, at Kuttalbarree, inquiring of him whether he would adhere to the boundary laid down by Colonel Matthie, and whether he would inquire into the case of Shakaloo Poromanick, or not. On the 2d February, the Zempo answered it, addressed conjointly to myself and the Sudder Ameen, but whether it was written by him or the Soobah, it could not be known. From the writing it appeared that the Bala Dewar Soobah had written it. The purport of the letter was this, viz., inquiring when Colonel Matthie defined the boundary, who was the Soobah? the Zinkaff? the Kur Koon of the Goon Boorahs present? if their names are given to me, the boundary could be made out. Without possessing these particulars you can, if you please, establish the Janee Gurunder River as the boundary, and they intimated their intended departure from Kuttalbarree on the 21st Magh.

On the 3d February (22d Magh) I reached my house at Behar. From fear of the Booteahs, one-sixth of the inhabitants of Khetti have fled, and the rest are also ready to forsake, but the Sudder Ameen has remained there, comforting them, and has written a letter to the Ranees, and he intends to stay there till he receives their answer. Honoured sir, from the aggressions of the Booteahs, the inhabitants of Chuckhi Khetti, and of the country round the boundary, are about abandoning their houses. If you do not prevent these aggressions of the Booteahs, there is no other remedy of escaping from their depredations; and for this reason I have informed you of all these occurrences.

(No. 40.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent, Governor General, North-east Frontier, to *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated, Fort William, the 25th April 1859.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter, No. 18, of the 9th ultimo, I have the honour to forward translation of a letter from Deb Rajah, of Bootan, stating that Arung Sing, zemindar of Goomah, who had been carried captive to his territory, had died, for the information and consideration of Government.

LETTER from the Deb Rajah, of Bootan; dated the 14th Chyt, 1,265 Bengalee year.

After compliments.

I HAVE received your letter, in which you inform me about the chowdry of Goomah Arung Sing, and have made myself acquainted with its contents. In reply, I beg to state that I am not cognisant of what had transpired previously respecting him, but I now find, after instituting inquiries, that the zemindar aforementioned came to the former deceased Rajah, to make some representations to him about his distressed circumstances, and it was the intention of that Rajah to have sent him away, but the zemindar, through severe indisposition, and because his days were numbered, died. You may imagine that we had fetched the zemindar away, and had killed him, or perhaps we had thrown him into the river. The above is all false, and if you are dissatisfied with my statement, you are at liberty

liberty to ask my moonshee and kyat to make them swear by the Ganges' water and Pamatoolsee, as to whether we kept the zemindar in a proper manner, or whether we did anything to him. If a person come to my country and he die, what am I to do? You can inform the son, brother, and nephew of the deceased zemindar that his days were numbered, and he died.

(No. 206.)

COPY of the above forwarded to the Government of India in the Foreign Department for information, in continuation of the letter from this office, No. 150, of the 15th ultimo.

By order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

(signed) *E. Lushington*,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the
Government of Bengal.

Fort William, 7 May 1859.

(General Political—No. 1337.)

From *G. T. Buckland*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, the 26th of October 1857.

Sir,

WITH reference to the accompanying copy of a letter* from the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, I am directed to state that it occurs to the Lieutenant Governor that the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council may entertain doubts at present as to the expediency of carrying into effect the directions contained in your letter, No. 1603, dated the 14th April last, and his Honor will accordingly refrain from acting on those orders until further instructions are received.

* No. 111, dated the
12th October 1857.

(No. 111 of 1857.)

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the Judicial Department, Fort William; dated Gowahatty, the 12th October 1857.

Sir,

WITH reference to my letter to you, No. 41, of the 18th May last, on the subject of a communication I was directed to make to the Booteah authorities, I beg to report that I found it more difficult to get a Booteah interpreter than I had expected, as the son of the Koochee Rajah was too much alarmed by the great sickness that then prevailed to come into Gowhatty. But as shortly after I wrote you, the progress of mutiny in the Bengal army made it probable that we should have no troops disposable, in case our relations with Bootan took an hostile turn, I did not consider it necessary to be in any haste to communicate the purport of the Governor General and Lieutenant Governor's letter to the Bootan Government, nor could I well have done so, for having to write the Tongso Pillo a letter, it was returned because it was written in Bengalli, as the Dewangiri Rajah assured me it could not be read by him, and I had to send up a mohurrer to explain it, *vivâ voce*, to a Booteeah interpreter.

I have just now, however, succeeded in obtaining a Booteeah Dobashee, and should the Lieutenant Governor think it proper, I can address the Bootan Government.

2d. I beg to mention that I have received no information that I can rely upon regarding the internal state of the Bootan Government, but I conclude from circumstances that it is unsettled as ever. The Tongsa Pillo lately wrote me for a memorandum of the several cases of complaint we had against the authorities of the Western Doars, and begged I would send all letters for the Deb Rajah through him; and more recently the Dewangiri Rajah has written me that dacoits from the Chirang Doar were plundering the country, and if they come towards Dewangiri, he would be obliged to take refuge in our territories, from which I infer that the great eastern and western chiefs are still opposed to each other.

(Foreign Department—No. 4901.)

From the Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, the 8th December 1857.

Sir,

IN reply to Mr. Buckland's letter, dated the 26th October last, No. 1337, forwarding a copy of a letter from the Agent to the Governor General on the North-East Frontier, regarding the communication he was directed to make to the Booteah authorities, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General in Council approves of the intention of the Lieutenant Governor to refrain at present from acting on the orders conveyed in my letter of the 14th April last, No. 1603, and requests that the execution of the instructions in question be suspended.

Foreign Department—(No. 3479 of 1859).

From *C. Beadon*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, the 10th of June 1859.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the letters noted on the margin,* enclosing copies of communications from the Agent, Governor General North-East Frontier, bringing to notice further acts of aggression committed by the Booteahs on that frontier.

2nd. For reply, I am directed to state that His Excellency the Governor General in Council, with reference especially to the occurrences reported by the Agent, Governor General, in his letter, No. 19, dated the 9th March last, which forms one of the above enclosures, is of opinion that the time has arrived when the instructions contained in my predecessor's letter dated the 14th April 1857, No. 1603, should be acted on, and His Excellency therefore requests that the Lieutenant Governor will carry out those instructions without further delay.

(Extract.)

Sir *C. Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 12th January (No. 2) 1860.

Booteah aggressions.

10. IN consequence of renewed acts of aggression on the part of Booteah marauders on the North-Eastern Frontier, and the detention of the persons carried off two or three years ago, you have directed the resumption of the measures of coercion determined upon in the early part of 1857, but laid aside on account of the generally unsettled state of the country. On referring to the letter of your Government, under date 14th April 1857, I find that you then recommended a military demonstration on the frontier, and the seizure of certain border tracts belonging to the Booteah rulers, to be permanently annexed to British territories. I trust that there will be no necessity to resort to any measures of permanent occupation.

(No. 13.)

Fort William, Foreign Department, 22 February 1860.

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., M.P., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Sir,

WITH reference to paragraph 10 of your Despatch, No. 2, dated 12th January last, respecting the Booteah aggressions, we have the honour to transmit, for your information, the accompanying copies of a letter from the Bengal Government, dated the 31st December, and of a letter from the Secretary to Government of India, with the Governor General, dated 31st January last.

We have, &c.

(signed) *J. Outram.*
H. B. E. Frere.
Henry Wilson.

(Political—No. 546.)

From *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

Foreign Department, Fort William,
31 December 1859.

Sir,

WITH reference to Mr. Secretary Beadon's letter, No. 3479, of the 10th June last, I am directed to forward herewith, for submission to the Honourable the President in Council, a copy of the correspondence noted in the margin.†

2. Upon

* From Secretary to Government of Bengal, dated 2d April 1859, No. 79.

From Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 15th April 1859, No. 150.

Office Memorandum from Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 7th May 1859, No. 206.

† Letter to Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, No. 264; dated 5 July 1859.

Letter from Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, No. 116; dated 3 November 1859, with enclosure.

2. Upon a review of the previous correspondence on the subject of the Booteah aggressions, the Lieutenant Governor observes that in May 1856, the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, reported that a person named Aurung Sing, who was said to be the hereditary zemindar of Gooma Dooar, in the Booteah territory, had been forcibly carried off by a party of armed Booteahs from his residence at Mouza Petlah, in the district of Gawalparah, in the British territories.

3. A little before this event the Booteahs had been guilty of robberies committed on the Assam Frontier, but it appears that the authorities of the Bootan States had tendered apologies for those outrages.

4. The abduction of Aurung Sing having been reported to the Government of India, that Government directed that a communication should be addressed to the Bootan authorities demanding from them the punishment of the offenders, and an apology for the acts of their dependents, and warning them that if atonement were not made for this new aggression, the Supreme Government would hold itself free to take permanent possession of the Bengal Dooars.

5. The necessary communication was made to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs of Bootan through the Governor General's Agent, North-East Frontier, who, in November 1856, submitted a translation of the reply received by him from the Deb Rajah alone, the Dhurm Rajah being then absent on a pilgrimage. This reply was so vague and unsatisfactory that Colonel Jenkins considered further reference to the Bootan authorities unnecessary, and recommended the annexation of the Bengal Dooars as the only effective measure that could be adopted for the prevention of the constant outrages committed by the subordinate Booteah officers on British subjects.

6. Shortly afterwards the Agent reported two other cases of aggression. The one referred to the detention by the Bootan authorities of a British subject named Salgram Osawal, who had proceeded to the Mynagoorie Dooar to trade; and the other to the forcible abduction of two men* from the territory of the Rajah of Cooch Behar.

7. The evasive answer returned by the Deb Rajah of Booteah to the demand made for the surrender of Aurung Sing, and the two cases of aggression subsequently committed by the Booteahs having been reported to the Government of India, that Government directed, as the first step, that a regiment of native infantry should be immediately sent to Rungpore, the point which most effectually threatened the Western or Bengal Dooars, and observed that the Governor General would still avoid, if possible, not only a collision with the Booteahs, but the encumbrance of an additional charge of territory. The late Lieutenant Governor (Mr. Halliday), who was about to proceed to that part of Bengal, was desired to make personal inquiries, with a view to ascertain the true condition and relation to each other of the Bootan authorities on the borders of the British territory.

8. About February 1857, the 73d Regiment N. I., and a squadron of the 11th Irregular Cavalry, were, under the orders of the Military Department, sent to Rungpore, and with the consent of the Lieutenant Governor, encamped at Julpigooree, on the right bank of the Teesta.

9. In March 1857, Mr. Halliday reported to the Supreme Government the result of his visit to the Bootan Frontier, and of his personal conference with the Governor General's Agent, and with the better informed natives or residents of the North-East Frontier, and of Cooch Behar.

10. The impression left on his mind was that the Central Government of Bootan, at Tas-sudon, did, under ordinary circumstances, exercise an effective control over the subordinate Provincial Governors, or Soobahs; but that the degree of this control was liable to variation, according to the state of the parties at the seat of the Central Government, and had, in fact, during some years past, and up to a very recent time, been greatly impaired by contentions regarding the office of Deb Rajah.

11. The Government of Bootan was exercised as to spiritual matters by the Dhurm Rajah and his conclave of priests, and as to temporal matters by the Deb Rajah, who was elected from time to time from among the great functionaries of state.

12. The then Deb Rajah, or his predecessor, was said to have been in some measure a usurper, and to have been upheld by a party in opposition to the party of the Dhurm Rajah. While the late Lieutenant Governor was at Julpigooree, it was reported, and the rumour was believed by Colonel Jenkins, that the rebel, or usurping Deb Rajah had demised, and that a new Deb Rajah had been very recently placed in office with the entire consent of the party of the Dhurm Rajah, and it was supposed that this change of administration was likely to be favourable to the cause of order and good government on the frontier.

13. While each Dooar, and several subdivisions of Dooars had respectively their own local Governors, it appeared that the eastern territory was under the general rule of a functionary called the Tongso Pillo, and the western territory under that of one called the Paro Pillo. Several central Dooars, including, as it seemed, the Dooars concerned in the abduction of Aurung Sing and Ramdololl, were more immediately under the Deb Rajah, without the intervention of either the Tongso or the Paro Pillo, but each Dooar had its assigned Soobah or local governor.

14. The recent acts of outrage were believed to have been directed or connived at by the Chief immediately subject to the Deb Rajah, and more closely connected with the Paro Pillo, or western governor, than with the Tongso Pillo, who, in the opinion of Colonel Jenkins, was desirous of conducting himself amicably towards the British Government.

15. Under

* Ramdololl and his son Julbel, who was subsequently released.

15. Under these circumstances, the late Lieutenant Governor was of opinion that it was not advisable at that time to proceed to the coercion of the Central Government by the stoppage of the payments made through the Tongso Pillo, out of the revenues of the Assam Dooars. That such a measure would doubtless be felt by the Deb Rajah, but that it would probably fall more heavily on the Tongso Pillo, who was well disposed to the British Government, and with whom it was advisable to preserve amicable relations as long as possible.

16. There had, however, been some indications from which it might be possible to infer that the offences complained of were about to be in some measure atoned for. It was certain that the Katma of Madaree in Lukhee Dooar, by whom Ramdololl had been seized and carried off from Cooch Behar, had been removed, and it was supposed that his deposition would be followed by the restoration of Ramdololl.

17. In this state of affairs, the season being too far advanced for any active operations, the late Lieutenant Governor was of opinion that a communication should be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs through both the Paro and Tongso Pillors, solemnly warning them against trifling with the forbearance of the British Government, and once more calling upon them to deliver up Aurung Sing and Ramdololl, or abide such measures as the British Government might on failure of full satisfaction adopt for the vindication of its own rights and power.

18. The Government of India approved of this suggestion, and authorised one more demand to be addressed to the Bootan authorities, for the delivery of Aurung Sing and Ramdololl, taking care that nothing be said which should hamper the Government in determining hereafter when and how it should act in the event of the demand being refused.

19. If measures of force should become necessary, the Governor General thought that the first step to be adopted should be the seizure in permanent possession of the tract of country which the Bootan Government held on this side of the Teesta, which was ceded to them more than 70 years ago, and which is now held in form by this Government.

20. The Agent to the Governor General was requested to make the demand ordered by the Supreme Government, but in his letter of the 12th October 1857, that officer reported that in consequence of the progress of mutiny in the Bengal army, it was probable that no troops would be available, in case the relations of this Government with Bootan took a hostile turn. Colonel Jenkins therefore did not then consider it necessary to communicate the purport of the Governor General's orders to the Bootan Government, and the late Lieutenant Governor intimated to the Supreme Government that he would refrain from acting upon those orders until further instructions were received. The Government of India approved of this intention.

21. In November 1858, an extract was received through the Foreign Department from a despatch from the late Honourable the Court of Directors, inquiring whether Aurung Sing and Ramdololl had been released by the Booteah authorities, and the Governor General's Agent was requested to supply the information required.

22. Colonel Jenkins reported in January last that neither of the two individuals had been released, and that another recent dacoity had been committed by the Booteah authorities of Bhulka Dooar, in which Buttechur Mendul and six others, subjects of Cooch Behar, were carried off into the Booteah territory. This was reported to the Foreign Department on the 2nd April last.

23. In his letter of the 19th March last, Nos. 18 and 19, the Governor General's Agent reported further aggression committed by the Booteahs on the Cooch Behar territory, and stated that he had frequently addressed the Deb Rajah and the local officers concerned respecting them, but without any redress in any instance. These communications were forwarded to the Supreme Government on the 15th April last.

24. The Governor General in Council was of opinion in reply, with reference especially to the occurrences recently reported by Colonel Jenkins, that the time had arrived when the instructions on the subject of once more demanding the delivery of Aurung Sing and Ramdololl, which had been suspended in consequence of the mutiny, should be acted upon, and his Excellency therefore desired that those instructions be carried out without further delay.

25. The Governor General's Agent was accordingly directed to demand from the Bootan Government the release of all British and Cooch Behar subjects detained in captivity in the Booteah territory, and that officer now submits the reply received by him from the Deb Rajah, stating that he considers the explanation therein offered to be quite unsatisfactory, and urging the necessity of taking possession of the district ceded to the Bootan Government.

26. The Lieutenant Governor feels doubtful of the Deb Rajah's reply being such as to make it necessary to seize the ceded tracts by way of punishment. It is a very great advantage that the Booteahs should possess land which is easily taken by the British Government, and the taking of which will be felt as a real loss by them; as it enables the British Government to hold out a practical menace. But once the menace has been carried into execution, there is nothing left in reserve for the punishment of future outrages, or at least the reserve is materially reduced. This is, in the Lieutenant Governor's opinion, a reason for not striking except in a case of the last necessity. Again, it is a great object that the blow, if struck, should have all the effect of a punishment for some known offence; and as little as possible the appearance of an act of aggression for the sake of acquisition. But for this object it is necessary that the blow should follow immediately upon some notorious and unauthorised act of outrage on the part of the Booteahs; or, at least, if it has

has been long delayed, that it should be struck at a time when the Booteah Government of the day is particularly hostile, or has shown great incivility in its diplomatic relations with the British Government. But the original offences now in discussion are already nearly four years old; and they were committed by a former Deb Rajah, who appears to have been in some sort a usurper, and was certainly in opposition to the Dhurm Rajah and the party of the present Deb Rajah. The present Deb Rajah's letter is not uncivil in its expression, and it professes all willingness to afford reparation. It does not promise to punish the old offenders, but it is not known how far the present Deb Rajah has it in his power to punish the acts in question.

27. On the whole, it appears to the Lieutenant Governor that the British Government is not forced to strike now, and that if it does so the blow will not be properly effective, while in the act it will not the less expend the best bolt in its quiver, which can never be replaced.

28. The Lieutenant Governor recommends that instead of any present action, Colonel Jenkins be authorised, of his own motion, and without reference to Government, to take possession of the tract in question immediately upon the next great outrage which, on his representation, may not be immediately atoned for; and that he be directed to inform the Deb Rajah of the authority he has received, and to warn him that it will certainly be acted upon if the occasion arises.

Political.—(No. 264.)

From *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier.

Sir,

Fort William, 5 July 1859.

WITH reference to your letters of the numbers and dates noted on the margin, bringing to notice further acts of aggression committed by the Booteahs, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward to you the accompanying copy of a communication (No. 3479, of the 10th ultimo), from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, from which you will observe that his Excellency the Governor General in Council, with reference especially to the occurrences reported in your letter (No. 19) of the 9th March last, is of opinion that the time has arrived when the instructions contained in Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's letter (No. 1603) of the 14th April 1857 (a copy of which was transmitted to you with this office communication (No. 1995 of the 2d May 1857), should be carried into effect.

2. You are accordingly requested to make to the Booteah authorities the communication directed in the third paragraph of Mr. Edmonstone's letter, above quoted, for the delivery of Ramdololl, and also of other persons since reported to be captured, bearing in mind the caution given in paragraph 6, and to report the result for the information of Government.

No. 2, dated 5
January 1859.
Nos. 18 and 19, dated
9 March 1859.
No. 40, dated 25
April 1859.

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 116, of the 3d November 1859).

Sir,

WITH reference to the 5th paragraph of my letter, No. 108, of the 22d ultimo, and the orders of Government there referred to of the 5th July, I have now the honour to submit a translation of the letter received from the Deb Rajah, in reply to my letter of 25th July, a copy of which I also annex for reference.

2. In the first paragraph of his letter, the Deb Rajah alludes to the circumstances of the deputation of a Booteah officer to meet the Cooch Behar officers and the Government Vakeel, to inquire into the dacoity in Sakaloo Paromanick's house, the result of which was reported in my letter (No. 19) of 9th March last, and which I think requires no further remarks at present.

3. In the 2d and 3d paragraphs of his letter the Deb Rajah repeats the assertion of the death of Aurung Sing, the refugee zemindar of Goomah, who was carried off from our Pergunnah of Goorlah, where he had been residing for one or two years. It is possible enough that this man has died after the ill-treatment he was no doubt subjected to, but the Deb Rajah makes no excuse whatever for the forcible abduction of this individual by an armed body of Booteahs; he only imputes the blame apparently to the other Deb Rajah, who was then disputing authority with him.

4. In his next paragraph, the Deb Rajah, with reference to the statement of aggressions annexed to my letter to him of the 25th July, which was the same as that sent to Government with my letter, No. 18, of the 9th March last, takes no other notice of it than to ask for more particulars in a more explicit form, when he promises to give strict orders regarding them.

On which I beg to observe that in bringing to the notice of the Booteah Government the greater part of these offences, as they were reported to me, all the particulars of each case were forwarded at that time; and it appears evident, I think, that any further attempt to detail the offences would be useless, for, judging from the past conduct of the Bootan

Government

Government for many years past, we may be assured that any such attempt would only be met with the former evasion and delay.

5. Being fully persuaded that any further representations to the Bootan Government, in the hope of obtaining redress of our grievances, would be unavailing, I would with deference submit that the time has arrived to carry out the instructions of the Supreme Government, conveyed in the 4th and 5th paragraphs of Mr. Edmonstone's letter of the 14th April 1857 (No. 1603).

Translation of a Letter from the Deb Rajah of Bootan to the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier; dated the 14th Bhadro, 1,266, B.S.

After compliments.

I HAVE been duly favoured with your two letters, one through the Tungsa Sooba, and the other through the Soobah of Bala Dooar, and have learnt their contents. As regards your requisition for an inquiry after the stolen property of Sakaloo Paromanick, I beg to say that I have already requested you to depute a person after the expiration of the month of Magh, to Bala Dooar, to meet our deputy at that place, and make arrangements for the institution of an inquiry of the case. Further, that I had directed Sreenoth Zemindar, Soobah of Bala Dooar, and the Soobah of Katalbaree, to inform the jemadar of your police that he should co-operate with them in making thorough investigation of the case of Sakaloo Paromanick's property, and in setting up a bamboo on the line of demarcation, which will prevent further disputes regarding the boundary; and also in tracing the lurking-places of the mutineers of both Governments, and make a faithful report on oath of everything; but I regret that the jemadar, instead of acting up to our wishes, absconded himself, and the matter has since been kept in abeyance; and my request to Sakaloo Paromanick to settle our mutual accounts of debt and property, has not been attended to.

I have reported to you before regarding Aurung Sing, the zemindar of Goomah, who was a servant of our Government. He had come into Bootan to settle some revenue affair, and not being able to withstand the bad climate of the hills, he fell ill and died shortly afterwards. Our moonshee kayat, who is an eye-witness, can testify the fact if you have doubts of my veracity. We have no control over death; you can hold me no more responsible for the death of your subject in our territory, than I can hold you for the death of our men in yours; it is superfluous to tell you this, you know everything.

When there was clashing of power between the two Debs, I was at Poonakha, and I was not at all aware of the circumstances of the zemindar in question before I got your letter, the Deb Rajah of Tasheesoodun not having told anything about it. On the receipt of your letter I immediately inquired of the old amlahs of my court about the zemindar, but I am sorry to say they informed me that he died.

Your previous communications on the subject of the Booteahs committing dacoities in the Cooch Behar frontier, and carrying away persons and property of every description to Bootan, did not contain the details as to the names of the villages whence the culprits came, the amount of property in brass, copper, &c., stolen, and the number of captives carried away, and so forth, embracing the dates of occurrences; and I therefore beg to say that I shall not fail to issue strict orders on the Dooar on your letting me know the particulars in more explicit form. It is customary with us that the Deb Rajah never speaks untruth, and so I hope you will credit what I have said above.

I have not been informed from the Julpigooree Soobah of the murder noticed in your letter; I shall not lose time, however, in instituting an inquiry of the case, and let you know the result. You are a great man, and should not be prejudiced by the malicious reports of of vulgar and low-minded men. You should consider the matter well before you condemn or accept of it. In conclusion, I beg to inform you that your two letters to the Dhurm Rajah have been duly forwarded.

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to the Dhurm Rajah; dated the 25th July 1859.

After the usual compliments.

THE Maharanees of Cooch Behar, in connection with the violent proceedings of the Soobah of Bala Dooar, who was sent down by the Deb Rajah, with a zingpo of his to make inquiries into the case of dacoity committed at the house of Sakaloo Purdhon of Tangamaree, having lately brought to my notice the number of the subjects of the Cooch Behar Rajah's territory who were still kept in confinement within the Bootan territories, forwarding therewith a list of all the late dacoities committed by Booteah subjects, I have submitted the Maharanees' letters and the list for the orders of the Supreme Government, pointing out at the same time how ineffectual all my applications to you and the Deb Rajah for any redress have proved, and that I have every reason to believe that Aurung Sing and Ramdololl, the former of whom was forcibly carried away from the district of Gowalparah, and the latter from Cooch Behar, were still kept in confinement.

The Governor General of India having had the above papers duly laid before him by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, has again directed me to demand of you the immediate release of all British and Cooch Behar subjects now in confinement in Bootan, in the custody

custody of any authorities whatever, and to warn you once more, that in case of your not complying with these just demands of Government, the Governor General will take such measures as he may think fit for enforcing his demands.

I beg to annex for your information a copy of the list of aggressions which have been committed by your people on the subjects of Cooch Behar, and to give you separately the names of such persons as are still known to be detained in captivity.

I need not now remind you of the proceedings of the Mynagoorie Soobah and the persons under his jurisdiction who some time back were guilty of so many atrocities, for whom no redress could be obtained from you or your officers, and which have only ceased since a regiment of Sepoys was placed at Julpigooree to restrain the gang of robbers who were allowed to take refuge at that fortification.

I have to request an early answer to this letter.

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General North-East Frontier.

THE same to the Deb Rajah, sent *viâ* Buxa Dooar, and two copies sent *viâ* Dewangiri, through the Tungso Pillo.

(Foreign Department.—No. 167 of 1860.)

From *R. B. Chapman*, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, to *Cecil Beadon*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General; dated Fort William, 17th January 1860.

Sir,

I am directed to transmit to you, for the consideration and orders of his Excellency the Governor General, the enclosed copy of a letter from the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 31st ultimo, No. 546, with its enclosures, regarding the several outrages committed by the Booteahs, and the measures to be adopted in consequence.

2. The papers marginally noted on the subject are also forwarded for reference.

Foreign, 1859.
Consultation, 10
June, No. 37 of
1843.

(Foreign Department.—No. 271.)

From *Cecil Beadon*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General, to *W. Grey*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta; dated Camp Phugwara, 31st January 1860.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Chapman's letter, No. 167, dated 17th instant, forwarding for the consideration of the Governor General copy of a letter and of its enclosures, from the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, regarding the several outrages committed by the Booteahs, and the measures to be adopted in consequence.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that the Governor General is of opinion that the former orders for the punishment of the Bootan Government should take their course.

3. The Deb Rajah's reply to the agent, his Excellency observes, is not uncivil (as some previous letters from that quarter have been), but it is thoroughly evasive; and if his assumption that demands for redress must contain the names of the (villages in his own territory) whence the offenders come, be now admitted, it is very doubtful whether when the next outrage occurs the Government will be in a condition to make a demand which it can press.

4. The Governor General thinks too, that such cases as these are cases in which action should be decided upon by the Supreme Government and not by the Agent. The only reason for delegating the decision to the Agent would be the securing of very immediate action when the provocation arises; but, as the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal very properly suggests, when the next outrage does occur, representation of it should be made to the Bootan authorities, and atonement should be asked for by the Agent before acting, action cannot be so prompt but that the Government will practically have to decide whether it shall take place or not.

5. His Excellency therefore thinks it better that the Government should not leave the Agent to act of his own motion, and thus put upon him a responsibility which he may shrink from exercising.

6. The best course, his Excellency observes, will be to take possession of the tract of country on this side of the Teesta, which was ceded to the Bootan Government, and is now held in form by the British Government, and to address a letter to the Deb Rajah, stating categorically the circumstances of each case of outrage (some of which, I am to remark, are of much later date than four years), on account of which redress is demanded, requiring not only the restoration of captives, but the punishment of the guilty parties, and informing the Rajah that the territory will not be restored till full reparation is given.

7. The Governor General assumes that the Agent has actually at command the means of now carrying out these orders effectually and safely.

(Foreign Department, No. 455 of 1860.)

From *R. B. Chapman*, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, to
E. H. Lushington, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort
 William, 11 February 1860.

Sir,

WITH reference to your Despatch, dated 31st December last, No. 546, regarding the outrages committed by the Booteahs, and the measures to be adopted in consequence, I am directed by the Honourable the President in Council to transmit, for the information of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor, the enclosed copy of a letter from the Secretary with the Governor General on the subject; dated the 31st ultimo, No. 271.

(Extract.)

Sir *C. Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 29 June
 (No. 52) 1860.

No. 13, Government of India, 22d
 February 1860. Booteah Aggressions.

3. I LEARN from the papers now submitted, that you have directed the local authorities, as security for the fulfilment of the demands made upon the Deb Rajah, to take possession of the tract of country on the British side the Teesta, which was ceded to the Bootan Government, and is now held in farm by the British Government, and to inform the Rajah that the territory will not be restored until full reparation is given for the outrages committed by his people upon the British frontier. This course is far preferable to the measure of permanent annexation recommended in 1857, and has the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

(Foreign Department, Political.—No. 32.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., M.P.,
 and G.C.B., dated Fort William, 22 February 1862.

Sir,

IN continuation of our letter No. 13, dated the 22d February 1860, we

Proceedings	May	1860, Nos. 181 to 184.
"	June	" " 170 & 171.
"	July	" No. 134.
"	November	" Nos. 169 to 171.
"	January 1861,	No. 1.
"	April	" Nos. 243 to 247.
"	May	" No. 214.
"	"	Nos. 191 to 193.
"	September	" 109 & 110.
"	January 1862,	" 132 to 137.
"	February	" 64 to 70.

Office Memorandum from Government of Bengal,
 dated 3 and 5 February 1862.

the occupation of the country west of the Teesta produced no effect.

2. In April 1860 the Bengal Government forwarded a communication from the Agent, North-eastern Frontier, reporting the steps which he had taken towards the occupation of the Booteah territories to the west of the Teesta, and of the reply thereto. The Lieutenant Governor requested instructions as to the steps to be next taken in case

3. Colonel Jenkins had gone beyond the instructions conveyed in Mr. Beadon's letter dated 31st January 1860. Those instructions were to take possession of a tract of country belonging to Bootan, and to address a letter to the Deb Rajah demanding reparation for certain outrages, and intimating to him that, until the demand was complied with, the territory would not be restored. But it appeared that Colonel Jenkins had directed absolute and permanent possession to be taken, and had informed the Bootan Government that, if the required reparation were not made, more territory would be seized.

4. While

4. While we did not consider it expedient to make any change in the terms in which Colonel Jenkins had actually demanded reparation, we informed the Lieutenant Governor that it was not the wish of Government entirely to shut out all hope of a future restoration of the territory that had been seized, and that Colonel Jenkins should be authorised, in his future communications with the Bootan authorities, to shape his course on that understanding, so far as opportunities might be afforded him of doing so, without weakening his position by an appearance of drawing back.

5. The Lieutenant Governor was further informed that the Governor General in Council did not regard the Government as committed to a line of retributive coercion, if by that was meant that, having seized the land west of the Teesta, we must go on to seize other lands east of it, and so onward; that whether such a course might or might not be afterwards expedient, could not be determined until the effect of the first seizure was known; and that this effect could not be looked for until the Bootas found, for certain, that they would no longer receive rent from us for the lands seized.

6. In January 1861 the Soubah of Dalimkote, in a letter to the Superintendent of Darjeeling, requested that 2,000 rupees might be sent to him on account of the revenues of Ambaree Fallacotta. The letter was made over to Colonel Jenkins for disposal, and he informed the Dhurm Rajah of Bootan that no reply had been received to the communication informing him (the Rajah) of the reasons for annexing the district. Colonel Jenkins's letter concluded with the words:—"I have, however, again to state that the revenue of Ambaree and Fallacotta will not be given to you." Captain Hopkinson (Colonel Jenkins's successor) thought this letter to the Rajah to be more positive in tone than Government intended, and he took advantage of another letter from the Soubah of Dalimkote to make a second communication to the Rajah, and to tell him that he could not bring under consideration of Government any request for the restoration of the revenue of the annexed district, until the Rajah complied with Colonel Jenkins's demand for the immediate release of all British and Cooch Behar subjects in confinement in Bootan.

7. The terms of Captain Hopkinson's letter to the Dhurm Rajah were quite right and proper, and were approved by us.

8. The communications from the Government of Bengal, of the dates noted in the margin, informed us of fresh aggressions of the Bootas in British territory, as well as in the territory of the Rajahs of Cooch Behar and Sikkim, and submitted the views of the Agent to the Governor General on the North-eastern Frontier, as to the best means for exacting reparation from the Bootanese Government for the numerous outrages of which its subjects had lately been guilty, and for placing our future relations with the Bootanese on a more satisfactory footing.

11	December	1861.
21	"	"
6	January	1862.
11	"	"

9. It seemed to the Lieutenant Governor that some course of action of a decided character should be taken. Of the alternative courses suggested by Major Hopkinson, namely, the occupation of a portion of the Bootanese territory, or the sending of a mission to Bootan, and constituting a permanent agency at the Court of the Deb Rajah, the latter appeared to the Lieutenant Governor the more advisable.

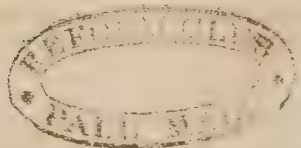
10. We have informed the Bengal Government that it is very expedient that a mission should be sent to Bootan to explain what our demands are, and what we will do if they are not conceded, and to make our engagement with Sikkim clearly understood by the Bootas. But we were doubtful as to placing an agent in Bootan, and have reserved that question for decision after the result of the mission is known.

11. The communications of the Bengal Government, of the dates noted in the margin, made us acquainted with further aggressions of the Bootas who, it was rumoured, were throwing up bamboo rafts over the Teesta at a place called Pagma, on the Sikkim frontier, for the purpose of attacking Darjeeling.

29	January	1862.
30	"	"
1	February	"

12. The Lieutenant Governor has been told that we have little doubt that if the reported movement amongst the Bootanese has any definite object, that object is to collect for themselves the rents of the Fallacotta Talooks, or to induce the

British Government to surrender them. But whatever the object may be, we are of opinion that the force which has been dispatched from Dinapore, consisting of two companies of European and a wing of native infantry, is quite sufficient for all the purposes of keeping the peace and protecting our territory.



We have, &c.

(signed) *Canning.*
H. B. E. Frere.
R. Napier.
S. Laing.
W. Ritchie.

From *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 142); dated 23 April 1860.

Sir,

WITH reference to Mr. Officiating Under Secretary Chapman's letter, No. 455, dated the 11th February last, I am directed to forward herewith a copy of a communication* from the Governor General's Agent, North-East Frontier, reporting the steps which he has taken towards the occupation of the Bhooteah territories to the west of the Teesta, and of the reply thereto. It will be seen that Colonel Jenkins has gone beyond the instructions conveyed in Mr. Secretary Beadon's letter of the 21st January last, No. 271; but the Lieutenant Governor presumes that the Right Honourable the Governor General will not think it expedient now to make any change in the terms on which the demand for reparation has been actually made by the Agent, which were those originally prescribed in Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's letter of the 14th April 1857, No. 1603.

* No. 27, dated 26 March 1860.

2. As the hands of Government are already pretty full in that quarter, owing to incursions of savages and to the present rising in Jynteah; now that the Government is committed to a line of retributive coercion against the Bhooteahs, which must be persisted in till they submit; and now that the Government has taken the first step in that line, the Lieutenant Governor does not think that it would be prudent not to send immediate reinforcements to the Bhootan frontier. And he infers that this is the opinion of Colonel Jenkins.

3. The Lieutenant Governor also requests instructions as to the steps to be next taken, in case the occupation of the country west of the Teesta produces no effect.

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Governor General's Agent, North-East Frontier, to *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 27); dated 26 March 1860.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 506, of the 25th ultimo, directing me to give effect to the orders communicated in Mr. Secretary Beadon's letter, No. 271, of the 31st January last, regarding the attachment of the Bhooteah Mehal to the west of the Teesta River; and to inform you that I have issued instructions to the Superintendent of Darjeeling to take possession of the Mehal in question in the name of Her Majesty, and beg to forward, for submission to the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor, a copy of my letter to the Superintendent, as per margin, to that effect, which I trust will be approved of by his Honor.

My letter, No. 97, of the 21st instant, to A. Campbell, Esq., Superintendent of Darjeeling.

2. With reference to your 2d paragraph, I beg to state that, as I believe the 73d Regiment Native Infantry is still encamped at Julpigoree, I do not imagine there is any probability of the Bhooteahs attempting any aggression, the Teesta being between this Mehal and their resources; for if they were to venture across the river, it is evident that their troops could be intercepted with the greatest ease.

3. If, however, the Government should direct the occupation of Jelpesh or Minagooree, it would be undoubtedly necessary to place strong detachments of our troops in the Mehals to be occupied, or otherwise the Bhooteahs, whose fastnesses are so close as to admit of a night sally and a safe retreat before we could cross a party from Julpigoree, might be induced to make a raid on the Mehals, not so much with any hope of retaining them, as to render them useless to us by their waste, plundering, and driving off the people.

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Governor General's Agent, North-East Frontier, to *A. Campbell*, Esq., Superintendent of Darjeeling (No. 97); dated 21 March 1860.

Sir,

I BEG to forward to you copies of letters as per margin, directing me to carry out the orders of the Supreme Government, conveyed to the Government of Bengal in Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's letter, No. 1603, of the 14th April 1857, by taking possession permanently of the tract of country named Ambaree Fallacotta, which was formerly ceded to the Bhootan Government, on the west side of the River Teesta, and for some time past has been farmed by the British Government, under your superintendence.

No. 506, of the 25th ultimo, from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, transmitting a copy of a letter, No. 271, of the 31st January, from Mr. Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General.

2. I have the honour to request you will take formal possession of the tract in question in the name of Her Majesty, ceasing to pay any further rents for it from the receipt of this letter; and you will be pleased to inform the local Bhooteah authorities of the grounds on which the present orders have been reluctantly issued by the Government of India, viz., the constant outrages committed on the subjects of Her Majesty and the Rajah of Cooch Behar, for which the Government can obtain no redress from the Dhurum and Deb Rajahs of Bhootan. They are, therefore, compelled to have recourse to other measures for the protection of their people; and the authorities may be assured that, if the present occupation of the tract above noticed does not produce any alteration in the policy of the Government of Bhootan in the management of their Dooars, if the local officers are not effectually restrained from committing outrages on the inhabitants of Rungpore and Cooch Behar, and if the delinquents, whose apprehension and delivery to the magistrates of those respective countries has been repeatedly demanded from the Soobahs and the permanent officers of the Bhootan Government, are not forthwith made over to us, the Government will follow up the orders now to be enforced by the further occupation of other Dooars.

3. You will find no difficulty, I imagine, in carrying out these orders, but should the Bhooteahs offer any open resistance, you will of course call upon the officer commanding the 73d Regiment at Julpigoree to give your officers the necessary protection.

4. I shall be obliged by your informing me when you have carried out the present orders of Government.

5. A communication to the purport of my 2d and 3d paragraphs will be immediately made to the Dhurum and Deb Rajahs.

From *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier (No. 143); dated 23 April 1860.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 27, dated the 26th ultimo, and in reply to state that the Lieutenant Governor thinks it necessary to point out that in conveying the orders of Government to the Bhooteah authorities, you have apparently not adverted to the difference between the orders conveyed in Mr. Beadon's letter of the 31st January last, No. 271, which are those which ought to have been considered now in force, and those communicated in Mr. Edmonstone's letter of the 14th April 1857, No. 1603, upon which the communication you made appears to have been founded. The last orders authorise merely the conditional seizure of territory, with an implied promise of restoration on compliance with the demand made. The orders first issued directed absolute seizure, and a threat of further seizures in the event of continued neglect to comply with that demand. A copy of a letter to the Government of India, in which your proceedings are reported, is enclosed.

From *W. Grey*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to Government of Bengal (No. 1297); dated 9 May 1860.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 142, dated 23d ultimo, forwarding copy of a communication, No. 27, dated March 26th 1860, from the Governor General's Agent, North-east Frontier, reporting the steps taken towards the occupation of the Bhooteah territories to the west of the Teesta, and of your reply thereto.

2. Colonel Jenkins, as remarked in your letter, has undoubtedly gone beyond the instructions conveyed in Mr. Beadon's letter, No. 271, dated 31st January 1860. Those instructions were to take possession of a tract of country belonging to Bhootan, and to address a letter to the Deb Rajah, demanding reparation for certain outrages, and intimating to him that, until the demand was complied with, the territory would not be restored. But, from Colonel Jenkins's letter to the Superintendent of Darjeeling, it appears that he has directed absolute and permanent possession to be taken, and has informed the Bhootan Government that, if the required reparation is not made, more territory will be seized.

3. Nor does it appear to the President in Council that Colonel Jenkins's proceedings are any more justified by the orders of 1857, than they are by Mr. Beadon's letter of January last. Mr. Edmonstone's letter, dated the 14th of April 1857, did not prescribe to the Agent the course which he has now followed, but, on the contrary, though suggesting that course as one expedient to be followed, if measures of force should become necessary, a simple demand for reparation was alone directed to be made in the first instance, an express injunction being added that, in making it, nothing should be said which might hamper the Government in determining how it should act in the event of the demand being refused.

4. What Colonel Jenkins has now done is, in fact, a departure from the orders of Government, less in degree only than if, in 1857 (had nothing then intervened to prevent the orders of Government from being acted upon), he had then bound the Government as to its course of action by at once seizing the territory in permanent possession, in place of first making a demand for reparation.

5. While, therefore, the President in Council concurs with the Lieutenant Governor in considering it inexpedient to make now any change in the terms on which Colonel Jenkins has actually demanded reparation, he thinks that that officer should understand, that it is not the wish of Government entirely to shut out all hope of a future restoration of the territory that has been seized, and that he should be authorised, in his future communications with the Bhootan authorities, to shape his course on that understanding, so far as opportunities may be afforded him of doing so, without weakening his position by an appearance of drawing back.

6. With reference to the 2d paragraph of your letter, I am directed to state that the President in Council does not infer from Colonel Jenkins's letter that he considers reinforcements necessary, unless it is determined to take still further measures of coercion; and on that point his Honor in Council proposes to defer coming to a decision until the arrival of the Governor General in Calcutta. It is possible that, in the interim, some further communication may be received from the Agent, which will inform the Government of the effect produced by the occupation of the tract to the west of the Teesta.

MINUTE by the Right Honourable the Governor General, concurred in by the Members of Council; dated 6 June 1860.

Bhootan.

1. I HAVE read the papers relating to recent proceedings on the North-Eastern Frontier, and will briefly state how I view these.

2. The Governor General's Agent on the North-Eastern Frontier has, as a punishment to the Bhootan Government for their continued contumacy, seized the tract of country west of the Teesta, which was formerly ceded by us to the Bhootan Government.

He has not accompanied the act with the letter which, in January last, he was directed to address to the Deb Rajah, to the effect that the territory will not be restored till full reparation be given; which letter was meant to serve, and would have served, as an intimation that our occupancy was not intended to be a permanent annexation of the district, provided that reparation were made by the Bhootan authorities. Not only has Colonel Jenkins omitted to do this, but he has accompanied his act with a threat that, unless certain delinquents are made over to the British Government, other tracts of territory belonging to the Bhootans will be occupied.

3. This goes very much beyond the letter or spirit of his last instructions, and, indeed, of those which he received in the spring of 1857.

If the Bhootans fail to comply with the demand so made, it will leave the Government under the necessity either to extend its occupation of that distant country, or to recede from a threat.

4. I do not think it advisable that Colonel Jenkins's act should be disavowed. This would encourage the Bhootans, and would not practically set the Government of India more free than it is at present to use forbearance. But the full extent of Colonel Jenkins's error should be noticed to the Lieutenant Governor. His Honour will not fail to see that, at no time, and in no circumstances, has the Governor General's Agent been authorised to address to the Bhootan Government threats that their territory would be occupied; whilst he has been ordered not to hamper the Government of India in determining when and how it shall act in the event of its demands being refused.

5. To the Lieutenant Governor's inquiries, contained in the last two paragraphs of his letter of the 23d of April, I am of opinion that the replies should be:—

1. That the Governor General in Council does not regard the Government as committed to a line of retributive coercion, if by that is meant that, having seized the land west of the Teesta, we must go on to seize other lands east of it, and so onward. This may or may not be hereafter expedient, but certainly it cannot be determined to be so until the effect of the first seizure is known; and this effect cannot be looked for until the Bhootans find for certain that they will no longer receive rent from us for these seized lands, which have for many years been farmed by us from them. Even if the

Bhootan

Bhootan authorities should still fail to comply with our demands, hitherto made, for the delivery of individual offenders; but should at the same time abstain from further violence and insolence, the seizure which has now been made will probably be deemed a sufficient punishment, if all hope of restoration of the district be cut short.

2. That the course to be followed being such as has been above indicated, it does not seem necessary to send any reinforcements to the Bhootan frontier. Colonel Jenkins's letter of the 27th of March gives good ground for this belief.

3. That the Governor General in Council will abstain from giving instructions as to the steps to be next taken, until it shall be seen what effect upon the Bhootan Government the cessation of their rights over the country west of the Teesta shall have.

From *Cecil Beadon*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to the Government, Bengal; (No. 1929), dated 13 June 1860.

Sir,

THE correspondence noted on the margin, regarding the steps taken towards the occupation of the Bhooteah territories to the west of the Teesta, having been laid before the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, I am now directed, in continuation of Mr. Secretary Grey's Despatch, to communicate the observations of his Excellency in Council thereon.

From Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 142, dated 23 April 1860, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 1297, dated 9 May 1860.

2. Colonel Jenkins has, as a punishment to the Bhootan Government for their continued contumacy, seized the tract of country west of the Teesta, which was formerly ceded by us to the Bhootan Government. He has not accompanied the act with the letter which, in January last, he was directed to address to the Deb Rajah, to the effect that the territory will not be restored till full reparation be given, which letter was meant to serve, and would have served, as an intimation that our occupancy was not intended to be a permanent annexation of the district, provided that reparation were made by the Bhootan authorities. Not only has Colonel Jenkins omitted to do this, but he has accompanied his act with a threat that, unless certain delinquents are made over to the British Government, other tracts of territory belonging to the Bhootans will be occupied.

3. This, his Excellency in Council observes, goes very much beyond the letter or spirit of his last instructions, and, indeed, of those which he received in the spring of 1857. If the Bhootans fail to comply with the demand so made, it will leave the Government under the necessity either of extending its occupation of that distant country, or of receding from a threat.

4. The Governor General in Council does not think it advisable that Colonel Jenkins's act should be disavowed. This would encourage the Bhootans, and would not practically set the Government of India more free than it is at present to use forbearance. But the full extent of Colonel Jenkins's error should be noticed to him by the Lieutenant Governor. His Honour will not fail to see that, at no time and in no circumstances, has Colonel Jenkins been authorised to address to the Bhootan Government threats that their territory would be occupied, whilst he has been ordered not to hamper the Government of India in determining when and how it shall act in the event of its demands being refused.

5. To the Lieutenant Governor's inquiries, contained in the last two paragraphs of your letter of the 23d of April, No. 142, I am directed to state as follows:—

1. The Governor General in Council does not regard the Government as committed to a line of retributive coercion, if by that is meant that, having seized the land west of the Teesta, we must go on to seize other lands east of it, and so onward. This may or may not be hereafter expedient, but certainly it cannot be determined to be so until the effect of the first seizure is known; and this effect cannot be looked for until the Bhootans find for certain that they will no longer receive rent from us for these seized lands, which have for many years been farmed by us from them. Even if the Bhootan authorities should still fail to comply with our demands, hitherto made, for the delivery of individual offenders, but should at the same time abstain from further violence and insolence, the seizure which has now been made will probably be deemed a sufficient punishment, if all hope of restoration of the district be cut short.

2. The course to be followed being such as has been above indicated, it does not seem necessary to send any reinforcements to the Bhootan frontier. Colonel Jenkins's letter of the 27th March gives good ground for this belief.

3. The Governor General in Council will abstain from giving instructions as to the steps to be next taken, until it shall be seen what effect upon the Bhootan Government the cessation of their rights over the country west of the Teesta shall have.

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 81), dated 2 June 1860.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 143, of the 23d April, and of the copy of Mr. Secretary Grey's letter to the Government of Bengal, No. 1297, of the 9th ultimo, forwarded with your Office Memorandum, No. 203, of the 17th idem.

2. I should have answered the former letter earlier, but Mr. Beadon's letter, which accompanied Mr. Lushington's, No. 506, of the 25th February, had been mislaid, and it was only by the receipt of the copy forwarded with your letter, No. 213, of the 23d ultimo, that I was enabled to ascertain the error I had committed.

3. I regret extremely that, I now find, I committed a gross oversight in not adverting to the concluding part of the 6th paragraph of Mr. Beadon's letter. I am entirely unable to account for this, and beg to assure the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor that it was a mistake only, and for which I am sincerely sorry.

Of the 21st March
last.

4. I have to report that, since my letter to Dr. Campbell, and his to the Bhooteah authorities, I have not received a single communication from the Bhootan Government.

5. With reference to the concluding paragraph of Mr. Grey's letter, I have the honour to mention that I do not consider the Bhooteahs will attempt any aggression in the present state of affairs, and I see no occasion for a reinforcement of troops unless the Governor General should order the attachment of any further districts; but, until the middle of October, the Dooars will be closed alike to the Bhooteahs and to us.

6. I would beg to take this opportunity of recommending, what I have before advocated, that if any of the Bhooteah Dooars are ordered to be attached, our Government should allow a share of the revenue to be given up to the Bhooteahs.

Whatever offences the Bhooteahs have committed, they have originated more out of the mode of management of the Dooars, which has existed for ages, and which probably they know not how to alter, than from any intention of the Government of Bhootan to give our Government wilful provocation.

7. By the occupation of the Dooars, and taking them under our own management, we should completely provide against any disturbances occurring on the frontiers of Rungpore, Cooch Behar, and Gawalparah, and though the Dooars themselves might occasionally be subject to alarm, yet all our own districts would be unaffected by the present frequent violences, and large tracts now left uncultivated and uninhabited from fear of Bhooteah incursions, would be reclaimed on being freed from all apprehension of hostile attacks.

By allowing a share of the revenue to the Bhooteah Government, we should be almost certain that they would not disturb the quiet management of the Dooars for their own sake, from fear of forfeiting the share we reserved for them.

8. This, at any rate, has been the case in Assam. We allow the Bhooteahs from the Assam Dooars one-third of the net revenue, and they have always abstained carefully from any violence which might cause their share to be stopped. I would beg, therefore, to propose that, whenever the Bengal Dooars might be attached, the same measures should be adopted towards them. It may seem, perhaps, at first sight, that it was giving away a share of the revenue unnecessarily, but it does not strike me in that light. To keep peace in the Dooars, except we have the goodwill of the Bhooteahs with us, will be difficult, whatever amount of troops we keep up; and there will always be a danger of our being compelled to extend military operations to the hill country. As long as we can keep peace in the Dooars, through the influence we maintain over the Bhooteahs by sharing the revenue with them, there can be little chance of our being involved in hostilities with the chiefs residing in the hills; and the amount of money we pay them will be more than saved, by there being no necessity to maintain in the Dooars large military establishments, and by the improvement of the Dooars when free from the present exactions of the local Bhooteah officers, and no longer in constant alarm of bands of robbers.

(No. 272.)

COPY of the above letter forwarded to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, for information, with reference to Mr. Officiating Secretary Grey's letter, No. 1297, dated the 9th ultimo.

By Order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal,

(signed) *H. Bell*,

Fort William, 26 June 1860.

Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

From *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; (No. 451), dated 3 November 1860.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter, No. 1929, dated the 13th June last, and the previous correspondence, relative to the attachment of the Bhooteah Mehal, Ambaree Fallacotta, to the west of the river Teesta, I am directed to forward herewith a copy of a communication* from the Superintendent of Darjeeling, in which he reports that he has agreed to grant a fresh lease of the Mehal to the present farmer for 10 years.

* No. 803, dated
12 October 1860,
with enclosure.

2. From the reply, which is also forwarded for the information of the Government of India, it will be seen that the Lieutenant Governor has at once disapproved of Dr. Campbell's unauthorised proceedings. The lease of the Mehal to the British Government expires in 1861, and Dr. Campbell therefore had no power to farm out the estate on the part of the British Government for a period extending beyond that time.

3. The lease held by the present farmer expires with the lease of Government from the Bhooteahs; and until the course to be pursued in regard to the permanent occupation of the estate is finally settled, the Lieutenant Governor thinks it will be advisable to make a summary settlement with the farmer from year to year. But, should the Supreme Government see no objection to a lease for the term of 10 years, or for any other term, such an arrangement can eventually be made in an authorised manner.

From *Dr. A. Campbell*, Superintendent of Darjeeling, to *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 803), dated 12 October 1860.

Sir,

WITH reference to Mr. Bell's letter of the 11th August, No. 333, informing me that the Lieutenant Governor considered it better not to bring the Talook of Ambarree Fallacotta, now under attachment by us from Bhootan, on the regular Rent Roll Towjee, I have the honour to report that I have not done so, and that I have agreed to grant a fresh lease to the present Izaradar for 10 years only, the previous period, at the present jumma, viz., 2,000 rupees per annum, which will, I hope, be approved of.

2. The Izaradar Torikoolla has urged me to grant a lease for a longer period than 10 years, but I leave this point for his Honour's orders. Copy of the Izaradar's petition is annexed.

From *Mahomed Torikoolla*, Izaradar of Talook Ambarree Fallacotta, to *Dr. A. Campbell*, Superintendent of Darjeeling; dated 10 October 1860.

Sir,

As the 10 years' lease of Talook Ambaree will be up on the 31st January 1861, I have the honour to request that you will conclude a settlement of the said Talook with me on the former jumma, granting me a lease for a longer period than it was granted me last.

I beg to state that the last settlement of the said Talook for 10 years was made with me in October 1851, i.e., four months before the expiry of the term of the former lease.

The Talook was first let to me in Izara, when there was very little cultivation on it, at a jumma of 800 rupees per annum; in 1842 the jumma was gradually increased to 2,000 rupees as the cultivation increased, and now there is but very little jungle on it capable of cultivation.

I have had continuous possession of the Talook by Izara for about 20 years, and as it has now become permanently the property of the British Government, I cherish the hope of getting a lease for a longer period than I have hitherto enjoyed, which will not only be a great boon to myself, after laying an enormous sum of money on it for bringing it into perfect cultivation, but will save the ryots from undergoing assessments at an interval of a short period, which they do not like at all.

In conclusion, I beg to request that in the new lease the term Izara may be substituted for the tenour of the leases granted to the ryots in the Morung.

Agreed to at the old jumma for 10 years, subject to the confirmation of Government.

(signed) *A. Campbell*,
Superintendent.

From *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Superintendent of Darjeeling; (No. 450), dated 3 November, 1860.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 803, dated the 12th ultimo, with its enclosure, relative to a fresh lease for 10 years, which you have thought proper to grant to the present farmer of the attached Mehal Ambaree Fallacotta.

2. I am directed to inform you that the Lieutenant Governor disapproves of your proceeding, and desires you to inform the Izaradar, that the arrangement you have entered into with him is one which you had no power to make, and which is therefore void. The course to be pursued, in regard to the permanent occupation of this Mehal, has not, as you are aware, been finally decided upon; and you had therefore no authority, without first obtaining the sanction of Government, to grant a lease for a term of years extending beyond the term of our own lease, which will expire in 1861, as stated in paragraph 7 of your letter to Colonel Jenkins, dated the 12th of April last. The matter will now be reported to the Government of India, and further orders will be issued upon it on receipt of a reply.

3. The Lieutenant Governor desires me to express to you his strong dissatisfaction at your proceedings, for having, with such needless haste, taken a measure of which the effect might have been to tie the hands of Government in regard to the Mehal in question for 10 years, without asking instructions, for the receipt of which there was ample time.

From *A. R. Young*, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 5541), dated 16 November 1860.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter, No. 451, dated 3d instant, forwarding copy of a correspondence with the Superintendent of Darjeeling, relative to the grant of a fresh lease by him of the Mehal Ambaree Fallacotta to the present farmer for 10 years, I am directed to state that the Governor General in Council concurs in his Honour's views on the subject, and approves of the orders issued to Dr. Campbell.

From *Dr. A. Campbell*, Superintendent of Darjeeling, to *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 12), dated, Camp Rinchinpoong Sikhim, 14 November 1860.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 450, of the 3d instant, conveying to me in strong terms the disapproval of the Lieutenant Governor on my having granted a fresh lease for 10 years to the Izaradar of the Mehal Ambaree Fallacotta.

2. I had three times in the last 18 years leased this Talook, reporting the same to Government for confirmation only, not for previous orders; still I regret that in following usage his Honour's approval was not secured.

3. I beg leave to state, that you are under a misapprehension as to the lease. Our Government have no lease at all of the Talook from Bhootan. It was attached in 1842, and must always from its position, 20 miles within our border, remain in our hands. It is the Izaradar's lease from us that expires in 1861, and not our own from Bhootan.

From *H. Bell*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Superintendent of Darjeeling; (No. 682), dated 31 December 1860.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Lieutenant Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 12, dated the 14th ultimo, in which you point out that there appears to be some misapprehension regarding the tenure under which we held possession of the Bhootan Mehal, Ambaree Fallacotta.

2. The misapprehension was occasioned by the wording of your letter to Colonel Jenkins, No. 300, dated the 12th of last April. After stating in the 3d paragraph, that the Talook had been farmed by the British Government for the benefit of the Bhootan Government, since 1842, and that henceforth the payment of rent for it would cease, you make the following observation:—"The rent of Fallacotta, when I took charge of it in 1842, was only 800 rupees per annum; since 1844, however, I have received and paid to them

them 2,000 rupees per annum. The present lease for 10 years will expire in 1861." From the above, it was supposed that the lease which was to expire in 1861 related to the farm obtained by us from Bhootan, as no other farm had been alluded to. Your present explanation shows, that the lease intended was the lease of an Izaradar or farmer who held under the British Government.

3. As it is now apparent that whatever is done eventually with the rent of the Mehal the management must remain in the hands of British officers, the lease granted by you may stand good.

(No. 683.)

Forwarded to the Foreign Department of the Government of India, in continuation of the letter from this office, No. 451, dated the 3 November last.

(signed) *H. Bell*,
Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William, 31 December 1860.

From *H. Bell*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; (No. 250), dated 27 March 1861.

Sir,

IN forwarding, for the perusal of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Agent to the Governor General on the North-East Frontier, received through the special commissioner in Sikhim, relative to the attitude of the Bhooteah Government, with reference to the recent disturbances in Sikhim, I am directed to call attention to the remarks contained in the 3d paragraph of Colonel Jenkins' letter, as to the inadvisability of denuding Julpigooree of troops. The Lieutenant Governor desires me to take this opportunity of observing, that he has no information regarding the distribution and movement of regular troops in Bengal.

From Honourable *A. Eden*, Special Commissioner in Sikhim; dated 16 March 1861.

FORWARDED to Secretary, Government of Bengal, with reference to paragraph 2 of his letter, No. 162, dated 22d ultimo.

From Colonel *F. Jenkins*, Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to Dr. *A. Campbell*, Superintendent of Darjeeling; (No. 32), dated 23 January 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 85, of the 12th instant, forwarding a letter from the Soobah of Dalimkote to your address. I beg to return the letter herewith.

2. With reference to the 3d paragraph, I fear it would be quite useless for any present purpose to write the Bhooteah supreme authorities, for it generally takes a year to receive an answer from them. The Soobah may have no particular authority to interfere in any way in Sikhim politics; but these officers frequently take much on themselves, without referring to the Deb Rajah; but I can hardly imagine the Bhooteah Government would be guilty of an open breach with us, for they have too much at stake.

3. I take this opportunity of mentioning, that I have heard the Bhooteahs are strongly fortifying their fort at Minagoori. I do not suppose they can be doing this with any offensive purpose, but knowing what a cover this fort has given for many years to all the Budmashes on both sides the borders, and what alarm the assembling of these heads of ruffians may cause to all our neighbouring Mehals, I should recommend that a watch should be kept on the Minagoori Soobha's proceedings, and that the Commandant at Julpigooree should by no means be denuded of troops.

From *G. C. Barnes, Esq.*, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 1633), dated 5 April 1861.

Sir,

IN reply to Mr. Under Secretary Bell's letter, No. 250, dated 27th ultimo, forwarding copy of a letter from the Agent to the Governor General on the North-East Frontier, relative to the attitude of the Bhooteah Government with reference to the recent disturbances in Sikkim, I am directed to request that his Honour the Lieutenant Governor will be so good as to state his views more explicitly, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, regarding the amount of troops to be kept at Julpigoree.

From *W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; (No. 277), dated 9 April 1861.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1633, dated the 5th instant, asking for the views of the Lieutenant Governor more explicitly in regard to the amount of troops to be kept at Julpigoree, and in reply to state that, considering the general absence of troops in the part of Bengal Proper lying north of the Ganges, the Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that there should be one full regiment at Julpigoree, in order that a detachment therefrom may be available for any part of the frontier between that place and Assam.

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, in the Military Department; (No. 773), dated 17 May 1861.

From Colonel *A. Becher, C.B.*, Quarter-Master General of the Army, to the Secretary to Government of India, Military Department; (No. 442 C), dated 8 May 1861.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter, No. 1062, dated 26th ultimo, I have the orders of the Commander-in-Chief to state that his Excellency is of opinion, no more than a wing of a native regiment can, under the late reductions of that arm, be spared for the garrison of Julpigorie, and that it is very doubtful whether any irregular cavalry will be available for that station from the same considerations.

The enclosures of your letter are herewith returned.

Ordered, that a copy of the foregoing be forwarded to the Foreign Department for information, with reference to extract from that Department, No. 1954, dated 20th April last.

(True Extract.)

(signed) *F. D. Atkinson*, Major,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

(No. 2720.)

COPY of the above forwarded to the Secretary to Government of Bengal for information with reference to his letter dated 9th ultimo, No. 277.

By Order, &c.

Foreign Department,
27 May 1861.

(signed) *E. C. Bayley*,
Officiating Secretary.

From *H. Bell, Esq.*, Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; (No. 330), dated 4 May 1861.

Sir,

IN continuation of the endorsement from this Office, No. 683, dated the 31st December last, I am directed to forward a copy of a letter from the Agent, Governor General, North-Eastern Frontier, No. 35, dated the 10th ultimo, with its enclosure, relative to the rent of the Bhooteah Mehal, Ambaree Fallacottah, which was attached under the orders of the Government of India in March 1860.

2. I am to observe that it appears to the Lieutenant Governor, that the letter which Captain Hopkinson has addressed to the Dhurm Rajah of Bhootan is in the spirit of the orders of the Government of India; but, before replying to that officer, the Lieutenant Governor thinks it right to submit the papers for the consideration of his Excellency the Governor General in Council.

From Captain *Henry Hopkinson*, Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 35), dated Gowhatty, 10 April 1861.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter, No. 236, of the 23d March, and its enclosures, on the subject of the attached rent of the Bhooteah Mehal, Ambaree Fallacottah, I have the honour to forward herewith copy of a letter addressed by my predecessor, on the 17th January last, to the Dhurm Rajah of Bhootan, in which it is stated that "the revenue of Ambaree Falacottah will not be given to you," and to report that, as this letter appears to me more positive in tone than the Government intended holding out, indeed, no hope of the possibility of Bhootan recovering the rent of Falacottah, I have taken advantage of the letter from the Dalimkote Soobah, to which Mr. Eden refers, and which Dr. Campbell has forwarded to me, to make a second communication to the Dhurm Rajah, a copy of which I have to annex, and which will, I trust, be approved of.

From *F. Jenkins, Esq.*, Agent, Governor General, to the Dhurm Rajah of Bhootan; dated 17 January 1861.

After Compliments,

A LETTER of the Soobah of Dalimkote, to the address of the Superintendent of Darjeeling, dated the 9th Pous, forwarded to me by that officer with his letter of the 6th January last, No. 53, which reached me this day, states that no assistance had been given by him to the Sikhim disturbances; and requests that the three Bhooteah prisoners belonging to his jurisdiction, by name Sengah, Chon, and Sad, may be sent to him, together with 2,000 rupees on account revenue of Ambaree and Falacottah for 351 Soka. The Superintendent has requested me to communicate to you orders regarding this letter. I have, therefore, the honour to inform you that the circumstances under which Ambaree and Falacottah have again been resumed by our Government have already been communicated to you and the Deb Rajah, on the 21st March, but I have not as yet received any reply thereto. I have, however, again to state that the revenue of Ambaree and Falacottah will not be given to you.

A letter to the Deb Rajah also on the same subject.

From Captain *H. Hopkinson*, Agent, Governor General, to the Dhurm Rajah of Bhootan, and also to the Deb Rajah.

After Compliments,

IN continuation of my predecessor's letter to your address, of the 17th January 1861, I have the honour to state that I have just received another letter, through the Superintendent of Darjeeling, from the Soobah of Dalimkote, respecting the rent of the Mehal Ambaree Falacottah, which was attached under the orders of the Government of India in March 1860.

I wish to make this my first communication to you, since I announced having received charge of this agency, in a friendly spirit, and therefore I beg to intimate that, though my Government desire satisfactory relations with Bhootan, I cannot bring under their consideration any request from the Dalimkote Soobah for the restoration of his rent of Ambaree Falacottah, until you comply with my predecessor's demand for the immediate release of all British and Cooch Behar subjects now in confinement in Bhootan. I have also to add that, though you have reported the death of Arung Singh, who was carried off from our pergunnah of Ghurlah, you have not explained how his abduction took place, nor made any excuse for it.

From *E. C. Bailey, Esq.*, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to Government, Bengal; (No. 2628), dated 22 May 1861.

Sir,

IN reply to Mr. Under Secretary Bell's letter, No. 330, dated 4th instant, forwarding a copy of a letter from the Agent to the Governor General on the North-East Frontier, together with a copy of the Agent's communication to the Dhurm Rajah of Bhootan, relative to the rent of the Bhooteah Mehal, Ambaree Fallacottah, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to state that the terms of Captain Hopkinson's letter to the Dhurm Rajah are quite right and proper, and are approved by his Excellency in Council.

From Dr. *A. Campbell*, Superintendent of Darjeeling, to *E. H. Lushington, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 808), dated 3 August 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward translation of a letter from the Soobah of Dalimkote, Bhootan, to Cheboo Lama, the Dewan of the Sikhim Rajah, for the consideration and orders of the Lieutenant Governor. The letter addressed to me by the Soobah, and alluded to in the Lama's, is to the same effect. Both are intended to cause alarm to the present administration of Sikhim. The intention is unwarrantable, as Sikhim has nothing whatever to do with the cause of dissatisfaction expressed by the Bhootanese at the stoppage by the British Government of the payment of the rent of Fallacottah, *i.e.*, 2,000 rupees per annum.

2. In June 1860, as the Lieutenant Governor will recollect, the payment of the rent to Bhootan of 2,000 rupees per annum for the Talook of Fallacottah was stopped at the recommendation of the Governor General's Agent in Assam, in consequence of the non-surrender of criminals by the Bhootan authorities to our Government. The disturbances with Sikhim, on which the Bhootan Soobah affects to lay the blame of the stoppage, did not commence till December, so that the transactions between the British Government and Bhootan, which led to the stoppage of payment, were unconnected in any way with Sikhim affairs.

3. Cheboo Lama, in communicating to me this threat from Bhootan, seemed disposed to attribute it to the machinations of the old Dewan's friends in Bhootan, brought about for the purpose of unsettling the Sikhim people along the Bhootan border, and he does not trust the Bhootanese not to raise disturbances on that frontier after the rains are over.

4. As I have before explained to the Dalimkote Soobah more than once, that the stoppage of the Fallacottah rent had nothing to do with the Sikhim disturbances, I have not replied to the letter now received. The Lama has replied to the Soobah that, as his master the Sikhim Rajah is bound to inform the British Government on all questions arising between him and neighbouring states, he has furnished me with a copy of his letter.

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from the Soobah of Dalimkote in Bhootan to *Cheboo Lama*, Dewan of the Sikhim Rajah.

After Address,

THE superintendent wrote me to say that he would not pay me the rent of the Fallacottah Talook this year; I reported this to the Deb Rajah. In reply he writes me as follows:—"Hitherto you have been in the habit of receiving the rent of the Fallacottah Talook from Darjeeling annually. The reason of stoppage of payment of the rent this year appears to be the disturbance with Sikhim. Had this disturbance not occurred, the payment of the rent would have been sure as usual. Orders will be issued (or it will be decided) after the rains are over as to whether this stoppage of rent has been caused by the Sikhimites or by others." A Zinkap has arrived with this reply. It appears to me that something will be done to Sikhim. I write this to you as a friend, with a view that you will move the Saheb for the payment of the rent. You are well aware of the power of the Deb Rajah. You will let me hear from you in reply to this very soon. I am in the frontier, and shall communicate to you all beforehand.

Enclosed note of same date.

Owing to the non-receipt of the rent of the Fallacottah Talook this year, I brought the fact to the notice of the Deb Rajah and the chiefs through Damsang Nepo. In reply I have heard as follows:—"The rent has hitherto been paid by the authority at Darjeeling, and not by any one else. If the same is now to be paid by the authority at Gowhatty, of course they should get the rent from Darjeeling and remit it to the same as before, failing which there will be a very great confusion afterwards." I am to report on this again. I have also addressed the superintendent on the subject, and have to request your co-operation in the matter.

(No. 474.)

COPY of the above forwarded for the orders of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, with reference to the letter from that department, No. 2,628, dated the 22d May last, and to previous correspondence.

By order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal,

Fort William, 14 August 1861.

(signed) *E. H. Lushington*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 5160); dated the 7th September 1861.

Sir,

WITH reference to your office memorandum, dated 14th ultimo, No. 474, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to request that the Lieutenant Governor will direct the Superintendent of Darjeeling to write to the Soobah of Dalimkote, and inform him that the Deb Raja of Bhootan has been made aware, through the Agent, North-East Frontier, that the stoppage of the rent for Fallacottah has been caused solely by the refusal of the Bhootan Government to comply with the just demands made on it by the British Government, and that the payment will be renewed when these demands shall have been complied with, and not sooner.

From *H. Bell*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 185); dated 11th December 1861.

Sir,

I AM desired to forward, for the consideration and orders of the Government of India, a copy of correspondence* containing the views of the Agent to the Governor General on the North-East Frontier, as to the best means for exacting reparation from the Bhootanese Government for the numerous outrages of which its subjects have lately been guilty, and for placing our future relations with the Bhootanese on a more satisfactory footing.

* From Agent to Governor General, North-East Frontier, No. 76, dated 12th November.
From Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, No. 79, dated 19th November.

2. The depositions alluded to in the 1st paragraph of Major Hopkinson's letter of the 12th ultimo, which relate to the theft by the Bhootanese of an elephant belonging to a Mr. Pyne of Silligooree, said to be now in possession of the katham of Gopalgunge, have since been forwarded to him, and he has been instructed to make a formal demand for restitution of the animal; but there appears no prospect that the application will lead to any satisfactory result.

3. It seems to the Lieutenant Governor that some course of action of a decided character must be taken.

4. Of the two courses suggested by Major Hopkinson, namely, the occupation of a portion of the Bhootanese territory, or the sending of a mission to Bhootan, and constituting a permanent Agency at the court of the Deb Rajah, the latter seems to the Lieutenant Governor the more advisable. Indeed, in the state of things represented by the Agent, unless it were resolved to treat the Central Bhootan Government as non-existent, he does not see that any other course would be of permanent advantage.

5. It does not seem to the Lieutenant Governor that the Governor General's permanent Agent in Bhootan should be necessarily a European, if a permanent European Agent be objected to. A native vakeel, by whose agency the actual transmission to the ruling power of the representations made by the British Government could be secured, would be of great service.

6. With reference to the Dalimkote Soobah's application for an interview with the superintendent of Darjeeling, referred to in the 3d paragraph of Major Hopkinson's letter of the 19th ultimo, Dr. Campbell has been instructed to recommend the Soobah to address the Governor General's Agent on political matters.

From Major *Henry Hopkinson*, Commissioner and Governor General's Agent, North-East Frontier, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 76 $\frac{1}{2}$); dated Gowhatty, 12th November 1861.

Sir,

IN reply to your office letter to my address, No. 513, of the 21st September last, I have the honour to state that I have not yet received from the deputy magistrate of Titalyah, the particulars of the original acquisition of the elephant, which is the subject of the second paragraph of your letter; but however they may be established, the item itself, the theft of the elephant, is one of the very smallest of the long account remaining over for settlement with the Bhootan authorities, and it might be omitted with very little effect on the amount of our demand against them.

2. But in answer to your second paragraph, I may safely assert that the Deb Rajah cannot with any reason complain of the want of specificness on our part in describing the names of the villages where the outrages had been committed, or the people who committed them. To go no further, I have only to mention that the list of outrages Colonel Jenkins forwarded to the Deb Rajah in July 1859 is the same that he sent to Government with his letter No. 18 of 1859. I would respectfully call attention to the concluding paragraph of that letter, describing the manner in which the Bhootan Government treated the communications of this Agency.

3. The communications from the Deb Rajah, which I forwarded with my letter No. 60, dated the 21st August, is almost a fac simile of that one which occasioned his Excellency

* No. 271, dated 21st January 1860, from Secretary to Government of India, with Governor General, to Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department.

the Governor General to observe* that it "is not uncivil (as some previous letters from that quarter have been), but it is thoroughly evasive; and if his assumption, that demands for redress must contain the names of the villages (in his own territory) whence the offenders come, be now admitted, it is very doubtful whether, when the next outrage occurs, the Government will be in a condition to make a demand which it can press."

4. I am myself inclined to think that it is almost unreasonable to expect any satisfaction from the Deb Rajah, and that though for some purposes it may be a useful fiction to assume that we are in correspondence with him, and nothing else, nothing short of our having a European functionary permanently stationed at the court of the Deb, could give assurance of our communications reaching him.

5. The Pilôs are supposed to divide the Government of Bhootan between them, and in most instances probably dispose themselves, in the names of the Deb Rajah, of such of the references made by us to that authority as fall into their hands.

6. But this is not all, for as the Pilôs usurp the authority of the Deb, so in turn their authority is encroached upon by the Zunpoons or Soobahs; as was long ago observed, "it is in the power of the frontier officers not only to intercept any communication which might be addressed to the Deb Rajah, complaining of their conduct, but so to misrepresent the circumstances that had actually occurred, as to make that appear an aggression against their Government, which was really an injury to ours." Our communications with the Bhootan Government are transmitted either through the Dewangiri Rajah, or else the Buxa Dooar Soobah, and I suspect that it is no unusual occurrence for these functionaries to open our letters and answer them themselves in the name of the Deb Rajah.

7. If the Government are still reluctant to enter upon the occupation of the Bengal Douars, beginning with Julpesh, as provided in the despatch of the Government of India, No. 1603, of the 14th April 1857, to which I referred in my letter No. 60, of the 21st August, and desire that the Bhootan Government should have yet another opportunity of making reparation for past offences, and establishing their friendly relations with us on a securer basis than they are at present, it might be well to consider whether it could be afforded in any more satisfactory or certain way than by the deputation of a mission to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs at Tassisudon.

8. It must be remembered that nothing could exceed the distinction, and marked respect and attention to all its wants with which Captain Pemberton's mission was everywhere received, and which were continued during the entire period of its stay in Bhootan, and I see no reason to suppose that a similar mission would meet with a different reception now, while, if successful, it might terminate in the establishment of a permanent Agent at the Bhooteah Court, and such an Agency would be the best instrument for paving the way for friendly intercourse with Lassa.

From Major *Henry Hopkinson*, Agent, Governor General, North-Eastern Frontier, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, with the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor, Darjeeling (No. 79); dated Gowhatty, 19th November 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to my address, No. 79, of the 6th instant, forwarding translation of a letter from the Soobah of Dalimkote to the Superintendent of Bhootan, inquiring who the Bhootan subjects are that have oppressed the ryots of Behar, and caused the stoppage of the Fallacotta rents which he has long received, upon which I am desired to report the particulars of the steps taken to put the Bhootan authorities in possession of the details necessary to enable them to take proper notice of the acts of lawlessness with which some of their subjects were charged; and also as to the advisability of acceding to the Dalimkote Soobah's proposition to the Superintendent of Darjeeling for an interview.

2. In reply to the first question, I beg respectfully to state that unceasing representations have been made to the Bhootan authorities respecting the outrages committed by their subjects along our frontier, and that these representations have contained details amply sufficient for the Bhootan authorities to have either afforded us redress, or satisfied us that they had done all in their power to afford it, instead of which, the only way in which they have ever condescended to notice our demands has been by answers always evasive, and sometimes insolent. Let me cite the Shoftabare case as an example, among many, of the way in which the Bhootan authorities have treated us. In this case 4,000 rupees were plundered from a house, and the owner murdered within a couple of bow shots of our boundary; five of the dacoits were identified as the servants of the Mynagoree Soobah. This was reported to the Deb and Dhurmah Rajahs, but the only satisfaction we ever got was the denial of the Bhootan authorities that the dacoits came from Bhootan, and the refusal of the Mynagoree Soobah to give them up. Let me recall also the cases of the abduction of Arung Sing from Goorlah, and of Ram Doolall and his family from Cooch Behar, and the correspondence with the Bhootan authorities thereupon, and its result.

3. In reply to the second question, I would submit my very strong doubt of the expediency of allowing the Dalimkote Soobah an interview with Dr. Campbell, so far as such an interview could be held to imply the recognition of the right of the Dalimkote Soobah to discuss Bhootan affairs and to act as the representative of the Bhootan Government. The Dalimkote Soobah is simply a second-class Deputy Commissioner, under the orders of the Paro Pillo, or Commissioner for the Western Districts of Bhootan, who is altogether inferior in position, power, and influence to the Tingso Pillo, or Commissioner for the Eastern Districts. The Dalimkote Soobah is only one of six deputies, and has no control over those of his brother Soobahs, as of Buxa or Bhulka, or Cheerung, against whom we have the greatest cause of complaint. With one of these Soobahs the Dalimkote Rajah is said to be even now at feud, and thus our connecting ourselves with him might provoke, instead of prevent, attacks on our frontier.

4. Looking to the Dalimkote Soobah's position, there is a certain impertinence, I think, in the tenor of his letter to Dr. Campbell, but it is easily conceivable why he puts himself forward so prominently in the matter; since, though the rent of the Ambaree Fallacotta is assumed to be withheld from the Bhootan Government, it is probable the Dalimkote Soobah through whom it is remitted, who really loses it, or the greater part of it.

5. No doubt, besides the pecuniary consideration, there are other inducements nearly as valuable, to make the Dalimkote Soobah desirous of establishing relations between himself and the British Government; if he would pretend with some face to be the confidant of the British Government and the exponent of their sentiments to the Bhootan authorities, there is no saying how far the pretension might not carry him: the appearance of our good will and confidence would be also very useful to him in his present quarrel with the Gopalgunge Rajah, in which I hear one of his men was lately killed.

6. I should not expect much advantage in dealing with the Dalimkote Soobah, even were he the accredited agent of the Deb and Dhurmah Rajahs, because all experience of Tartar courts shows the futility of negotiating with agents instead of with principals.

7. The best feature in the Dalimkote Soobah's communication is, I think, the evidence it affords of his anxiety for a resumption of cash payments of the Ambaree Fallacotta rents; it is quite evident that to make them sure he would do his best to keep on good terms with us, and give us no grounds of offence; and from this circumstance, as well as from the result of the course taken in regard to the Assam Dooars, we may conclude that if we were to take possession of the Bengal Dooars, and promise an allowance for them to the Bhootan authorities, the Soobahs would be kept on their best behaviour by the fear of payment being withheld.

8. I take the liberty to forward with this letter the copy of another communication, also about Bhootan affairs, which I had the honour of transmitting to the Secretary to Government, at the Presidency, last week.

From Major *Henry Hopkinson*, Agent, Governor General, North-Eastern Frontier, and Commissioner of Assam, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, with the Lieutenant Governor at Darjeeling (No. 84); dated Gowhatty, 23 November 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith translation of a letter from the Rajah of Cooch Behar, communicating intelligence of another outrage committed by the Bhooteahs from the Bhulka Dooar, it would appear, and on the extreme north-east corner of the Rajah's territory. Cash and property to a large amount have been carried away, and two women and four men* abducted.

* Soondara Mundle, Bundaram, Halmajee, Bhola.

2. As a further illustration of the manner in which the Bhooteahs are at present behaving, I will take the liberty to forward a copy of two letters, which I lately received from the Deputy Commissioner of Gawalparah, reporting the carrying away of cattle and men into the Sidlee and Cheerung Dooars.

3. As the Bhootan question is understood to be now under the consideration of Government, it seems desirable that the local authorities should refrain from any action which could possibly compromise the course the Government may determine to pursue. I have, therefore, directed Captain Morton not to take the steps which he proposes in the 8th paragraph of his letter of the 24th October, but to confine himself to making a demand for restitution of the cattle and men carried away on the Sidlee and Cheerung Soobahs, and to remind the Sidlee Soobah that he has a Lakhiraj Estate in Khoontaghat, which, without prejudice to any other measures that may be taken, can be attached if he misconducts himself.

From the Rajah of Cooch Behar, to the Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier; dated 13th November 1861.

After compliments,

YOU are aware that a guard, consisting of sepoy and burkundazes, has been placed in Talook Barbiria, in the Bhootan frontier, to ward off the incursions of the Bhooteahs. Now, it appears from an Urzee, dated 24th instant, from Ram Racha Sing, Jemadar, drawn out agreeably to a report received by him from Ramprasaud Misser, Havildar, and Pudabut Sing, Duffadar, and the above guard; and also from the representations, dated 19th idem, from the ryots of Talooks Singeemaree, Khagrabaree, Fuleemaree, and Chat Bulka, that about midnight of the 16th instant, the Katma of Bhulkachang, Poornah Kayel, and Pucha Takoorah, and others, with a gang of 70 or 80 Bhooteahs, accompanied by interpreters, peadas, and thieves, came to the houses of Sungatram and Jugbut Doss of Talook Dewtikhata, belonging to this Rajgee, and committed dacoity, having looted cash and property to a large amount; and carried away two women; and on the following day the said Katma took away from road Soondara Mundle, Bundaram, Halmajee, and Bhola Dass, the ryots of Talook Chat Bulka, and Boisack Mundle of Talook Nazeer, and kept them under confinement in the Phoolkarchang. At the request of the ryots the above Havildar, accompanied by three or four sepoy and three or four burkundazes, was proceeding to the spot, when, by order of the Katma, his follower, Bhooteahs began to dart arrows on them, and one arrow struck the Havildar's cap, and another wounded a sepoy. They fired a few muskets in turn to save their lives, but they cannot tell whether any of the antagonists was wounded. Having reinforced the above guard with a body of eight more sepoy, I have directed the Fouzdaree Abilkar to make strict inquiry into the matter; but I have, from time to time, informed you what a depredatory life these Bhooteahs lead. It is said that the said Katma has collected a body of 100 or 150 armed men, and so this is not improbable, that something serious may happen. If measures be not taken soon to check the oppression of the Bhooteahs, the ryots on the frontier will be very insecure. When there were Government guards posted in the frontier, the Bhooteahs were under restraint, and although we have substituted them by our guards, at the suggestion of the late Agent, Governor General, yet there has been no check on the Bhooteah aggressions; and on my representing this circumstance to the late Agent, he, in his letter of the 3d Pous 1264,* expressed a view of placing again Government guards in the frontier. I therefore solicit you will be pleased to save the ryots from Bhooteah aggression by placing guards, and until the arrangements for it are completed, you will pass an order on the Soobadar in command of the guard at Poondebaree to afford assistance to my guards on their asking for it, in the event of a serious outbreak of the Bhooteahs. I shall inform you the result of the Fouzdaree Abilkar's inquiry in the matter. Dated 29th Kartic 352, Saka.

* December 1857.

P.S.—You will also oblige by taking necessary measures for the release of the ryots taken captives by the above Katma.

From Captain *B. W. D. Morton*, Deputy Commissioner of Assam, to Major *H. Hopkinson*, Agent, Governor General, and Commissioner of Assam (No. 144); dated Gowalparah, 24th October 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to bring to your notice, that the Rajah of Sidlee (Bhootan) has been on several occasions lately guilty of acts of oppression against our frontier ryots. I have been more than once compelled to write to him, warning him that, should he not desist, I should be compelled to take more active measures.

2. One Birnarian lately brought to my notice, that some relatives of the Rajah had appropriated 18 of his buffaloes, with the connivance of the person in whose shed they were. It appeared difficult to bring any crime home to this person; but as there was no doubt of the buffaloes having been taken to Sidlee, I wrote to the Rajah, requesting him to take steps to recover them. I enclose a translation of his reply. The fact of two of the young of the buffaloes having been left behind is, I think, presumptive of the fact of the beasts not having strayed, but of their having been taken away.

3. Ramlochun Surbarakar, in a report, dated this day, has brought to my notice petty acts of tyranny on the part of the Sidlee Rajah. The Surbarakar states that the Rajah has got together some 100 men to defend himself against one Jhowllia, who has lately given a great deal of trouble in Bijnee, and that, not having enough to pay these retainers, the Rajah makes exactions from our ryots. Two of our ryots simultaneously complained to me of the Rajah having despatched people to seize them. Considering that these men are our subjects, and living in our territory, such an act of itself necessitates the taking of some steps to check the Rajah.

4. I have directed a Mohurir and eight Burkundazes to proceed to the frontier to keep the peace, and, with your permission, I should like to follow with an escort of 50 sepoy, with a view of holding a local inquiry into the complaints made by our ryots, and, if necessary, insisting upon the Rajah making good any loss they may have sustained. Fortunately, this can be done with the greatest ease. All that will be requisite will be to attach the Lakhiraj Estate of the Rajah, situated in Khoontaghat, and which, I am told, yields a rental of some 1,000 rupees per annum.

5. Unless some such step is taken, our ryots will naturally adopt measures of retaliation, and the difficulty attending a settlement of the matter will be materially enhanced. I take this opportunity of drawing your attention to my letter to your address, No. 63, of the 8th June, by which you will find that I have had previous occasions to bring to your notice the Rajah's conduct. It may not be out of place to state that the Rajah is only a rajah by courtesy, and that he has little, if any, resistance.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Rajah Gouri Narain Deb to the Magistrate of Gowalparah; dated 16th Assin 1268.

I HAVE received on the 25th of Bhadro, your letter, dated 15th idem, enclosing a copy of an Urzee from the Mohurir of Doobree Thannah, from which I understand that Birnarin Gop, of Bellosoparah, has preferred a false complaint, charging Juggobundoo Doss Moonsiff of this district, and others, with stealing his buffaloes, and selling them to my brother-in-law for 400 rupees, and that you have desired me to send the said buffaloes and offenders to you, which is impossible, for the following reason:—In Choit, 1,267 buffaloes of a "bathan" strayed from their grazing field, and about 25 to 30 came by the Gourong river, and destroyed Assoo land of the ryots of Lattagram of this jurisdiction. Of these 18 were caught and brought to me for custody. I accordingly kept them in my bathan or pound, and proclaimed them three times, as usual, along the frontier. On seeing no one coming forward to claim them, and that eight of them had died, I sold the remaining 10 heads by auction. Under these circumstances, how can the buffaloes sold, as above, be recovered without the value of the same being paid?

(True translation.)

(signed) *B. W. D. Morton*,
Deputy Commissioner, 2d Class.

From Captain *B. W. D. Morton*, Deputy Commissioner of Assam, to Major *H. Hopkinson*, Agent, Governor General, and Commissioner of Assam (No. 147); dated Gowalparah, 29th October 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to bring to your notice, that intelligence has reached me that eight persons were lately seized in British territories by one Jhowllia, referred to in my letter,

No. 144, of the 24th instant. Of the eight men, five have been taken, it appears, to a place called Bhouttea, in the Chirang Dwar, Bhootan jurisdiction. The reason assigned for this proceeding is, that the men were cutting wood out of the British territory. Whether this is true or not, I can't say, but from the police report it is clear that they were seized within our territory.

2. It does not appear that the Soobah of Chirang countenanced the above proceeding, and I have written to him, requesting his co-operation. With your permission, I should like, after bringing the Sidlee Rajah to reason, to march some distance into the Bhootan territory, with the force specified in my letter above quoted, with a view to effect the release of the five men above alluded to. The Soobah of Chirang would, I believe, have no objection to my doing so; indeed I believe, he would give every assistance, as this Jhowllia is an uninvited guest, whom he would gladly get rid of.

(No. 594.)

Fort William, the 21st December 1861.

COPY forwarded to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, in continuation of Letter No. 185, dated 11th instant.

By order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal,

(signed) *H. Bell*,
Under Secretary to the Government
of Bengal.

MEMORANDUM from Major *Henry Hopkinson*, Commissioner and Governor General's Agent, Gowhatty (No. 89); dated 9 December 1861.

The enclosed copy of a letter with enclosure, from the Deputy Magistrate of Titalyah sub-division, is forwarded to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in continuation of this office letter No. 76½ of the 12th ultimo, and with reference to the first paragraph thereof, for the information of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

From *T. A. Donough*, Esq., Deputy Magistrate of Titalyah Sub-Division, to Major *Henry Hopkinson*, Commissioner and Governor General's Agent, Gowhatty (No. 141); dated Julpigoree, 27 November 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge your letter, No. 444, of 1861, dated 11th instant, annexing an Extract of a letter, No. 513 of the 21st September last, to your address, from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, requiring full particulars regarding the elephant stolen by the Katma of Gopalgunge from Mr. Pyne, of Silligooree, particularly as to whether the animal ever belonged to a Bhootanese.

2. In reply, I beg to annex copy of a letter, dated 20th instant, to my address, from Mr. Pyne, in which he fully describes the elephant. Mr. Pyne further states in his letter that he does not believe the animal ever belonged to any one in Bhootan, and that he purchased her from a person named Bhoodoo Mundul, of Sahariah village, in Elakah, Kishengunge (zillah Purneah).

From *R. S. Pyne*, Esq., to *T. A. Donough*, Esq., Deputy Magistrate of Titalyah Sub-Division; dated 26 November 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter, No. 139, dated 25th November 1861, requiring particulars of my stolen elephant. I bought the elephant from one Bhoodoo Mundul, of Sahariah village, Elakah, Kishengunge, in November 1859; I do not believe she ever belonged to Bhootan. The elephant was stolen from Silligooree dépôt, in January 1861. I had the elephant a year, two months and a few days, before stolen away.

The elephant, when stolen, was perfect in regard to make, as far as I could judge; she had no marks about her body; but her eyes were "large and grey," long hair on her head, no cuts in the ears, and tail perfect. In colour she was not a perfect black, but dark brown, verging on black, and in height she was about 7½ feet. I cannot state the age in years, but she is a young animal, and will grow.

(No. 9.)

FORWARDED to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, in continuation of Letter No. 158, dated 11th ultimo.

By order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal,

Fort William,
21 December 1861.

(signed) *H. Bell*,
Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

From Dr. A. Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeeling, to *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 7); dated 3 January 1862.

Sir,

I HAVE to report that Cheebo Lama, the Vakeel and Dewan of the Sikhim Rajah, has waited on me to-day to report that five days ago 60 armed men from Bhootan, believed to have been acting under the orders of the Soobah of Dalimkote, crossed into the Sikhim territory at Pathing, on the Bhootan frontier, for the purpose of seizing and carrying off two subjects of Bhootan, who had taken refuge in Sikhim. Not finding the objects of their search, the party seized and carried off 13 men and women, subjects of Sikhim, with 23 heads of cattle, and in doing so one man of the Sikhimites was severely wounded, and is not expected to live. The value of the cattle carried off is estimated at 475 rupees. It is believed that the men and women will be sold into slavery.

2. As the Sikhim Rajah is bound by treaty to refer all disputes with neighbouring states to us, the Dewan desires advice how to proceed, and I have to request the orders of Government for my guidance in this serious outrage.

3. His Honor will recollect that the Bhootan authorities have, ever since the conclusion of the new treaty with Sikhim, been threatening violence on Sikhim, under pretence that it was through the rupture with Sikhim that they lost the 2,000 rupees per annum, the rent of Follacotta; and also that I have not felt at all assured that they would not commit some violence of the serious nature now perpetrated.

4. I have directed Cheebo Lama to be watchful on the Bhootan frontier, and to furnish me with further authentic particulars of the affair now reported for early orders.

(No. 20.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, for consideration and early orders.

By order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

Fort William,
11 January 1862.

(signed) *H. Bell*,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 55); dated 23 January 1862.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Governor General in Council to reply to the communications noted on the margin, regarding the aggressions of the Bhooteeahs in British territory, as well as in the territory of the Rajahs of Cooch Behar and Sikhim.

2. His Excellency in Council desires me to state that it is very expedient that a mission should be sent to Bhootan to explain what our demands are, and what we shall do if they are not conceded, and to make our engagement with Sikhim clearly understood by the Bhooteeahs. But his Excellency in Council is doubtful as to placing an agent in Bhootan, and it will be better to leave this question to be decided after the result of the mission is known.

3. Captain Hopkinson should be required to state what arrangements he will consider necessary for the security of the mission.

From Under Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 185, dated 11th December 1861.

Office Memorandum from Under Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 594, dated 21st December 1861.

Office Memorandum from Under Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 9, dated 6th January 1862.

Office Memorandum from Junior Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 20, dated 11th January 1862.

From *H. M. Reid*, Esq., Commissioner of Rajshahye, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 12); dated 18 January 1862.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to annex copy of a letter, No. 7, dated the 14th instant, from the officiating joint magistrate of Rungpore, with annexure, reporting that the Dalimkote Soobah is making preparations with a view of levying tribute from the inhabitants of Ambaree Fallacottah, a portion of Government territory, within the jurisdiction of thannah Sunnascotta, zillah Rungpore.

2. The orders passed by the joint magistrate, on the receipt of the above information, appear to me to have been appropriate, and I have intimated to him my approval of them.

3. I can find no trace in my office of any correspondence regarding the circumstances under which the tribute alleged to have been formerly paid by our Government to the Bhootan authorities, in respect to this strip of land, was withdrawn, and would beg to be favoured with copies of the same for record, should the case be as stated.

From *E. H. Whinfield*, Esq., Officiating Joint Magistrate of Rungpore, to the Commissioner of Rajshahye (No 7); dated 14 January 1862.

Sir,

HEREWITH I have the honour to forward translation of an urzee of the Jemadar of Guard Bakalee, dated 6th December last, reporting that the Dalimkote Soobah is making preparation with the view of levying tribute on the inhabitants of Ambaree Failacottah, a portion of Government territory, in the Sunnascotta Thannah.

2. I can find no record of the transaction in the office, but I rather think that this was the portion of land which previous to 1860 was held by Government of the Bhootan Rajah, at a yearly tribute of 2,000-1 rupees. The payment of the tribute was some time in that year put a stop to, on account of the Booteas making incursions into British territory, and refusing to make reparation.

3. I have forwarded the report to Mr. Donough, with a request that he will station men at short intervals along the frontier, directing them to give him immediate intelligence of any attempt being made by the Booteas to cross into our territory, and on such attempt being made at once to call out the troops.

TRANSLATION of an Urzee from the Jemadar of Guard Bakalee, to the Magistrate of Rungpore; dated 6 December 1861.

Sir,

It appears from the report of Soojatoolla Burkendaz, stationed at Paharpore, that the Soobah of Dalimkote is making preparation to come down into Ambaree Fallacottah for the purpose of realising rents which he at present does not receive, and that he is storing provisions on the Bhootan frontier.

(No. 45.)

COPY of this letter, and of its enclosure, forwarded to the Government of India, Foreign Department, in continuation of previous correspondence.

By order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal,

Fort William, 29 January 1862.

(signed) *J. R. H. Ward*,
Offg. Under-Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

From *J. R. H. Ward*, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 46); dated 30 January, 1862.

Sir,

IN continuation of the endorsement from this office (No. 45) of the 29th instant, and of that (No. 20) of the 11th idem, I am desired to forward, for the information of His Excellency in Council, a copy of the letters noted in the margin, conveying further information regarding the movements of the Bhootanese, and in regard to the stoppage of the rents of the Fallacottah Mehal.

From Superintendent of Darjeeling, No. 99, of the 23d instant, and No. 100 of the 24th instant.

From Captain *C. Murray*, Officiating Superintendent, Darjeeling, to *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 99), dated 23 January 1862.

Sir,

IN continuation of Dr. Campbell's letter (No. 7) of the 3rd instant, and with reference to the 3d paragraph of the same, I have the honour to forward herewith translation of a report, received this day from the police jemadar at Pushôk on the Bhootan frontier, for the information of his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor. I have warned the vakeel and also the police jemadar to keep a sharp look-out, and I shall myself take the necessary steps to obtain all further information possible, which will be duly reported. At the same time I would bring to his Honor's notice that it is the same spot to which a short time ago I traced a party of the Bhootan people, who subsequently committed the outrage on the Sikhim frontier, reported in Dr. Campbell's letter above alluded to.

P.S.—Since writing the above, Cheeboo Lama, the dewan and vakeel of the Sikhim Rajah, has come to me with the following report,—that the 36 men who committed the outrage in Sikhim, and carried off ryots and cattle, already reported to Government, have again come, accompanied by other men, making 90 in number, belonging to the Dalimkote Sooba, and at this present time are located at Pathing in Sikhim, for the purpose of committing further outrages of the same nature as before. The vakeel is, therefore, very anxious of having orders of Government for the guidance of his Highness the Maharajah, already requested by Dr. Campbell on the 3d January, to which a reply has not yet been received. In addition to this, the vakeel also corroborates the report of my jemadar at Pushôk, and further adds that orders have been issued by the Dalimkote Sooba to the different mundils under him to collect supplies, and prepare themselves, when called upon, to assemble. Also the vakeel has been informed by Namjang Sirdar, located at Chadam, close to the Runjeet and Pushôk, on the boundary between Sikhim and Bhootan (who has heard from his father-in-law from Damsung in Bhootan) that spies have been sent into Darjeeling by the Dalimkote Sooba. He also tells me that letters to my address, from Dalimkote Sooba, have arrived in Darjeeling, but not yet delivered, which he will receive to-day, the contents of which I shall make known to Government. In the meantime, I would beg to add that I have taken measures through the vakeel, which I have every reason to believe will place me in full possession of the intentions of the Dhurma people, and which I will report accordingly.

TRANSLATION of a Report from the Police Jemadar at Pushôk, dated 22d January 1862, received 23d January 1862.

I BEG to report for your information that I sent Dhuram Sing and Jung Sing, burkundazes, on command to the Teesta Ghaut as usual. They returned and reported to me that they heard from Asbing and Agel, Lepchas of village Monglea, that the Bhootanese have collected and are now collecting rusud and weapons, but their informants could not tell the reasons as to the purpose of these preparations.

(Translated.)

(signed) *C. Murray*,
Officiating Superintendent, Darjeeling.

From Captain *C. Murray*, Officiating Superintendent, Darjeeling, to *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 100), dated 24 January 1862.

Sir,

WITH reference to the concluding part of the postscript of my letter (No. 99) of yesterday's date, I have the honour to state that the Dalimkote Soobah's letter therein alluded to, was delivered to me by Cheeboo Lama this day in my office. Translation of which, together with that of the one to the address of the Lama, and of one to my interpreter, is forwarded herewith, for the information of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

2. I have simply acknowledged the receipt of the Soobah's letter, and said that it has been forwarded to the Governor General's Agent at Assam, for his information.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Soobah of Dalimkote in Bhootan, to the Superintendent of Darjeeling, dated 17 Magh, received at Darjeeling on 24 January 1862.

After Address.

ON former occasions you wrote me to say that the payment to me of the rent of the Fallacottah Talook for the year 1835 was stopped by order of the Governor General's Agent at Assam, owing to some outrages committed by our subjects in Cooch Behar; and at the same time I requested you to give me details of the offences, as well as of the offenders, reference being had to the Governor General's agent. You have not done so yet, and it appears to me, therefore, that none of our subjects have committed any outrages in Cooch Behar. This is the time for receiving rent of the Fallacottah Talook, and I have received orders of the Deb Rajah to ask you for the same. It appears to me, from the

orders of the Dhurma Rajah, that the Governor General's Agent is in the habit of paying 12,000 rupees annually to the Dhurma Rajah, for the eastern territory and Chukha Talook. If the outrages above alluded to had actually been committed, the Agent could have stopped payment of the 12,000 rupees instead of Fallacottah's rent, viz., 2,000 rupees. I therefore write this to say that, should you consider it proper to pay me the rent, you will, without delay, remit to me the two years' rent, viz., 4,000 rupees; and if you don't wish to pay, you will send me a distinct answer, so that I may report accordingly to the Dhurma Rajah, who will then consider what to do and pass orders. Should you consider it right to meet me for the settlement of the rent question, you will name a place and let me know, so that I may go there to meet you, and I will take the rent.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Soobah of Dalimkote, to *Cheeboo Lama*, the Dewan and Vakeel of the Sikhim Rajah, dated 17 Magh, received at Darjeeling 24 January, 1862.

I HAVE this day received yours, together with the putterchin, and am glad to peruse it. I wrote to you on the subject of the rent of the Fallacottah Talook, and requested you to make an urzee to the Saheb, in respect to this rent, and give me a direct and plain answer. The purport of your letter does not give a plain answer as requested. You say that it was owing to the outrages committed by our subjects on the Cooch Behar frontier, that the payment of rent of Talook Fallacottah was stopped. If this be the case, why do we get 12,000 rupees annually through the Doongsadooar? You will again ask the Saheb for the Fallacottah rent, and give me an explicit answer whether or not I am to get it. On hearing from you I will report the same to the Deb Rajah. You will tell the Saheb to consider over the matter well, as also its ultimate result.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Soobah of Dalimkote, to *Purbut Sing Soobah*, Interpreter, dated 17 Magh, received 24 January 1862.

After Address.

All good news. To obviate any dispute between the British Government and the Deb Rajah, regarding the stoppage of the rent of the Fallacottah Talook, I have been all this time reporting to the Deb Rajah; but I am sorry to say that I have incurred the severe censure of the Rajah, for the delay in the realisation of the rent. I trust you will ask the Saheb whether or not he will pay the rent, and send me direct answer; I shall be glad if the Saheb will say "No." If it is a fact that the Gowhatti Saheb has stopped the Fallacottah rent, why does he pay us, through the Doongsadooar, 12,000 rupees annually? You will entreat your Saheb for the rent, and let me hear from you explicitly.

(Translated.)

(signed) *C. Murray*,
Officiating Superintendent, Darjeeling.

From *H. Bell*, Esq., for Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; (No. 54), dated 1 February 1862.

Sir,

IN continuation of previous correspondence relative to threatened disturbances on the Bhootan frontier, I am desired to forward for the perusal of the Governor General in Council, a copy of a letter from the officiating superintendent of Darjeeling, No. 115, dated 28th ultimo, and to solicit His Excellency's orders thereon.

2. The Lieutenant Governor has addressed the military department in reference to the threatening aspect of affairs in this quarter, and has expressed to that Department his opinion that, it may be for consideration, whether an adequate party of troops should not be posted at Silligooree, in order to protect the Darjeeling road between that place and Kursiong, should the design imputed to the Bhotanese of attacking our territory, prove to be really entertained by them.

3. Silligooree, I am to observe, is the place where the new line of road now commenced upon, direct to Kursiong, at the top of the pass into the Darjeeling hills, separates from the present road which runs round to the west by Punkabarree.

From Captain *C. Murray*, Officiating Superintendent of Darjeeling, to *E. S. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 115), dated 28 January 1862.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward translation of a report received by me yesterday evening, from the police jemadar at Pushôk, for the information of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

2. Cheeboo

2. Cheebo Lama, the dewan and vakeel of the Sikhim Rajah, has reported to me that he has received informations, which he believes to be authentic, that the Bhootanese are now throwing up bamboo rafts over the Teesta river, at a place called "Pagwa" on the Sikhim frontier, for the purpose of crossing that river, with an intended attack on Darjeeling. He has also heard from the letter-carrier who brought the Dalimkote Soobah's letter to my address, that it has been resolved by the said Soobah, first, to cut off our road at Punkabaree, the foot of the hills.

3. With a view of obtaining more authentic news of the intentions of the Bhootanese I have told the Lama to keep a sharp look-out in all directions; and at the same time I have appointed spies for the same purpose, and for giving me timely notice of the movements of the Bhootanese, who are now, I am informed, under warlike preparations to move.

4. Although I cannot fully rely on rumours regarding the intended attack on this station, and the cutting off of the Punkabaree road, I have thought it necessary, as a precautionary measure, to write to the deputy magistrate at Julpigoree to keep a sharp look-out along the Teesta river, so far as his jurisdiction extends, and have this day addressed him on the subject; I have taken the same precautions at all my police stations on that frontier.

5. For the purpose of getting daily and punctual reports from the police jemadar at Pushôk, I have increased the number of chupprassies by two additional ones, from the Sudder Thanna.

6. I shall continue to report as I get informations. Trusting the measures I have already taken will meet with His Honor's approval, and that the intended troops to occupy Sinchul will be sent up without delay, if not done so on my previous reports.

P.S.—There only be 80 invalid Europeans, and a party of sappers in the station, and 16 of the latter being sick in hospital, I have, as a precautionary measure, in case it may be necessary to place guards on the frontier (should these reports increase), called in the party of sappers working on the Kurseong cart road, who can in the meantime work in this end, and at the same time be available if necessary.

TRANSLATION of a Report from the Police Jemadar at Pushôk; dated 26 January 1862.

I BEG to report for your information, that it has come to my knowledge that 240 armed men have gone down to Minagoori from Dalimkote, in Bhootan, and that others on this side of Dalimkote are now under warlike preparations to move. In what direction they intend to move, I have not heard.

(Translated.)

(signed) C. Murray, Captain,
Officiating Superintendent.

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, c.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal; (No. 144), dated 13 February 1862.

Sir,

I HAVE received and laid before the Governor General in Council the despatches noted on the margin, communicating further information in regard to the aggressions of the Bhooteeahs, who it is rumoured are throwing up bamboo rafts over the Teesta, at a place called Pagwa, on the Sikhim frontier, for the purpose of attacking Darjeeling.

Office Memorandum from Officiating Under Secretary to Government, Bengal, No. 45, dated 29th January 1862.

From Officiating Under Secretary to Government, Bengal, No. 46, dated 30th January 1862, with enclosure.

From Secretary to Government, Bengal, No. 54, dated 1st February 1862, with enclosure.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that His Excellency in Council has little doubt that if the reported movement amongst the Bhootanese has any definite object, that object is to collect for themselves the rents of the Fallacottah Talooks, or to induce the British Government to surrender them. But whatever the object may be, His Excellency in Council is of opinion that the force which has been dispatched from Dinapore, viz. two companies of Her Majesty's 38th regiment, and a wing of native infantry, is quite sufficient for all the purposes of keeping the peace and protecting our territory.

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, c.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Resident at Nepal; (No. 145), dated 13 February 1862.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Governor General in Council to forward to you copies of the despatches noted on the margin, regarding Bhooteeah aggressions; and to request that you will state, for the information of His Excellency in Council, whether you have any reason to suppose that any persons in Nepal are in any way concerned in the movement.

Office Memorandum from Officiating Under Secretary to Government, Bengal, dated 29th January 1862, No. 45.

From Officiating Under Secretary to Government, Bengal, dated 30th January 1862, No. 46, with one enclosure.

From Secretary to Government, Bengal, dated 1st February 1862, No. 54, with one enclosure.

From Captain *C. Murray*, Officiating Superintendent, Darjeeling, to *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 123), dated 28 January 1862.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward translation of two letters to the address of Cheboo Lama, the dewan and vakeel of the Sikhim Rajah, this day received by him, for the information of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

2. I have desired the Lama to obtain more authentic news on the subject of the two letters to his address without delay, which, when received by him, will be reported to you forthwith.

P.S.—Since writing the above, Cheboo Lama has been with me, and reported that he received authentic information as regards the construction of three rafts, made secretly in the jungle, on the banks of the Teesta. His Honor the Lieutenant Governor having been down to the Rungeet, will be better able to understand the position from the sketch herewith enclosed. The dotted line is the route, which, the Lama says, is their present intention to follow, should they commit outrage in Darjeeling. I have, however, parties to look out where the rafts have been constructed, and should they cross with the intention supposed, I hope to receive intelligence in sufficient time to check them at the ford marked A. in the accompanying sketch. Regarding any movement in the Terrai, I trust to the magistrate at Julpigoree, who is able to obtain assistance from the regiment there, should it be necessary.

The spy, named in the letter to the Lama, is the party who brought the letter from the Soobah of Dalimkote.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *Wangay*, inhabitant of Mangshing, on the Sikhim Frontier, to *Cheboo Lama*; dated 23 Maugh.

After Address.

AGREEABLY to your request, I sent spies into Dalimkote, in Bhootan, who have returned therefrom and reported to me, that the Soobah of Dalimkote has made a proclamation for the early collection of all his sepoy and servants at his place. I have heard from some of my friends there, that the Bootanese intend committing outrages in Darjeeling. The road from Dalimkote to Targen, in the Sikhim frontier, has been cleared and repaired. This repair was completed on the 17th of this month. You will keep a sharp look-out in the Darjeeling Terrai, as well as in all the ghauts of the Teesta. No sooner I get more information than I will not fail to let you know of the same. This day Shangay Rabden returned from Damsang, in Bhootan. He tells me that he was told by Zinkheshanga, a Bhootanese and friend of him, not to remain near the road, as the Dalimkote Soobah has an hostile intention against Darjeeling, and as soon as the said Soobah gets orders from the Deb Rajah and his assistance, he will move towards Darjeeling. I have heard that a Bootanese, by name Gekha Gapoo, has gone in to Darjeeling. I beg to apprise you that he is a spy.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *Azang Doogda*, a Mundil of Dikling in Sikhim, to *Cheboo Lama*; dated 25 Maugh.

I BEG to report for your information, that, on the pretence of there being a quarrel in the Terrai amongst the Bootanese, the Dalimkote Soobah is collecting force, but his real intention is to commit outrage in Darjeeling. The Soobah has sent down, towards the Terrai of his Ilaqua, an armed force on the 21st of the month.

(Translated.)

(signed) *J. C. Murray*, Captain,
Officiating Superintendent.

From *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Captain *J. C. Murray*, Officiating Superintendent of Darjeeling; (No. A.), dated 3 February 1862.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Lieutenant Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 115, of the 28th ultimo, with enclosure, also of your letter, No. 123, of the 28th idem, and enclosures, with your postscript, dated the 29th idem, and a sketch.

2. I am desired to state, in reply, that as you have very properly called in the sappers from working on the southern portion of the new cart-road, you will have the whole of that corps

corps available for military duty. The Lieutenant Governor would observe, that there are also a considerable number of Europeans at the dépôt on Jullapaliar. He hopes, therefore, that if the Bhootanese should be so misguided as to attempt to commit any outrage in the Darjeeling territory, the officer in command will be able to repulse and punish them.

3. The Lieutenant Governor has communicated the late reports received from you and from the deputy magistrate at Julpigooree to the Government of India in the military department; and had suggested that it may be well to secure the road at and near the entrance of the hills by a post at or near Silligooree or elsewhere, and leaving it for determination in the military department whether the force at Julpigooree and Darjeeling together is sufficient, in case the suspicions regarding the design of the Bootanese should prove well founded.

4. A copy of this correspondence will also be forwarded for the information of General Showers, commanding the Presidency Division.

(No. D.)

COPY of the foregoing, and of the letter, No. 123, dated 28th ultimo, from Captain Murray, with enclosure and postscript, forwarded to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, in continuation of the letter from this office, No. 54, of 1st instant.

Fort William,
3 February 1862.

(signed) *E. H. Lushington*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

From Captain *C. Murray*, Officiating Superintendent, Darjeeling, to *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 131), dated 31 January 1862.

Sir,

IN continuation of my reports regarding the unsettled state of the Bhootan frontier, the men sent out by me to watch the three rafts constructed, returned last night and report the Bhootan people having destroyed them, and that they are supposed to be constructing others lower down opposite our own frontier. They also heard that the force now collected at Dalimkote is intended to move along the foot of the hills, and, at the same time, occupy Ambaree, for which the Dalimkote Soobah formerly received 2,000 annually. I have made the Julpigooree magistrate acquainted with the information I have received, and, at the same time, I have sent my spies to find out the whereabouts these rafts are being constructed. I have taken measures to obtain more authentic news of the movements of the Bhootan people at Dalimkote, which I shall report in due course.

(No. 62.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India, Foreign Department, in continuation of endorsement No. D, dated the 3d instant.

By order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

Fort William,
5 February 1862.

(signed) *J. R. H. Ward*,
Officiating Under Secretary to the
Government of Bengal.

(Political Department.)

Sir *C. Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council; dated 29 November (No. 92) 1862.

1. I HAVE considered in Council the letter of your Excellency's Government, No. 32, of the 22d February last, relative to the measures adopted by your predecessor in order to put a stop to the incursions of the Booteeahs on our North-East Frontier.

2. The long list of outrages and incursions, for which no retribution or compensation has been exacted, shows that the measures hitherto adopted have entirely failed to prevent the repetition of such acts.

3. In these circumstances Major Hopkinson proposes that, if the Government be reluctant to occupy part of the Bhootanese territory, a mission might be sent to explain to the Bhootan authorities the real state of affairs on the frontier, and the nature of our demands, it being conjectured that the remonstrances and representations addressed to the Deb Rajah are habitually intercepted and answered by his subordinates.

4. I concur in opinion with your Excellency, that it is highly expedient that the Deb Rajah should be made aware of the consequences of failure on his part to restrain his marauding subjects, and must not be suffered to impute our forbearance to weakness. I also approve your resolution to postpone any decision on the suggestion of maintaining a permanent agency in Bhootan. This can, as you justly observe, be determined when the result of the mission shall be known.

5. The officer deputed on this duty should be instructed to obtain all the information available respecting the nature, population, and resources of the country which he will traverse.

(No. 63.)

Foreign (Political) Department, 28 August 1863.

Lord *Elgin* to Sir *Charles Wood*.

To Secretary of
State, dated 22
February (No. 32)
1862.

From ditto, dated
29 November
(No. 92) 1862.

WITH reference to the correspondence noted on the margin, regarding the aggressions of the Booteeahs on British territory, and the proposed mission to Bootan, which has met with the approval of Her Majesty's Government, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of further papers.

A perusal of the letter to the Bengal Government, No. 492, dated 11th August, and of the letter of instructions to the Honourable A. Eden, whom I have selected as my envoy to Bootan, will render it unnecessary for me to make any further remarks in this Despatch.

(Political.—No. 140.)

From *E. H. Lushington*, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, 26 March 1862.

Sir,

No. 22, dated
3 March 1863.

REFERRING to the 3d para. of your letter, No. 55, of the 23d January last, I am directed to transmit herewith a copy of a communication from the Governor General's Agent, North-Eastern Frontier, reporting the arrangements which he thinks necessary for the security of the proposed mission to Bootan.

2. It will be seen from para. 4 that the mission should be sent before the 27th December. Further communication regarding the nature of the mission will be submitted hereafter.

(No. 22.)

From Major *H. Hopkinson*, Agent Governor General, North-Eastern Frontier, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Gowhatty, 3 March 1862.

Sir,

WITH reference to the letter from Colonel H. M. Durand, C.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to your office, No. 55, dated the 23d January 1862, in which I am required to state what arrangements I would consider necessary for the security of the mission which it is proposed to send to Bhootan, I beg to state that I think the first step should be the sending a special messenger to the Deb and Dhurniah Rajahs, announcing the intention of deputing an envoy, and mentioning when he would enter Bhootan.

2. I would not make the outward progress of the mission subservient to any collateral object, but let it proceed by the route which the Bhootan Court would prefer, and which I suppose would be that by which they decided that Mr. Bogle and Mr. Turner should enter the

the country, viz., the Buxa Doar, and which was also the route by which Pemberton's mission returned; coming back, the mission should insist upon choosing their own road and seeing something of the country, and I should hope that they would be able to make friends with influential personages about the Court who would enable them to do this easily.

3. I have been consulting my predecessor, Colonel Jenkins, upon the question of escort, and he thinks, and I quite concur with him, that it should be very carefully selected, but not numerous; I am of opinion that from 30 to 50 men would be sufficient, and they should be Goorkhas or Nepaulese.

4. The mission cannot start now until after the coming rains, I fear, but it should be in readiness, at Gawalparah, to commence its journey by the 15th November next, so that any of the numberless causes of detention which are always occurring at the last moment may not at any rate keep it back to a later period than the 1st December. Pemberton, who left Gowhatty on the 27th December, complains of the season having so far advanced.

(Foreign Department, Political.—No. 328.)

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, 5 April 1862.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 26th ultimo, No. 140, with its enclosure, from Captain Hopkinson, upon the subject of a mission to Bootan, and in reply to state that his Excellency the Governor General in Council will await the receipt of the further report promised; but it is hoped that there will be no delay in the dispatch of a special messenger to the Dheb and Dhurmah Rajahs with the announcement of the intentions of the British Government to depute an envoy to Bhootan.

(Political.—No. 2104.)

From the Hon. *A. Eden*, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, 11 October 1862.

Sir,

IN continuation of this office letter, No. 140, dated the 26th March, and with reference to your communication, No. 328, dated the 5th April last, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to submit, for the consideration of the Governor General in Council, a copy of the correspondence cited in the margin on the subject of the proposed mission to Bootan.

To Agent to Governor General, North-East Frontier, No. 1241, dated 19 July 1862.

From ditto to ditto, No. 12 C, dated 2 August 1862, and enclosure.

From ditto to ditto, No. 74, dated 26 August 1862, and enclosure.

2. After personal consultation with the Agent, Governor General in Assam, the Lieutenant Governor is strongly of opinion that the mission should be sent this season, but that in order to give weight to the representations which the envoy may have to make to the Court of Bootan, and to enable him the more surely to carry out with success the instructions with which he may be furnished, it seems to the Lieutenant Governor most expedient that the mission should proceed under the direct authority of Her Majesty's Viceroy and Governor General, and that it should be organised on a scale calculated to impress the Court with the importance which the British Government attaches to the establishment of clear and decisive relations with the Government of Bootan, and to the adoption of some means whereby the present unsatisfactory state of affairs on the frontier may be put a stop to, and the mutual rendition of persons charged with the commission of heinous crimes may be secured.

3. If this can be effected in no other way, it seems desirable that a British officer should reside at Tassisudon as Agent on the part of the British Government, and be the medium of all communication between the British authorities on the frontier and the Bootan Government, so that we may have some assurance that representations made to that Government will reach their destination, and not be intercepted by subordinate functionaries.

4. The officer who may be sent at the head of the mission should be one in whom the Government has entire confidence. He should be armed with full powers to negotiate with the Bootan Government, subject, of course, to such general instructions as he may receive, and to the final ratification by the Governor General in Council of any formal treaty or agreement he may conclude.

5. The envoy should be accompanied by a military officer of intelligence, who should be his political assistant, and also command his escort. The escort should consist of 50 Sepoys, either Goorkhas or Sikhs, not Hindoostanies, and 10 of the Darjeeling sappers, with the

usual number of native officers, and an English officer as second in command, who should also be capable of taking a survey of the country. He should also be accompanied by a medical officer of professional skill, and, if possible, skilled in photography and natural science. If these qualifications are not to be found combined in one individual, a separate photographer should be attached to the mission. Lastly, there should be sent with the mission a capable native Agent, and the Lieutenant Governor can fortunately point to a man admirably qualified in all respects for this important duty, namely,—Cheebo Llama, the present minister of Sikhim, who is warmly attached to British interests, holds a large tract of land in British Sikhim, is versed in political affairs, rendered valuable assistance in the late operations against the Sikhim Rajas, and possesses great influence among the Bootanese, no less from his ability and position than from his sacred character.

6. The mission should, in the Lieutenant Governor's opinion, proceed from Darjeeling along the Teesta into Bootan, and march direct by the best and shortest route to Tassisudon, or to Ponakha, if the Court has not left its winter quarters by the time that the mission arrives there. There are political considerations which make this route preferable to the one followed either by Turner or Pemberton; and the mission, by organising its own means of transport on the hills, would be entirely independent of the Bootanese authorities. Previous missions have been exposed to great delay from the difficulties of obtaining carriage transport thrown in their way by the frontier officers of Bootan. In returning, the mission might take either the same road or any other that may appear preferable.

7. A special messenger should, as soon as possible, be despatched from Darjeeling, bearing letters to the Deb and Dhurma Rajas from the Viceroy and Governor General, as in 1837, announcing the appointment of the envoy by name, and mentioning the route by which he will go, and the probable date of departure from Darjeeling, which should not be later than the 25th December. The envoy should, of course, be furnished with formal credentials, and should take with him handsome and suitable presents for the Deb and Dhurma Rajas, and the principal officers of the Court.

8. As soon as the Lieutenant Governor receives the orders of the Governor General in Council, arrangement will be made, through the Superintendent at Darjeeling, for organising the means of transport and supplying the mission with everything requisite for the journey.

(Political.—No. 1241.)

From the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier; dated Fort William, 19 July 1862.

Sir,

WITH reference to this office endorsement to your address, No. 164, dated the 11th April last, covering a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 328, dated the 5th idem, I am directed to request that you will be so good as to furnish, at as early a date as practicable, a further report regarding the nature of the mission to be sent to Bootan, and to state whether a special messenger has yet been despatched to the Deb and Dhurm Rajas to announce our intention of deputing an envoy.

(No. 12 C.)

From Major *J. E. Haughton*, Officiating Agent, Governor General and Commissioner of Assam, to the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated on the Berham-pooter, 2 August 1862.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter, No. 1241, dated the 19th ultimo, calling upon me with reference to your office endorsement, No. 164, dated the 11th April, to furnish a further report regarding the nature of the mission to be sent to Bhootan, and to state whether a special messenger has yet been despatched to the Deb and Durm Rajas to announce an intention of deputing an envoy.

2. In reply, I beg to refer you to the annexed copy of a letter from my officiating predecessor, Major Agnew, No. 57, dated 31st May last, original of which would appear to have miscarried.

3. Your letter now acknowledged appears further to require report as to the constitution of the mission to be sent. It may be well, therefore, to consider, in the first place, the objects for the attainment of which a mission should be deputed. These I imagine to be,—

Firstly.—The attainment of redress for injuries inflicted upon our subjects, and the release of all who may be detained, against their will, in Bhootan.

Secondly.—Arrangements to prevent the recurrence of any causes of complaint in future.

Thirdly.—The securing of free commercial intercourse.

4. The

4. The officer deputed should, of course, be one of experience, on whose judgment, firmness, and good temper, the Government could confidently rely, and it is desirable that he should have had some previous acquaintance with the manners and customs of the Bootanese.

5. The mission should, in my opinion, be attended with so much state as to render it externally an object of respect to the Bootanese. The envoy should be accompanied by a medical officer and three or four military officers carefully selected, with a Goorkha guard of 25, as already suggested by my predecessor. The minor details of establishment may, I think, be left to the judgment of the officer deputed by Government.

(No. 57.)

From Major *William Agnew*, Officiating Agent, Governor General and Commissioner of Assam, to the Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William; dated Gowhatty, 31 May 1862.

Sir,

WITH advertance to your docket, No. 164, dated the 11th ultimo, forwarding copy of the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department's letter, No. 328, dated the 5th idem, expressing His Excellency the Governor General in Council's hope that there would be no delay in dispatching a special messenger from this to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, with the announcement of the intentions of the British Government to depute an envoy to Bootan, I have now the honour to report that, with some difficulty, I have got a suitable person to undertake the journey. He is a native of Pergunnah Khoontaghât, in the Gowalparah district, and was for some time in the service of a former Deb Raja. He will set out at once, and travel by the Cheering Doar, and expects to be back within two months.

I beg to send a copy of my communication to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, announcing the intentions of Government, the terms of which, I trust, will be approved of.

To the Deb and Dhurm Rajas of Bootan.

After Compliments,

I AM desired by the Government of India to inform you that it is their intention to depute an envoy to Bootan at the end of the rainy season to confer with you regarding such matters as require explanation and settlement between the Government of India and yourself.

The mission will be prepared to leave the British territories about the 17th Aghrahan, and you will be pleased to tell me by what road you would wish it to enter the Bootan country. I request you will also be so good as to issue the necessary orders for the proper reception of the envoy in his journey towards your Court, and that you will depute some persons of proper rank to accompany him and see his wants attended to.

I beg you will be pleased to favour me with the news of your health and welfare.

Dated Gowhatty, 31 May 1862.

(No. 74.)

From Major *J. C. Haughton*, Officiating Commissioner of Assam, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William; dated Gowhatty, 26 August 1862.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a report received this day from the messenger deputed to Bootan, in conformity with instructions contained in your endorsement, No. 164, of the 11th April last, for the information of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor.

It will be seen that the messenger arrived at Chiring, which is midway between Gowalparah and Tassisudon and Poonakha, the regal seats of Bootan, on the 10th instant.

(Dated Chiring, 24 Sraban 1269 B.S.)

The humble Petition of Mukundo Sing Doss.

I RESPECTFULLY beg to state that I left Sidlee on the 12th Sraban, on 27th July last, and after a day's march reached Bossoargram, and thence Balorgram on the next day, and from that place I went to Dutoomar, which took me also one day. Leaving that place, I arrived at Dewargram after a full day's journey, it being within the jurisdiction of Dooar Chiring, on the Bootan territory, and passed a day in the house of Arjoom Nuss, the kagotee or

Sic orig.

writer of the Chiring Dooar Soobah, and on the following day I resumed my journey, and arrived, after a day's travel, at Bungsu Jhar, where I passed the night with some woodcutters; on the next day I arrived at Puchiehaga, and was obliged to halt there for two days, not being able to cross the River Narangoon; the third day, however, I resumed my journey and reached the place called Beeb Chunga, where I again stopped two days, on account of very heavy rain; and at 10 a.m. of the next day I got the tank of Boro Bungla, and passed the remainder of the day at Selkhagur. On the following day, about 4 p.m., I reached the hill called Khanakhowa, and in the evening arrived at Cherrang. I had, sir, with me one chuprassee or peon, and one servant, and we three men have enjoyed good health up to this day. I make this report from Chiring Dooar, and I shall not be able to submit any further report from the way.

(True Translation.)

(signed) *J. C. Haughton,*
 Officiating Agent, Governor General,
 North-Eastern Frontier.

(Foreign Department.—Political.—No. 979.)

From the Under Secretary to the Government of India to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, 23 October 1862.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 11th instant, No. 2104, regarding the proposed mission to Bootan; and, in reply, to call the attention of the Lieutenant Governor to the fact, that as the selection of the route has been left to the Bootanese, some inconvenience may arise if their reply is anticipated, and a route chosen of which they may not approve. His Excellency in Council therefore requests that the answer which may be brought by the messenger, who has been sent to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, may when received be forwarded to Calcutta with the utmost dispatch.

2. Orders regarding the organisation of the mission will be communicated hereafter.

I have, &c.
 (signed) *C. U. Aitchison,*
 Under Secretary to the Government of India.

(Political.—No. 2607.)

From the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India.—Foreign Department, Fort William, 26 November 1862.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter, dated the 23d ultimo, No. 979, and the previous correspondence on the subject of a mission to Bootan, I am desired by the Lieutenant Governor to say that, in his opinion, the time has now arrived for further action in the matter.

2. Though a messenger, bearing a letter to the Government of Bootan announcing the intention of the Government of India to send an envoy to the Court of the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs was dispatched in July last, and though, from a letter received from him, the messenger appears to have reached Cherring, which is half-way to Poonaka, on the 10th instant, the reply of the Bootan Durbar, to which your letter refers, has not yet arrived, neither has any further intelligence of the messenger been received. The Lieutenant Governor thinks, therefore, that it is very probable that either the letter sent by the Commissioner of Assam or the reply has miscarried.

3. Under these circumstances his Honor strongly recommends that the Bootan Durbar should again be addressed.

4. When at Darjeeling, a few weeks ago, the Lieutenant Governor had an opportunity of conversing on the subject of the intended mission to Bootan with Cheebo Llama; and the Llama, whose word can be relied on, undertook to dispatch a letter to the seat of the Bootan Government, to have it delivered to the Deb Rajah, and to procure a reply within 24 days through his own servants; and the Lieutenant Governor thinks that this offer should be accepted. I annex the draft of letters addressed to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, showing the form which, in his Honor's opinion, the communication should take.

5. The Lieutenant Governor considers that it is a mistake to address a Government constituted like that of Bootan in hesitating and uncertain terms. His Honor would leave to that

that Government nothing beyond the choice of receiving, or refusing to receive, the mission. The point from which the country is to be entered, and the route which it should take, should be decided by the Government of India with reference to its own convenience.

6. For the reasons stated in my letter, No. 2104, dated the 11th ultimo, and because the Lieutenant Governor is satisfied that, judging from the past, the only chance of success which the mission will have is in its absolute independence of the Bootan authorities for the supply of carriage, his Honor thinks that the route *viâ* Darjeeling and Dalimcote should be determined on.

7. As the cold season is advancing, and as it is desirable that the mission should return before the setting in of the rainy season, no time should, I am to observe, be lost in dispatching the second letter to the Bootan Government; if that course should be approved by the Governor General in Council, and pending the receipt of a reply, all preparations for the expedition should be made, so that the mission may start as soon as a reply is received.

(Political.)

From the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to the Deb Raja.

The same to the Dhurm Raja.

My Friend,

IN the month of Sraban a letter was sent to your Highness through the Commissioner of Assam by the hands of Mukoondoo Sing Doss, announcing the intention of his Excellency the Governor General of India to send an envoy to your Court, to confer with you regarding certain matters which require adjustment between this Government and that of Bootan. Intelligence of this messenger was received from Cherring, dated Srabrun 24th. Since this, though much time has elapsed, no news of the messenger and no reply from your Highness has been received.

This being so, it appears to the Government of India either that the messenger has never reached your Court, or that the reply has miscarried, and on this account the second letter is written, that you may be informed of the intention of his Excellency the Governor General of India to send a confidential envoy to you, to confer with you on many important matters connected with the maintenance of friendly relations between the two Governments. This Government has had many causes of complaint against the officers of the Government of Bootan, but as the Governor General of India believes it to be your wish that the two Governments should continue to be on terms of the old friendship which has for so many years existed, it is very desirable that some trusted servant of this Government should see your Deb Highness and the Dhurm Raja, and consult with you as to what is to be done to check the misdeeds of subordinate officers and other persons on the frontier, and to put an end to all misunderstanding. By personal interview much can be discussed which cannot be done in writing.

As it is the shortest and most convenient road, the Governor General will send his envoy by way of Darjeeling and Dalimcote to the Bootan Durbar. The mission will consist of the envoy with three or four other officers, and a suitable honorary escort of 50 men, more or less. I trust that on receipt of this letter your Highness will send some officer of high rank, either a Pilo or a Soubah, or an officer of the Court, to meet the Governor General's representative on the banks of the Teesta, and to escort him with suitable care and honour to your Highness's presence. His Excellency the Governor General will have the pleasure of sending by his envoy a letter and suitable tokens of friendship.

As in his interview with the Commissioner of Assam, the Durpan Raja told the Commissioner of the pleasure which it would give your Highness to receive an envoy from the Governor General, it is hoped that there will not be any delay whatever in sending a reply; for so it will be well. Do not understand this otherwise than it is written.

(signed) C. Beadon.

(Political.—No. 3131.)

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, 30 December 1862.

Sir,

IN continuation of Letter No. 2607, dated the 26th ultimo, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward, for the information of the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter, with enclosure, from the Officiating Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, reporting the return of the messenger who was sent with letters to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, and to observe that in Mokundo Singh Dass's petition no mention is made of the letters to which Major Agnew refers in para. 2 of his Despatch.

No. 107, dated
11 Dec. 1862.

(No. 107.)

From Major *W. Agnew*, Officiating Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Gowhatty, 11 December 1862.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you with the return of the messenger sent with letters to the Deb and Dhurm Rajas, as reported in my communication to your address, No. 57, dated 31st May last.

2. Annexed are translations of two arzees he has sent me, which show he was well received, and treated with every courtesy in Bootan. The replies to my letters have not been received, but I have told Mokondo Singh to join me as quickly as possible with them, and when he does so I shall have the honour of addressing you again.

2 December 1862.

To the Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier.

The Petition of Mokundo Doss.

I RESPECTFULLY beg to state that on the 7th August I arrived at Cherring Dooar, the Soubah of which had gone to Wandeeopore, and so I met with his zingpoon the next day, and informed him the object of my mission. As the zingpoon expressed his inability to allow me to go to the Deb Rajah without first obtaining his sanction, he wrote a letter to Wandeeopore, and I was on that account obliged to stop at Cherring for 13 days. On the 21st August a zinkaff came to take me to Wandeeopore, and we started on the following day, and having crossed five hills and a river (over which there was a wooden bridge), we arrived at a place called Modang, and halted one day there. In the way I found no habitation of ryots, and so we could not obtain any russud till we reached the above place, where there was only the residence of one ryot; the road was very bad. On the 23d we started from Modang, and after crossing seven hills, and a river with wooden bridge, we arrived at a place called Rabashoo. On the roadside neither ryot nor russud was to be found. All jungle in the above place, there were only two houses built on the bank of a river, where travellers are accommodated, but in the distance the habitations of one or two ryots were to be seen.

On the 24th we resumed our journey, and after crossing nine hills and a river with a wooden bridge, we came to Krashila, where we stopped one day. On the roadside there were no ryots, but at a considerable distance one or two houses were visible, and in the above place there was a thatched house near the river for the residence of travellers. Road very bad.

On the 25th we started, and after crossing 10 hills and two rivers, over one of which there was a rattan bridge, and over the other a wooden one, we arrived at a place called Borgong, where there was a police thannah and a stone house, in the vicinity of which there was some population. Road very good.

On the 26th we resumed our journey, and after crossing six hills we arrived at a place called Woolaye, where we passed one day in the house of the patgiree. The place was thickly populated, and the road was good.

On the 27th we started, and after crossing four hills and a river with wooden bridge, we reached Jalloye, in which we found several inhabitants. The road was good.

On the 28th, at about 12 o'clock, we came near Wandeeopore, and having crossed in the way five hills and a river with wooden bridge, we arrived at Wandeeopore, and halted there. We found a stone-built house at that place, near the river, and there was a flour-mill attached to it, which, being supplied with water from the river, by means of an artificial canal, prepares flour in abundance. From the north, two rivulets joined the above river, one the South Monas, and the other the North Sankas; both of them joined together on the next, in the middle of which rose a hill, and the city of Wandeeopore stands over it. In the above mill-house Juggut Chawdhury and Hitram Chawdhury, of Bijnee, were accommodated, and I also stopped there. On the 29th I sent word to the Soubah, through Dayjoy Kyat, expressing my desire for an interview with him, but he said that on my way back from the Deb Rajah he will be glad to comply with my wishes; in the meantime he called for any letter or letters I may have for him from any soubahs, and so I delivered him one, after which he desired me to stop at Wandeeopore until a reply to his reference to the Deb Rajah be received, and I therefore stayed there seven days. On the 7th September, at about 10 o'clock, I and a zinkaff given by the Jungpen of Wandeeopore, started from that place, and after crossing two hills we halted for one day at a thannah house which stood in the way, and which had round it the houses of many ryots.

On the 8th we resumed our journey, and after crossing six times a stream having wooden bridges over it, and three small and one large hill, we arrived at a mouza, the name of which no Bhootan could tell us, and remained there one day, and on the following day we traversed two hills, and crossed the wooden bridge over the Ryduck River, flowing from north to south, and reached the capital of the Deb Rajah. Leaving me near the temples, which stood at a small distance from the beds of the river, the zinkaff went to the Deb Rajah's Court at about 12 o'clock, and delivered the Wandeeopore jungpen's letter to the Deb Rajah, who sent two zinkaffs to welcome my arrival, and they carried me to a stone-built three-storied house on the north side of the fort, and gave me lodging there. There is a splendid large stone built three-storied house, bounded on the east by a hill, washed by the

the streams of the Ryduck, on the other three sides by a range of large hills. The above house is thatched by the flanks of the soral tree, and has four pillars over it, the tops of which are adorned with four gilt copper kulsus within them having four bells. The road leading from Wandepore to the Deb Rajah's capital is in excellent condition, and both its sides are thickly populated. It is impossible to enumerate the hills and dales lying in this part of the country, but I have just mentioned a few that occurred in my observation; other particulars I beg to narrate in the following:—

1st. I arrived at the Deb Rajah's court on the 9th September. The services of two zinkaffs were placed at my disposal during the time of my stay, and I was supplied with regularly, and at the expense of the Bootan Government; in fact, every attention was paid me. On the 28th October I was carried to a three-storied stone house, where the Deb Rajah granted me leave to return, and I started thence on the following day, and after two and a-half days' journey arrived at Wandepore, and the two zinkaffs who had accompanied me returned to the capital. The Jungpen of that place did not allow me an interview as I had asked; his man said that as there was no letter with me from the British authorities for the Jungpen Sobeh, he did not see any use for it. I was granted, however, the services of a zinkaff, who accompanied me as far as Madong, where we arrived after five days' march. For want of coolies I was detained at that place for a week, after which coolies were sent from Chering Dooar, which place we reached after a short journey. On the 17th November we started from Chering, and halted one day at Doobling, one day at the tank of Boro Bangla, one day at Bishing, and one day at Pakhehaga. During our journey we crossed no less than 15 or 16 hills; no habitation of men was to be seen, and the whole road leads through a wilderness, but by a little care the road may be changed into a good one; we also crossed the wooden bridge over the river of Dooblong, which was dangerous and difficult to pass.

From Pakhibaga we started, and after one day's march we came to Dai Dooar, and from there to Dooar Gram: no traces of human habitation was to be seen during these two days' march, and nothing but dense jungle extended on both sides of the way.

From Dooar Gram we started, and arrived at Dutura within our jurisdiction, from which place I made a petition to you through the troops posted at Daigram.

From Dutura we started, and arrived at Buldia, and after two days' march we came to Phatarmarie Pathar, from there to Poondeebaree after one day's journey, thence to Chobaree in one day, and thence to my village Dowla in Buteamaree. I had kept my health during the period of my journey, but my companion, after arrival at the Dhurm Rajah's court, was severely ill, from which he got over by vows and offering to the Gelling. As our legs are swollen through travelling, and wounds made by hill insects over our body, we will take a little rest in our house, and after five or seven days we will present ourselves before you, when I shall report you every other particulars.

Political—(No. 161.)

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated, Fort William, 13 January 1863.

Sir,

IN continuation of letter, No. 3131, dated the 30th ultimo, I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a letter* with its enclosure, from the Officiating Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, and to state that the Lieutenant Governor strongly recommends that, instead of waiting for the arrival of the zinkaffs from Bootan, a mission should be sent from Darjeeling to Bootan on the footing and in the manner suggested in the letter from this office, No. 2607, dated the 26th November last.

* No. 116, dated
31 Dec. 1862.

2. I am desired to add, that it seems impossible that the questions in dispute between the British Government and the rulers of Bootan can be satisfactorily settled, or the relations of the two Governments be properly adjusted in any other way.

(No. 116 of 1862-63.)

From Major W. Agnew, Officiating Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Foreign Department, Fort William; dated 30 December 1862.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter, No. 107, dated the 11th instant, I have the honour to forward herewith translation of the reply sent by the Deb Rajah to the communication I addressed to him under the instructions conveyed in the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department's Letter, No. 328, dated 5th of April last, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, forwarded to this office with your docket, No. 104, dated the 11th idem.

2. Mokundo Sing, the messenger I sent to Bootan as the Government of India directed, tells me that during his stay at the capital all his wants were well and liberally supplied, but he does not seem on the whole to have met with so friendly a reception as could have been wished. He arrived at Tassisudon on the 9th of September, and the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs did not see him until the 21st idem, from which date until the 26th October, when the Deb Rajah gave him leave to return, no other interview was granted to him;

him; nor has the Dhurma Rajah, it is to be observed, replied to my letter. Mokund Sing asked for an answer, but was told that the one given by the Deb would do for both.

3. It appears that the Booteahs are much incensed against the Cooch Behar people on account of their general aggressive conduct, culminating in the attack they made on them in February last, reported by Major Hopkinson, No. 15, dated the 15th of that month, on which occasion a katma, and six or seven men are said to have been killed, and four elephants and other valuable property plundered. Both Rajahs, I am told, dwelt strongly on this, as they maintain, unprovoked outrage, declaring that before receiving an envoy, they would wish inquiry to be made respecting it, and also in regard to the grounds on which the revenue of Ambaree Fallakotta was stopped.

4. The Deb's letter to me seems evasive. In the beginning of it, he says he would be glad to see the Governor General's Agent (Gowhatty Burra Saheb), but concludes by intimating that the Dhurma Rajah does not wish an envoy to be sent. The zinkaffs who are said to be coming down, will, however, doubtlessly communicate the exact wishes of their masters on this point, and until that be known, it seems to me no steps could be taken towards the despatch of a mission.

5. Regarding the complaints brought against the Cooch Behar people, I am bound to say I believe they are not devoid of foundation, and that many of the Booteah outrages reported from that quarter are merely in retaliation of aggressions on the part of their neighbours.

6. In conclusion, I have the honour to solicit sanction for the expenses incurred, amounting to 300 rupees (three hundred) as per accompanying bill, which I request may be sent to the Civil Paymaster for audit.

From the Deb Rajah of Bootan, to the Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier.

After Compliments.

I HAVE received your letter through three persons, Mukoond Sing Doss, a peon, and a servant, and learnt its contents. It was the custom before this that whenever a new officer was appointed, he used to pay a visit to the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs; you have now written for an interview, and wish to know our order as to what Dooar you will proceed with a zinkaff. This is all you want to know. Formerly, the East India Company and the Dhurm Rajah were so intimate as to be like people of the same house; you have been appointed by order of that Company as the Bura Saheb of Gowhatty, and I am very glad of it, as also with your intention to have an interview. As the East India Company and the Dhurm Rajah have been considered equal from before, the talook of the Assam Rajah, viz., Toolgooree, Buxa, Bagh Doar, Khalling and Booree Goma were given to the Dhurm Rajah by the Assam Rajah as a present, and as we have received the revenue thereof, learn they are taken by the Company. You wish for an interview; that's good; I want to speak to you about the Dooars.

The Talook Ambaree Fallakotta was given to the Dhurma Raja by the Rajah of Julpi-gooree in Boikuntpoor for the worship of the Mohokol, and we have thenceforward received its revenue; but that one for the last and present year you have stopped on account of a quarrel; no one uses that revenue; it is wholly spent for the worship of the Drata; it is not good to stop it, for doing so evil happens to men. I therefore write this, and you will be pleased to direct the superintendent of Darjeeling to give the revenue of the talook, allowing us 4,000 rupees for the arrears of the last two years.

You have constantly written to us to say that the Booteahs of our Dooars have committed aggression, and as these letters relating to quarrels reaching us quickly, and at short intervals, we have sent zinkaffs to the Soobahs of the different Dooars to investigate the matter, but from their replies, it appears that their people do not commit any acts of aggression or rebellion. I have often asked you in reply to your letters regarding the quarrels to send us a list containing the names of the offenders, and in whose jurisdiction they reside, but you have not given us any. You only say that the Booteahs committed aggression. It is impossible to investigate the matters without the names of the offenders. With regard to the quarrels of the frontier authorities, they are not important enough to be heard by the Dhurm Rajah, and if your sahibs do the same, the East India Company also should not listen to them either. The boundary has been assigned and marked out long ago; and if quarrels regarding it happen, you will restrain your officers, and we will do so to ours.

You want an interview, but now it would be attended with much trouble, owing to the cold and bad state of the roads. Moreover, the Dhurm Rajah does not wish such an interview. If you want to come for the settlement of any quarrel, I have not informed the Dhurm that such is the case. I had minded to send zinkaffs to you with your men for the adjustment of quarrel, but on account of the heat, I cannot do so now; afterwards, in the month of Magh, I shall send over two or three zinkaffs to you, who will settle disputes according to our order. Dated 5th Kartic, 353 Bhooteah Luck.

(True Translation.)

(signed) William Agnew,
Officiating Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier.

(Political—No. 98.)

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, the Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, 27 January 1863.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of the letters noted on the margin, on the subject of a mission to Bootan, and in reply to state that the Governor General in Council does not think that the tone of the Deb Rajah's letter, forwarded with yours, No. 161, dated 13th instant, is exactly what it ought to be. But as, at the instance of the Bengal Government, the Bootan Government were asked to point out the route which the mission to Bootan was to follow, it would not, in the Viceroy's opinion, be advisable, at so late a period in the cold season, to raise a new question by selecting a route without waiting for the formal reply from the Bootan rulers. On the whole, his Excellency in Council thinks the better course will be to await the Bootanese messengers, and hear what they have got to say; the more so that the Officiating Commissioner of Assam admits that the faults as between the British residents on the Bootanese frontier and their neighbours are by no means all on one side.

From Officiating Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 2607, dated 26th November 1862.

From Secretary to ditto, No. 3131, dated 30th December 1862. From ditto, No. 161, dated 13th January 1863.

(Political—No. 2809.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, 8 December 1862.

Sir,

IN continuation of the letter from this office, No. 2067, dated the 26th ultimo, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward, for the information of the Governor General in Council, the accompanying extract from a diary kept by the Deputy Commissioner of Gawalparah while on duty in the interior of the district: it affords additional evidence that the Bootan Court is well inclined, and that misunderstandings arise entirely from the unauthorised acts of subordinate officers.

EXTRACT from a DIARY kept by the Deputy Commissioner of Gawalpara while on duty in the interior of the District.

31st October 1862.—Started at 6 a.m. for Fokira Gain in Khoontaghât. The whole distance, excepting one quarter of a mile before reaching the Sunkoss Ghât, and the last two miles through khets and villages, is through the most dense jungle of trees and grass. In one part, I had, when away, through tree branches for the bawdah, and at length gave up in despair, and took a circuit of about a mile. The Sunkoss is not fordable at this season, nor likely to be for at least a fortnight, I imagine. It is absolutely necessary for the protection of the frontier that there should be a road of some description between Fokira Goon and Panbaree. Under existing circumstances, the ryots at the latter place might hear of an intended raid; and even if there was a guard of sepoy or police at the former they could not give information in time to prevent it. From what I have gleaned, however, I don't think there is the slightest chance of any such occurrence to require military aid; the most serious attack within the range of probability being a dacoity or cattle lifting; and, therefore, police, when the intended pharoe is established at Forkira Goon, will be ample protection. A couple of men should be sent once a week at least to Dutma, and other villages on the immediate boundary of Bhotan, to see that all is well. I have arrived at this conclusion from conversations with wood cutters and villagers, and the Purhutjvoar zemindar's brother (if I remember rightly) told me that the Deb Rajah had in more than one instance been obliged to reprimand the Sobhas for allowing our ryots to be molested by men living in their Doars, as it led to a misunderstanding between the British Government and Bhootan. With all deference, therefore, I would suggest, as it is clear that the Deb Rajah doesn't hear half that occurs between the men in the Doars and our ryots, that communications, instead of being sent to Sobhas, who appear to be inferior officers with limited powers, should be sent to the Deb, when the Sobhas prove themselves unable to detect offenders, and restrain the marauding propensities of bad characters in their jurisdiction, as they show themselves thereby unfit for the charge of the Doars, and I feel confident that we should soon hear the last of these malpractices. I arrived at Fokira Goon at 3 p.m.; 1st Halted, to make inquiries and collect income-tax.

Sic orig.

(No. 175.)

From *T. A. Donough*, Esquire, Deputy Magistrate of the Julpigoree Sub-division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William; dated Julpigoree, 3 January 1863.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith an original letter to my address, from Mr. R. S. Pyne, of Silligoree, which I beg that you will be so good as to lay before the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for his Honor's consideration.

2. I have repeatedly written to the Governor General's Agent at Gowhatty, in Assam, on the subject of the outrages committed by the Bootanese on British subjects in our territory; and, in answer to my last communication, I was informed by Major J. C. Houghton, in a letter dated 21st August last, that these outrages had been represented to the Court of Bootan by his predecessor, apparently without any result; that the matter was, at the time of writing, in the hands of the Government of India, and that it was probable that effectual steps would shortly be taken to insure redress.

3. I do not know whether any such steps have since been taken, but I may here state that, to my certain knowledge, the elephant which was stolen from Mr. Pyne, and which had, in the first instance, been appropriated by the Katma of Gopalgunge, who died a few months ago, is now at Mynagoree, and, I believe, in the possession of the Soobah of that place. I also know that another elephant, stolen from Jebishur Surmo (a British subject resident within my jurisdiction), is now at Downhonee, in the possession of the Bhandaree (a Bootanese functionary) of that place. Downhonee is just across the river Teesta, on the Bootan side, and the last-mentioned elephant is frequently seen there from the bank on our side, and the owner is sorely tempted to try to recover him by force or stratagem. He has several times asked me to permit him to do so, but I have refused to countenance any such measures. Mr. Pyne, it would seem, has had similar intentions in respect to recovering his elephant, and altogether bears his loss with less equanimity than the native.

4. The four British subjects seized by the Bootanese, and taken away into Bootan, some 10 or 12 months ago, have not yet been given up. One, I know, has since lost his life; but I do not know the fate of the other three.

5. The impunity with which these crimes have been committed will, I fear, lead to further similar outrages. The ease and facility with which they may be perpetrated, offer inducements to such lawless barbarians as the Bootanese, to continue their malpractices, while the miseries of the poor sufferers on our side are, in the eyes of our native subjects, a reproach to our Government.

To *T. A. Donough*, Esquire, Deputy Magistrate, Julpigoree.

Sir,

Julpigoree, 21 November 1862.

IT is now a long time since I last wrote to you on the subject of my elephant, which was stolen from me at Silligoree, and taken over into Bootan, and I should like to know whether any steps are to be taken by Government to compel the Bootanese to restore my property. One of my servants went, a short time back, to Mynagoree, and saw my elephant there. My object in making the above inquiry is this: if Government do not intend taking effectual steps to insure redress, whether there would be any objection to my endeavouring to recover my elephant by any means within my power; I have only been deterred from taking such steps myself by the impression that the British Government would compel its dishonest neighbour to restore my property.

I have, &c.

(signed) *R. S. Pyne*.

(Political—No. 358.)

From the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal to *T. A. Donough*, Esquire, Deputy Magistrate of the Julpigoree Sub-division; dated Fort William, 22 January 1863.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Lieutenant Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 175, dated the 3d instant, with its enclosure, and in reply to, state that you are perfectly right in refusing to countenance any attempt on the part of the owners of the elephants, said to have been stolen by the Bootanese, to recover them by force, and that you are bound absolutely to prevent any such attempt.

2. I am to add, that the persons aggrieved must submit to their losses until measures, which are under consideration for the adjustment of these and other matters affecting the relations between this Government and the Government of Bootan, have been finally decided upon.

3. The original enclosure of your letter is herewith returned.

(No. 360.)

FORWARDED to the Government of India (Foreign Department), in continuation of letter, No. 161, dated 13th instant.

(signed)

J. Geoghegan,
Under Secretary to the Government
of Bengal.

Fort William, 22 January 1863.

(No. 181.)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM.

Fort William, Foreign Department, Political,
24 February 1863.

THE undersigned has the honour to request that the Under Secretary to the Bengal Government would please to state, for the information of this Department, when the Bootanese messengers may be expected in Calcutta.

(signed) *J. T. Wheeler,*
Assistant Secretary to the Government
of India.

(Political.—No. 926.)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM.

Fort William, 3 March 1863.

WITH reference to Memo. No. 181, dated 24th ultimo, from the Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, requesting to be informed as to the time the Bootanese messengers may be expected in Calcutta, the undersigned has the honour to state that it does not appear from the correspondence in this office that the messengers were ever expected in Calcutta, but from the letter of the Deb Raja to the address of the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, copy of which was forwarded to the Foreign Department with No. 161 from this office, dated the 13th January last, it will be seen that the month of Magh was mentioned as the time of the zinkaffs' arrival at Gowhaty. Major Agnew will, however, be asked for precise information on the subject.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley,*
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Political.—No. 1592.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Fort William, 6th April 1863.

Sir,

IN continuation of the communication from this office, No. 926, dated the 3d ultimo, I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of the letters noted on the margin from the Officiating Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier.

No. 1, dated 12th ult.
No. 1 C, dated 19th ult.

2. It will be seen that a deputation from the Government of Bootan has arrived in Assam to receive its share of the Dooar revenue; hitherto such deputations consisted of officers of some rank, but in the present instance zinkaffs only from the Tongso Soobah have been sent, and these, moreover, are not furnished with either letters or any other communication from the Deb or Dhurm Rajahs. It also appears certain that the messengers promised by the Deb Rajah to be sent in the month of Magh have not been dispatched.

3. In the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor the questions in dispute between the British Government and the rulers of Bootan can only be satisfactorily settled by the dispatch of a mission to the seat of the Bootan Government, as already desired by the Government of India; and his Honor would strongly recommend that the mission be sent from Darjeeling after the rainy season, on the footing and in the manner suggested in the letter from this office, No. 2607, dated the 26th November last.

(No. 1.)

From Major *W. Agnew*, Officiating Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated 12th March 1863.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 927, dated the 3d instant, and to say that the zinkaffs alluded to therein have not yet made their appearance here, nor have I heard anything further regarding their proposed visit. I think it probable, though, that they may come with the party that annually visits us in March or April to receive the Booteeah share of Dooar revenue, and if they do I shall lose no time in acquainting Government with the facts.

(No. 1 C.)

From Major *W. Agnew*, Officiating Commissioner of Assam, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated 19th March 1863.

Sir,

IN continuation of the previous correspondence on the subject, I have the honour to acquaint you with the arrival of the annual Bootanese deputation that comes down for their share of the Dooar revenue.

2. Generally speaking, though it is to be observed not invariably so, officers of some rank have been deputed to visit us on occasions of the kind, but in the present instance zinkaffs only from the Tongso Soobah have done so; and they, moreover, bear neither letters nor other communication from the Deb or Dhurm Rajahs. Under ordinary circumstances this would not be a matter worth noticing, but the existing state of affairs gives it more importance, as it shows indifference at least to the wish expressed by Government for the amicable adjustment of frontier disputes.

3. The zinkaffs know of no other messengers likely to visit Assam this year, so that the promise of the Deb Rajah to communicate with me further in regard to the proposal to send a British mission to Bootan is not, it seems, likely to be kept. It is said the reason of letters not being dispatched on the present occasion is the Deb Rajah being engaged with affairs of importance in the west connected with the dissensions in the Mynagooree soobahship.

(Political.—No. 492.)

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Simla, 11th August 1863.

Sir,

WITH reference to previous correspondence and in reply to your letter, No. 1592, dated 6th April last, I am directed to convey to you the following observations and instructions regarding the proposed mission to Bootan.

2. In consequence of repeated and wanton aggressions of the Bootanese on British territory and the neglect of all demands for redress, the Lieutenant Governor was directed on 11th February 1860 to carry out the provisional orders of April 1857, and to take possession of the territory known as the Ambaree Fallacottah, on this side the Teesta, which was ceded to Bootan and held in form by the British Government, and to address a letter to the Deb Raja stating categorically the circumstances of each case of outrage, and requiring not only the restoration of the captives, but the punishment of the guilty parties, and informing the Raja that the territory would not be given back till full reparation should be made.

3. These instructions were somewhat exceeded by Colonel Jenkins, then Agent to the Governor General in the North-East Frontier, but eventually the object of the British Government in occupying the Ambaree Fallacottah was fully explained to the Bootanese authorities in a letter addressed to the Dhurm Raja by Colonel Jenkins on 17th January 1861, and a subsequent letter by his successor, Captain Hopkinson, in which it was stated that the stoppage of the rent of Fallacottah had been caused solely by the refusal of the Bootan Government to comply with the just demands made on it by the British Government, and that the territory would not be restored till these demands were fully complied with.

4. From the communications of the Bengal Government noted in the margin, it appeared that the occupation of Ambaree Fallacottah was not sufficient to restrain the Bootanese from aggressions, and that their outrages were extended to the territories of the Rajas of Cooch Behar and Sikkim, who, by their relations with the British Government, are restrained from taking reprisals or exacting satisfaction for themselves, and are bound to refer all disputes with neighbouring states to the arbitration of the British Government; it therefore became necessary temporarily to detach a British force for the protection of the frontier.

5. The object of these aggressions appeared to be the recovery by force or threats of the revenues of Ambaree Fallacottah, and there appeared some reason to doubt whether the representations of the British Government had ever reached the supreme authorities in Bootan, and had not been intercepted by subordinate officers. For this reason, and in order to explain fully the intention of the British Government to put our relations with Bootan on an improved footing, and to make our engagements with Sikkim clearly understood to the Bootanese, the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Bengal Government, determined to send an envoy to Bootan to deal directly with the Government of that country.

6. A special messenger was therefore dispatched in July 1862 to the Deb and Dhurm Rajas of Bootan with letters from the Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, to inform them of the intention of the British Government to dispatch an envoy who would enter Bootan by any route which the Bootanese Court might prefer. In the meantime,

185	-	dated 11 December	} 1861.
594	-	dated 21 December	
9	-	dated 6 January	} 1862.
20	-	dated 11 January	
45	-	dated 29 January	
46	-	dated 30 January	
84	-	dated 1 February	

meantime, before the return of the messenger and receipt of the wishes of the Bootanese Government, the Lieutenant Governor proposed that the mission should leave by way of Darjeeling not later than 25th December 1862; but as the selection of the route had been left to the Bootanese, his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General felt that it would be inconvenient if their reply were anticipated, and a route selected of which they might not approve.

7. The messenger returned on 2d December 1862, bringing no reply from the Dhurm Raja, and a very evasive one from the Deb Raja, at which he promised to send zinkaffs for the adjustment of disputes. As the season was so far advanced that it was not worth while to raise a new question with Bootan by selecting a route without waiting for the formal reply from the Bootan Government, his Excellency thought it best to await the arrival of the Bootanese zinkaffs, and to hear what they have got to say, the more so that the Officiating Commissioner of Assam reported that the Bootanese had good cause for complaint of aggressions on the part of the people of Cooch Behar.

8. From your letter of 6th April 1863, No. 1592, however, it appears that up to 19th March the zinkaffs had not arrived at Gowhatty, and that the Bootanese officers who had come for the receipt of the annual share of the Dooar revenue, and who are not of the rank usually deputed on such occasions, knew of no intention on the part of the Bootan Government to send any other messengers; under these circumstances the Lieutenant Governor again urges that a mission should be sent from Darjeeling as the only satisfactory means of settling the questions at issue between the British Government and the Government of Bootan.

9. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General is of opinion that the conduct of the Bootanese Government in sending a most evasive reply to the letter of the Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, and in not sending the promised messengers, warrants the British Government in taking such measures as it may deem necessary for putting its relations with Bootan on a more satisfactory footing, and in dispatching a mission by the most convenient route. His Excellency has therefore resolved after the rains to dispatch a mission from Darjeeling accredited from the Government of India, and I am to request that letters may be dispatched in the name of the Lieutenant Governor to the Dheb and Dhurm Rajas at the earliest opportunity, and by such means as his Honor may deem suitable to prepare the Bootan Government for the reception of the envoy from his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General.

10. It is his Excellency's intention to select as envoy the Honourable Ashley Eden; suitable credentials and presents for the Dheb and Dhurm Rajas will be forwarded in due time. Meanwhile, the Lieutenant Governor is requested to direct Mr. Eden to hold himself in readiness to proceed to the Bootan Court in the ensuing cold weather; and to deliver to him the accompanying letter containing general instructions for his guidance.

The escort of the mission, for which the Lieutenant Governor is requested to make the necessary arrangements, will consist of 50 Goorkha or Sikh sepoy and a detachment of the Darjeeling sappers, with the usual complement of native officers. The officer to command the escort will be selected hereafter, and in addition to his duties in command of the escort he will be expected to make rough sketches and surveys of the route which the mission will follow, to report on its practicability for troops, and to take notes of any fortified posts which the mission may pass. A medical officer, to be selected hereafter, will also be attached to the mission, who, besides performing his ordinary medical duties, will assist the head of the mission in obtaining information as to the nature, population, and resources of the country, and will report generally on its natural productions and on matters of scientific interests.

His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General requests that the Lieutenant Governor will furnish Mr. Eden with copies of all correspondence relating to the recent Bootea aggressions and the occupation of Ambaree Fallacottah, from which Mr. Eden will prepare a list of the persons and property now detained in Bootan. Mr. Eden should also be furnished with any information of a general kind from the records of the Bengal office or the Foreign Office at Calcutta, which may be of use to him in accomplishing the objects of the mission.

(Political.—No. 493.)

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General, to the Honourable *Ashley Eden*, &c., &c., &c.; dated Simla, 11th August 1863.

Sir,

OUTRAGES, extending over a series of years, which have been committed by subjects of the Bootan Government within British territory, and the territories of the Rajas of Cooch Behar and Sikkim, have rendered it necessary that measures should be taken to revise and improve the relations existing between the British Government and Bootan. For this purpose his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General has determined, in the ensuing cold weather, to send a special mission to the Bootan Court, and has appointed you to conduct the mission. Credentials and suitable presents for the Dheb and Dhurm Rajas will be furnished when the arrangements for the organisation of the mission are further advanced. In the meantime you will receive from the Bengal Government copies of all the correspondence regarding the outrages committed by the Booteas, with which

you will make yourself familiar. The Bengal Government will also furnish you with all information in their possession regarding the country of Bootan, and of a general kind, which may be useful to you in the prosecution of the mission. In your negotiations for accomplishing the special objects of the mission you will be guided by the following general instructions, full discretion being left you in matters of detail.

2. Your first duty will be to explain clearly and distinctly, but in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, to the Bootan Government the circumstances which rendered it necessary for the British Government to occupy Ambaree Fallacottah, and to withhold its revenues. You will explain that the Government has no intention of occupying that territory longer than the Bootan Government, by refusing compliance with its just demands, renders such occupation necessary. This explanation will be accompanied by a demand for the surrender of all captives and the restoration of all property carried off from British territory or the territories of the Rajas of Sikkim and Cooch Behar, and now detained in Bootan, of which, in communication with the Bengal Government, you will make as accurate a list as possible.

3. Unless these demands be fully complied with, the British Government will not relinquish possession of Ambaree Fallacottah. But if the Bootan Government manifest a desire to do substantial justice you will inform the Dheb and Dhurm Rajas that, while retaining the management of the district, the British Government will pay an annual sum of rupees, or such sum as may be equal to one-third of the net revenues, in the same manner as is done with the Assam Dooars, on condition of the Bootan Government restraining its subjects from future aggressions on British territory or states, render the protection of the British Government, and of their giving prompt redress for injuries which may be inflicted on British Government in defiance of their commands.

4. From the correspondence which will be furnished to you by the Bengal Government you will perceive that the Bootanese authorities complain of aggressions on the part of British subjects and the inhabitants of Cooch Behar. You will request the Dheb and Dhurm Rajas to furnish you with details of the specific acts of aggression complained of, and with reasonable proof of their commission, and you will offer to inquire into these cases, if the Bootan Government wish it, and to give such redress as the circumstances of the case may call for.

5. You will next proceed to endeavour to effect some satisfactory arrangement for the rendition of criminals, by the British and Bootan Governments respectively, who may hereafter be guilty of crimes within the territories of either Governments. On this point your negotiations will have to be conducted with the greatest care. You must bear in mind that from the inequality of the state of civilisation and the administration of justice in the British possessions and in Bootan, there can be no system of strict reciprocity between the two Governments. There are no securities for fair and impartial trial in Bootan such as exist under British laws. Moreover, while the procedure of the British Government in the rendition of criminals is limited and defined by Act VII. of 1854, the laws of Bootan probably impose no restrictions upon the executive authority in that country.

6. The crimes for which it will be proper to arrange for the surrender of offenders are those specified in Act VII. of 1854. The British Government will be quite prepared to surrender under the provisions of that Act Bootanese subjects who may take refuge in the British dominions, provided the Bootan Government will surrender British refugee criminals on the submission to the Bootan Government of such evidence of their guilt as may be satisfactory to the local courts of the district in which the offence was committed. It would be well also if you could prevail on the Bootan Government to surrender for trial by British courts any of their subjects who may commit within British territories any of the heinous offences specified in Act VII. of 1854. On this point you may meet with much difficulty and opposition. But the Viceroy and Governor General is not without hope that, by judicious negotiation and explanation of the just and impartial principles which regulate the proceedings of British courts, objections to the surrender of such offenders may be overcome. The British Government will have reason to congratulate you if such a provision can be secured.

7. With regard to the Rajah of Sikkim, you will perceive that by Article XVII. of the Treaty of 1861, of which a copy is herewith forwarded to you, the Rajah engages to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against any of the neighbouring States which are allies of the British Government, and to refer all disputes or questions with such States to the arbitration of the British Government. The Rajah of Cooch Behar is, by his engagement, subject to the British Government, and as such is restrained from acts of aggression or retaliation without the consent of the British Government. You will fully explain to the Bootan Government the position in which these two protected and dependent states are placed; that any aggressions on these States will be considered by the British Government as unfriendly acts on the part of the Bootanese, and that it will be proper for the Bootan Government to refer to the British Government any questions or disputes with these States, which the British Government will always settle in such manner as justice may require.

8. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General has doubts of the propriety of placing an agent, more especially a native agent, of the British Government in Bootan. This question can best be decided after the result of the mission is known. But you will arrange with the Bootan Government for permission to the British Government to appoint an agent hereafter if it should see fit, and also to depute from time to time a mission to the

Bootan

Bootan Government to deal with that Government directly regarding any questions that may be pending.

9. You will further endeavour to secure free commerce between the subjects of the British and Bootan Governments, and protection to travellers and merchants. But negotiations on this subject must be kept in entire subordination to the main political objects of the mission, as above described, and you will abstain from pressing them if you find that they will interfere with or hinder you from securing the main objects for which you are deputed to the Bootan Court.

10. It will be the duty of the mission to obtain all the information available respecting the nature, population, and resources of the country which it will traverse. To assist you in this, one or more officers, with special scientific attainments, or otherwise duly qualified, will be attached to the mission, in subordination to you. Full instructions regarding the constitution of the mission and its escort have been transmitted to the Bengal Government. Your reports, and any letters which you may have occasion to write after the mission has started, will be addressed direct to the Secretary to the Government of India, with his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General.

11. You will endeavour to secure the record of the results of your mission in the form of a treaty. A draft of such a treaty as his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General would desire you to negotiate is enclosed. In the main principles you will be limited by the instructions contained in this letter; but in all minor matters of detail you will be guided by your own discretion and judgment, and a regard for the interests of the British Government. On the success with which you may conduct these negotiations to a conclusion will depend the credit which will attach to you, and the degree in which your services on this mission will be appreciated by the British Government.

DRAFT of a TREATY between his Excellency the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, K.T.G., C.B., and K.S.I., Viceroy and Governor General of Her Britannic Majesty's Possessions in the East Indies, and the of Bootan, concluded on the one part by the Honourable Ashley Eden, by virtue of full Powers to that effect vested in him by the Viceroy and Governor General, and on the other part by

ARTICLE I.

The peace and friendship which now happily subsist between the British Government and the Government of Bootan shall continue and be perpetual.

ARTICLE II.

ALTERNATIVE.

Whereas, during a series of years outrages have been committed within British territory by certain evil-disposed persons who have taken refuge in Bootan, the Bootan Government hereby agree,* within six months from the date of the ratification of this treaty, to restore all the property plundered by the persons afore-mentioned, and to surrender all British subjects, as well as subjects of the Chiefs of Sikhim and Cooch Behar, who are now detained in Bootan against their will, according to the list annexed to this treaty.

* to use their utmost endeavours in such a manner as shall be satisfactory to the British Government to procure the restoration of all property carried into Bootan by the aforesaid persons, and to surrender all British subjects, as well as subjects of the Chiefs of Sikhim and Cooch Behar, who are now detained in Bootan against their will.

ARTICLE III.

ALTERNATIVE.

When the Bootan Government shall have surrendered all the property and captives referred to in the above Article, the British Government shall withdraw from the occupation of Ambaree Fallacottah, and make over charge of the district to officers appointed by the Bootan Government, on condition that the Bootan Government shall for the future restrain all evil-disposed persons from committing crimes within British territories, or the territories of the Rajahs of Sikhim and Cooch Behar, and shall give prompt and full redress for all such crimes which may be committed in defiance of their orders.

The British Government hereby agree to pay annually to the Bootan Government, the sum of rupees on account of Ambaree Fallacottah (which they shall continue to occupy), in consideration of the friendly exertions of the Bootan Government for the restoration of the property, and the release of the captives referred to in the above Article, and on condition that the Bootan Government shall, for the future, restrain all evil-disposed persons from committing crimes within British territories, or the territories of the Rajahs of Sikhim and Cooch Behar, and shall give prompt and full redress for all such crimes which may be committed in defiance of their commands.

ARTICLE IV.

Whereas certain subjects of the British Government and inhabitants of Cooch Behar, unknown, are alleged to have committed outrages within the territories of the Bootan Government, the British Government hereby agree, on being furnished with information of the acts of aggression complained of, and reasonable proof of their commission, to institute full inquiries, and to give such redress as the circumstances of each case may require.

ARTICLE V.

The British Government hereby agree, on demand being duly made in writing by the Bootan Government, to surrender under the provisions of Act VII. of 1854, of which a copy shall be furnished to the Bootan Government, all Bootanee subjects accused of any of the following crimes, who may take refuge in British dominions. The crimes are murder, attempting to murder, rape, kidnapping, great personal violence, maiming, dacoity, thuggee, robbery, burglary, knowingly receiving property obtained by dacoity, robbery or burglary, cattle stealing, breaking and entering a dwelling-house and stealing therein, arson, setting fire to a village, house, or town, forgery, or uttering forged documents, counterfeiting current coin, knowingly uttering base or counterfeit coin, perjury, subornation of perjury, embezzlement by public officers or other persons; and being an accessory to any of the above offences.

ARTICLE VI.

The Bootan Government hereby agree, on requisition being duly made by, or by the authority of, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to surrender any British subjects accused of any of the crimes specified in the above article, who may take refuge in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Bootan Government and also any Bootanese subjects, who, after committing any of the above crimes in British territory shall flee into Bootan, on such evidence of their guilt being produced as shall satisfy the local courts of the district in which the offence may have been committed.

ARTICLE VII.

The Bootan Government hereby agree to refer to the arbitration of the British Government all disputes with, or causes of complaint against the Rajahs of Sikhim and Cooch Behar, and to abide by the decision of the British Government, and the British Government engage to inquire into and settle all such disputes and complaints in such manner as justice may require, and to insist on the observance of the decision by the Rajahs of Sikhim and Cooch Behar.

ARTICLE VIII.

If the British Government should find it necessary to appoint an agent on their part to reside at the seat of Government in Bootan, the Bootan Government agree to receive him and to treat him with due honour. The Bootan Government further agree honourably to receive such special envoys as the British Government may find it necessary from time to time to depute, for the purpose of settling any questions that may be pending between the two Governments.

ARTICLE IX.

There shall be free trade and commerce between the two Governments; no duties shall be levied on Bootanese goods imported into British territories, nor shall the Bootan Government levy any duties on British goods imported into, or transported through, the Bootan territories. Bootanese subjects residing in British territories shall have equal justice with British subjects, and British subjects residing in Bootan shall have equal justice with the subjects of the Bootan Government.

ARTICLE X.

This treaty, consisting of 10 Articles, having been concluded by the Honourable Ashley Eden, and _____, at _____, this _____ day of _____, corresponding with _____, one copy of the same in English, with a translation in Nogri and Bootiah, signed and sealed by Mr. Eden, and _____, has been delivered to _____, and another copy in English, with a translation in Nogri and Bootiah, similarly signed and sealed, has been delivered to Mr. Eden, who engages to procure the delivery to _____ within _____, from this date, of a copy of the treaty, duly ratified by the Viceroy and Governor General of India, or the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council. On the delivery to _____ of a copy of the Treaty duly ratified, the copy now in the possession of _____ shall be returned.

CREDENTIALS.

To all whom these Presents may concern.

Be it known that I, James Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, K.T.G., C.B., and K.S.I., Viceroy and Governor General of all Her British Majesty's possessions in the East Indies, have appointed and hereby do appoint the Honourable Ashley Eden, of the Bengal Civil Service, to be Special Envoy to the Court of Bootan for the adjustment of certain matters of State now pending between the British Government and the Government of Bootan.

Given at Simla, this 11th day of August 1863.

Foreign Department, Political.—(No. 494).

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Simla, 11th August 1863.

Sir,

I AM directed by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, to draw your attention to the blank in para. 3 of the letter to the address of the Honourable Ashley Eden, and to request that it may be filled up with the sum estimated to be the one-third of the gross revenues of Ambaree Fallacattah.

(Foreign Department, Political—No. 643).

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, &c. &c., dated 25 September 1863.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter, No. 493, dated 11th August, I am directed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General to communicate to you the following additional instructions for your guidance on the mission in which you are to be deputed to Bootan.

The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has been requested to make the necessary arrangements for an escort for the mission, and on all matters relating to the escort you should communicate with him. It will be the duty of the officer who commands the escort, and who will be selected hereafter by His Excellency the Viceroy, in addition to his duties as commandant, to make rough sketches and surveys of the route which the mission will follow, to report on its practicability for troops, and to take notes of any fortified posts which the mission may pass.

His Excellency has selected Dr. B. Simpson to be the medical officer attached to the mission. It will be his duty, besides giving medical advice to yourself and the escort, to assist you in obtaining information as to the nature, population, and resources of the country, and he will report generally on its natural productions, and on matters of scientific interest.

A sum of 10,000 rupees will be placed at your disposal, for the purchase of such presents for the Deb and Dhurm Rajas, and the officials of the Bootan Court, as you may deem to be most suitable. You will, however, furnish to this office a list of the articles which you may purchase for presentation.

On arrival at the Court of Bootan, you will present to the Deb and Dhurm Rajas the credentials with which you have already been furnished, and deliver the accompanying letters, together with the gifts on the part of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, after which you will proceed to endeavour to carry out the important political measures for the accomplishment of which you are deputed.

The demands of the British Government, as contained in the draft treaty, and the letter of instructions of the 11th August, with which you have been furnished, are so just and moderate, that His Excellency is unwilling to suppose that, with the wide discretion in minor matters which has been left to you, you will have much difficulty in obtaining the assent of the Bootan Government to them. But in the event of the Bootan Government refusing to do substantial justice, and to accede to the main principles for which you have been instructed to stipulate, you will withdraw from Bootan, and inform the Bootan Government that it must not be surprised if, on learning the failure of its mission to obtain reasonable satisfaction, the British Government decide that Ambaree Fallacottah shall be permanently annexed to the British dominions, and that in the event of future aggressions, either within British territories or the territories of the Rajas of Sikkim and Cooch Behar, the British Government will adopt such measures as under the circumstances may be deemed necessary for the protection of its own subjects, and the subjects and territory of its subordinate allies. In such event, also, you will decline to accept any return presents which the Bootan Government may offer for the acceptance of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General.

(Political.)

Sir *C. Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council ; (No. 84)
dated 31st October 1863.

1. I HAVE considered in Council, and now reply to your Excellency's letter in this Department, No. 63, dated 28 August last, regarding Booteah aggressions, and the proposed mission of the Honourable A. Eden to Bootan.

2. In my Despatch, dated 29 November (No. 92) 1862, you were informed that Her Majesty's Government approved the course proposed by you, of deputing to the Courts of the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs of Bootan, a special mission for the purpose of securing compensation for past and immunity from future outrages on the part of the subjects of those princes.

3. Your selection of the Honourable A. Eden (whose conduct of the expedition into, and negotiations with, the State of Sikkim in 1861, has received the commendation of Her Majesty's Government), appears to have been judicious, and I trust that his proceedings in this capacity, and their results may secure your Excellency's approval.

4. The instructions issued to Mr. Eden in your Secretary's letter of the 11th August last, embrace the principal points to which the attention of the Envoy should be directed.

(No. 28.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*.

Foreign Department, Political, 8 February 1864.

WITH reference to the correspondence noted on the margin,* regarding Booteah aggressions, and the proposed mission of the Honourable A. Eden to Bootan, we have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of communications† received from that officer.

*To Secretary of State, No. 63, dated 28 August 1863.
From Secretary of State, No. 84, dated 31 October 1863.

†From Envoy to Bootan, dated 10 November 1863, No. 3.
From Envoy to Bootan, dated 24 November 1863, No. 6.
From Envoy to Bootan, dated 10 December 1863, No. 11.

‡Dated 21 December 1863, No. 588-9.

2. We have directed that the advance of the mission should not be postponed, and would beg to refer you to our letter‡ to the address of the Honourable A. Eden, which contains our reasons for the measure.

We have, &c.
(signed) *O. John Lawrence,*
R. Napier,
H. B. Harington,
H. S. Maine,
C. E. Trevellyan,
W. Grey.

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Envoy to Bootan, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 3); dated Darjeeling, 10th November 1863.

I HAVE the honour to report my arrival at Darjeeling on the 1st instant.

2. The messengers who were sent to the Deb and the Dhurm Rajahs with letters from the Lieutenant Governor announcing the intention of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General to dispatch a mission to Bootan have not yet returned, but they are daily expected. I am about to address a letter to the Bootan Government announcing my arrival at Darjeeling, and requesting that the necessary orders may be given to the Soubahs along the road in regard to the safe conduct and proper reception of the mission: until some communication is opened with the Bootan Government it is not expedient to enter their territory with the scattered retinue which is rendered necessary by our inability to use any carriage except hill porters.

3. I have occupied the few days I have been here in collecting information as to the existing state of affairs in Bootan, and I am sorry to find that the country has been thrown into

into a state of anarchy and general confusion by one of the frequent periodical struggles for the Deb Rajahship. The history of the present disturbance appears to be as follows:—

The person who has up to a very late date been recognized as Deb Rajah was formerly the Soubah of Poonakha, the winter residence of the Court of Bootan: when he was elected Deb he promised the officer who succeeded him as Soubah of Poonakha, and who was his chief supporter, that he would appoint his brother Soubah of Augduforung, a much-coveted situation; when, however, the time came, he, instead of fulfilling his promise, gave it to a relation of his own; this at once gave great offence to the Soubah, and last year, when the Court, in the usual course, went to Poonakha for the winter, the Soubah admitted all the Lamas and the retinue of the Deb, but closed the fort against the Deb himself; and ever since then the Poonakha Soubah has claimed the Deb Rajah's guddee, and after a series of fights, has, to a great extent, succeeded in obtaining the object of his ambition. He is recognized as Deb by the Kaling, by the Tongso Pillo, the most powerful chief in Bootan, by the Soubahs of East Bootan subordinate to the Tongso Pillo, and by the Dalimcote Soubah, and some of the Western Soubahs. The old Deb is supported by the Paro Pillo, the Soubah of Tassisujeeong, the Head Quarters of the Court in summer, and by a few of the Western Soubahs. The ex-Deb a few months ago endeavoured to re-assert his authority by superseding the Dalimcote Soubah, and sent a friend of his own in his place; there was a fight, and the Soubah designate was defeated. The Paro Pillo then prepared a second force, which he was about to dispatch in support of the defeated Soubah, when he was stopped by threats from the new Deb Rajah, who thus showed that, practically, he has control over the whole country. The latest news which I have obtained is, that the ex-Deb is besieged in Tassisujeeong, which is shortly expected to fall; the new Deb and the Soubahs will then concentrate their forces on the Paro Pillo's fort, and with his fall the struggle will end, until some new claimant comes forward to contest the right of the reigning Deb.

4. The whole country is said to be in a state of anarchy and confusion; the cultivators are plundered first by one party and then by the other, and are carried off to serve either as fighting men or coolies with the contending factions: they complained loudly to our messengers, and many said that, if we did not shortly come to relieve them, they would come over in a body and settle within British territory.

5. These complications may, perhaps, somewhat impede the mission, and I fear that inability to control the chiefs subordinate to him may be pleaded by the Deb Rajah as an excuse for not receiving the mission; but if that be the only objection raised, I shall be quite prepared to go on with my present escort, as, provided the Deb was not himself opposed to the mission, the other party could be easily dealt with. The united forces of both parties apparently do not exceed 1,180 men, and as warriors they are despicable. The chief difficulty we shall have to contend with is the unwillingness of the coolies from these parts and from Sikhim to trust themselves within Bootan territory; I hope, however, to be able to overcome all difficulties when I once receive the reply of the Bootan Government, and see more clearly the line of policy they are disposed to adopt. In the meantime the communications received from the Dalimcote Soubah through Cheboo Lama have been of a more friendly and conciliating nature than I had expected from my knowledge of that officer.

6. I have the honour to annex an extract of an unofficial letter from Colonel Haughton, the Officiating Agent to the Governor General, North-East Frontier, communicating the result of enquiries made by him regarding the condition of the Bootan Government.

EXTRACT from a demi-official Letter from the Officiating Agent to Governor General, dated Cooch Behar, 31 October 1863.

“I AM inclined to think the Booteas may have a good deal to say, and that in some cases they may have justice on their side. Last night a very respectable-looking old gentleman, who holds an estate within their limits, and is styled Doar Deo, came to pay me a stealthy visit: he is a Meech, and his family for generations used to intermarry with that of the Cooch Behar Rajah. In illustration of the state of affairs, he told me that some time back a gang of dacoits came from “the West” and carried off 50 head of his buffaloes into Cooch Behar: the alarm was raised at once, and the pursuit was so close that all were dropped but one; this one one of his people followed up and recovered, seizing the man who had it: this man went to the Cooch Behar authorities, who turned the tables upon him, released the thief, and put him in prison, whence the old gentlemen only succeeded in obtaining his release by bribes. He said, although he was brother-in-law to the late Rajah's grandfather, the late Rajah always treated him with contempt, and would not give him even a mat to sit upon if he called.

“This man describes Bootan, and especially the Dooars, as in a complete state of disorganization, every one doing precisely what they liked; those above him selling justice and committing murder at pleasure. He said that there was now no Dhurm Rajah, last

incumbent having died or been killed some time since, and a new baby not as yet fixed upon. It would appear that several Deb Rajahs have been successively murdered within the last few years, and that the last one has succumbed to the Tongso Pillo and Tapisudon Jampee, who, with a "Daga Pillo," are now in the ascendant. His information was palpably vague, and I give it for what it may be worth."

From the Honourable *Ashley Eden*, Envoy to Bootan, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department; (No. 6), dated Darjeeling, 24 November 1863.

IN continuation of my letter, No. 3, dated the 10th instant, I have the honour to report, for the information of Government, that the Soubah of Dalimcote has written to say that he has as yet received no acknowledgment of the letters of the Lieutenant Governor which were sent through him to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs of Bootan; he has, however, intimated a wish to confer with Cheboo Lama on the frontier, and has arranged to meet him there, and explain the present position of affairs in Bootan.

2. An intelligent messenger, who was sent by the Lama, describes the Soubah as being very well disposed to aid the mission, and to be alarmed lest I should take offence at the delay in answering the letters.

3. Cheboo Lama has also received a letter from the Sirdars of Phari, in Thibet, explaining that, on receipt of the Lieutenant Governor's letters, the new Deb Rajah had proposed a compromise on the basis of the surrender by Paro Penlow of three Soubahships, including Dalimcote; that the Paro Penlow had declined, but that negotiations were still pending: the letter was written in a friendly manner, the object apparently being to deprecate any hasty action on my part in consequence of the delay of the Bootan authorities in answering the Lieutenant Governor's letters.

4. I see nothing in the state of affairs in Bootan to incline me to think that any serious difficulties will be placed in the way of the mission; there may, however, be some little delay, but at present I am certainly not disposed in any way to accuse the Bootanese of raising frivolous objections and excuses: the Bootanese Government certainly has real difficulties to contend with, and, as far as I can judge from such information as I have been able to obtain, the delay is only attributable to a desire to settle or defer internal disputes during the presence of the mission in the country.

5. I apprehend that the lamented death of the late Viceroy and Governor General will render it necessary that I should be furnished with fresh credentials, signed by the head of the Government *pro tem.*; should I, however, be able to start before they arrive, I shall do so, trusting to their following me.

From the Honourable *Ashley Eden*, Envoy to Bootan, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department; (No. 11), dated Darjeeling, 10 December 1863.

IN continuation of my letter, No. 6, dated the 24th ultimo, I have the honour to report that Cheboo Lama has just returned from an interview with the Dalimcote Soubah, on the banks of the Teesta.

2. The Soubah was anxious that the Lama should, in the first place, pay him a complimentary visit, but the Lama declined, and the Soubah accordingly crossed the frontier and attended at the Lama's camp; he was exceedingly friendly, and is represented by the Lama to understand perfectly the position of his Government in regard to the Government of India; he expressed willingness to assist the mission by any means in his power; he promised to secure coolies, to provide what supplies his district affords, and to do what he can to induce his Government to comply with the wishes of our Government.

3. He still deprecated the advance of the mission pending the receipt of a reply from the Durbar, but, at the same time, Cheboo Lama gathered from him that he was disposed to aid us in reaching Tassisujeeong if no answer is received in the course of the next few days; this is, I think, satisfactory. This Soubah is now one of the most influential men in Bootan, and from the position of his Soubahship, it was in his power to throw very material obstacles in the way of the mission had he been so disposed. He has written me a friendly letter, to which I have replied in suitable terms.

4. The

4. The Lama ascertained from him that the difficulty in regard to the rival claimants to the Deb Rajahship had been overcome by the surrender of the old Deb. I reported in my letter, No. 3, dated the 10th ultimo, that the ex-Deb was besieged at Tassisujeong by the new Deb; it now appears that the besiegers managed to cut off the supply of water from the fort, but as there were no less than 1,000 Lamas in Tassisujeong, the new Deb allowed them to come out every alternate day to fetch water on payment of 300 rupees on each occasion. Under these circumstances, as might have been expected, the siege was not a long one; the ex-Deb tendered his submission, has altogether withdrawn his claim to power, and has turned Lama: the Augduforung Soubah, whose appointment was the cause of the late rebellion, has also been removed from his post. The Paro Penlow, with 1,000 men, however, has still refused to submit to the authority of the new Deb, but negotiations are in progress, and he will not long be able to hold out alone.

5. Altogether, our prospects of being able to start on an early date are far more promising than they were; I shall move on the first moment it seems expedient to do so.

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Envoy to Bootan; (No. 588), dated Fort William, 21 December 1863.

YOUR letters, noted in the margin,* have been submitted to the Governor General in Council, whose orders I am now to communicate to you.

2. No reply has yet been received to the letters addressed by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, informing them of the intended dispatch of a mission from the British Government to their Court. The Governor General attributes this delay to the revolution which, in your letter of 10th November, you reported to have broken out in Bootan, and which has resulted in the overthrow of the old Deb Rajah, and the establishment in his room of the Soubah of Poonakha as Deb Rajah.

3. As a substantive government has been re-established in Bootan, his Excellency in Council sees no reason why the advance of the mission should be postponed, especially as the Soubah of Dalimcote has promised to give the mission all the assistance he can on their way to Tassisujeong; and it is not unlikely that the new Deb Rajah may be desirous of cultivating a good understanding with the British Government in order to strengthen himself in his position, and may, therefore, with less hesitation, comply with the demands which you have been instructed to make on the Bootan Government.

4. With reference to paragraph 5 of your letter, No. 6, dated 24th November, I herewith forward to you fresh credentials under the signature of his Excellency Sir William Denison.

* No. 3, dated 10 November 1863.
No. 6, dated 24 November 1863.
No. 11, dated 10 December 1863.

(No. 589.)

COPY to the Bengal Government for information with reference to No. 5412, dated 26 November 1863.

COPY of Credentials referred to in Letter to the Honourable *A. Eden* (No. 588), dated 21 December 1863.

To all whom these presents may concern.

Be it known that I, William Thomas Denison, K.C.B., Governor General of all Her Majesty's possessions in the East Indies, have appointed and hereby do appoint the Honourable Ashley Eden, of the Bengal Civil Service, to be special Envoy to the Court of Bootan for the adjustment of certain matters of State now pending between the British Government and the Government of Bootan.

Given at Calcutta this 21st day of December 1863.

(signed) *W. Denison.*

Political Department.

(Extract.)

Sir *Charles Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council, dated
16 April (No. 19) 1864.

Letter, dated 8 February (No. 28) 1864.

13. MR. EDEN's report of his further proceedings, in pursuance of his mission to Bhootan, is awaited with interest.

(No. 11.)

Simla, Foreign Department, Political, 1 June 1864.

The Governor General of India in Council to the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., M.P., G.C.B., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Sir,

WITH reference to the correspondence ending with your Despatch, No. 19, dated 16 April, para. 13, we have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of the letters noted on the margin* from the Honourable Mr. Eden, submitting reports of his proceedings in connection with his mission to Bootan.

* From Envoy to
Bootan, dated 21
April, No. 45.
Ditto . . 7 May,
No. 47.

2. In our opinion it would have been well had Mr. Eden given up his mission, particularly after he arrived at Paro. It was clear at the outset that the Bootanese had no intention of receiving him; they did much to deter him from marching forward, almost from the very first; and the behaviour of even the Paro Pillo was anything but encouraging and friendly.

3. Having once determined to press on and reach the capital of Bootan, Mr. Eden's conduct was resolute and dignified, so far as it well could be, and, in our opinion, he could not have acted otherwise than he did. He had lost his cattle, and his coolies were knocked up; it was, therefore, probably, out of his power to have carried on the presents with him. And, as regards the articles of the treaty, though it would, under the circumstances, have been more judicious to have made no allusion to Articles VIII. and IX., we do not think that, in any case, his treatment would have been different. With such a people as the Bootanese, if an envoy were to go at all into the country, he should have moved with such a force as to have commanded respect.

4. The point now is, however, not so much Mr. Eden's conduct, as the proper policy which we ought to pursue. It is abundantly apparent, that negotiations can be of no use. It is necessary, however, that we should do something, both to punish the leading men in Bootan, and secure the frontiers of Bengal and Assam from insult and injury. It is certain that when the rains are over, and the Bootanese have a respite from their own feuds, they will endeavour to renew their raids, if it were only to force us to pay them their share of the rent of the lands we hold on the Border. We cannot expect that they will behave better than they have hitherto done.

5. We consider, therefore, that the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has acted quite rightly in directing that all payments for the Dooars, and other lands, shall be withheld, and that communication with the Bootan authorities shall be suspended. He has acted judiciously in ordering the police posts on the frontier to be strengthened, where necessary, and in directing the civil and military authorities to be on the alert. Two companies of native infantry, besides, will be posted in Cooch Behar, should Colonel Houghton, the superintendent of that State, think such a force is required; and we will further authorise him to do what may appear to be necessary to prevent the people of Sikkim from being attacked.

6. Moreover, the civil and military authorities will be instructed, in the event of the recurrence of dacoities and raids by the Bootan people, to exercise their discretion in following the plunderers, and in endeavouring to recover the people and the property which may be carried off, and in every case to see that
careful

careful inquiry is made, and evidence recorded, and that all the circumstances of the case are promptly reported.

7. We have further instructed the Lieutenant Governor that it may, in such circumstances, prove desirable that expeditions up the passes should be organised with the view of attacking and punishing the chiefs who may have organised these expeditions, or allowed the plunderers to issue from their lands, or who have given them refuge. The past history of this frontier proves very clearly that small bodies of our troops, led by officers of intelligence and energy, could readily, in this way, overawe the Bootanese, and secure the Border. There being no Government in Bootan to whom we can apply for redress, our only remedy is to defend our own territory in the best way that circumstances will permit.

8. As regards the Bootan chiefs, their conduct towards our mission has been so disgraceful, that we are bound to punish them so far as may be practicable and convenient. We have, in the first instance, addressed the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, pointing out the objects of the late mission, recounting the misconduct of the Tongso Pillo and the members of the Council, and repudiating the agreement which Mr. Eden was compelled to sign. We have informed them that we will no longer pay them a single rupee for the Assam Doars and the Ambaree Fallacotta tract; and that, unless they release all our subjects whom they are now holding in slavery and captivity, and give up the property which has been carried off during the last five years, we will take further measures against them.

9. Our further proceedings in this matter will be transmitted hereafter.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence,*
Hugh Rose,
R. Napier,
H. S. Maine,
C. E. Trevelyan,
W. Grey,
G. N. Taylor.

From the Honourable *Ashley Eden*, Envoy to Bootan, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; (No. 45), dated Darjeeling, 21 April 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, that I returned to Darjeeling on the night of the 12th instant, and that the rest of the camp arrived two days later.

2. It is with extreme regret that I have to record the entire failure of the mission in its attempts to give effect to the instructions contained in your letters, numbers 493, dated the 11th August 1863; 643, dated the 25th September 1863, and 588, dated the 21st December 1863. I am engaged in the preparation of a full report on the state of the Government and the condition of the people of Bootan, and of the progress of the mission from its first entering the country; but as this involves some little delay, and as it is obviously inexpedient that the Government of India should remain without an official record of what has occurred pending its completion, I propose, on the present occasion, to submit a simple statement of the proceedings of the mission at Poonakh and Paro. I sincerely trust that on a perusal of the very serious difficulties which we had to encounter, his Excellency in Council will arrive at the conclusion that the unfortunate result of the mission can in no degree be attributed to any want of zeal or discretion on the part of the officers of which it was composed, and that, on the contrary, everything was done which it was possible to do for the purpose of securing the objects which the Government of India had in view. It is possible, that judging after the fact, there will be some who will blame me for having pushed into the country after the cold reception by which I was met at the frontier; but I believe that my proceedings in this respect were entirely in accordance with his Excellency's wishes, and I am quite certain that had I turned back I should have been equally blamed, and it would have been said that had I only had the courage to proceed in face of the difficulties which presented themselves, I should have found the authorities at head quarters friendly and amenable to reason, and I am quite sure that the Bootanese themselves would have declared that had I not turned back it was their intention to receive me in a friendly spirit. It must be borne in mind that I had no choice

between turning back or proceeding without the strong escort with which I entered the country, and it should not be forgotten that I repeatedly wrote to the Durbar and told their messengers that if the Deb Rajah would only say that he did not wish to receive an Envoy from our Government, he had only to say so and I would turn back, but the Durbar were most careful to impress upon me that they had not declined to receive me.

3. His Excellency has already been made acquainted, by my previous letters and by unofficial communications, with many of the difficulties by which the progress of the mission was retarded, and with the obstacles thrown in our way at every stage by the Bootanese Government; and as these will be referred to in detail in my final report, I will not now allude to them further than to say that we reached Paro without any sort of friendly communication from the Durbar, and not only without its assistance, but in spite of every obstruction, short of actual declared opposition, which suggested itself to the minds both of the supreme authorities and of every petty official who crossed our path. Whilst, however, they thus impeded and harassed us, the local Bootanese officers made great professions of friendship, and declared that the neglect of the Durbar to notice us was not intentional, but arose simply from the disorganised state of a government just recovering from the effects of a recent revolution, and they assured us that if we could only make our way to the capital we should find the Government of Bootan most anxious to secure the friendship, and comply with the demands, of the Government of India.

4. On approaching Paro we were met by some subordinate officers, all of whom, with one exception, were really, as we afterwards found out, persons corresponding in rank to peons, but who claimed for themselves at the time considerable dignity and position: they had been deputed by the Durbar to meet and confer with us, and were the bearers of a letter from the Deb Rajah. Their instructions, they said, were to return with us to the frontier for the purpose of re-arranging the frontier boundaries, and of receiving charge again of the resumed Assam Dooars. After this our demands were to be inquired into, and if these zinkaffs considered it necessary, I was to be allowed to proceed to Poonakh, and have an interview with the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs. One of these men was exceedingly overbearing in his language and manner, especially in his demands regarding the surrender of the Assam Dooars; the others were more reasonable, and on my distinctly declaring that I would have nothing to do with any question of the re-adjustment of boundaries; that I would not return to the frontier for the purpose of holding any inquiry; and that I would not enter into negotiations of any description with inferior officers, but would either proceed to Poonakh and deliver the Governor General's letters to the Dhurma and Deb Rajahs in accordance with my instructions, or return direct to Darjeeling and report the unwillingness of the Government of Bootan to receive his Excellency's representative, they begged that I would proceed to Poonakh, and undertook to go forward and make proper arrangements for my reception. The letter from the Deb Rajah which they delivered was of the usual negative and evasive character, saying, with reference to a previous threat that I had held out, that I should not speak of returning to Darjeeling as the Deb had never declined to receive me, but that it would be well to investigate complaints on the frontier, and that the surplus collections of the Assam Dooars and of Ambaree Fallacottah ought to be paid to the Bootan Government; there was no mention whatever of the zinkaffs who said they had been sent to treat with me, and there was nothing which could be construed into a refusal by the Durbar to allow me to proceed. It was clear to me that their policy was to compel me by passive resistance and by discouragement to return to our territory, and then to say that they had been perfectly ready to receive me and settle all disputes amicably, but that I had returned without any sufficient pretext. The messengers returned to communicate the result of their interview to the Durbar, and to make arrangements, as they said, for the proper reception of the representative of a powerful Government. We followed the next day, but were met on the road by zinkaffs requesting us to halt a few miles from Paro, as the Penlow was desirous of receiving me with great honour. We accordingly consented to halt for one day, and on the 22d of February we went into Paro. The arrangements for our reception were certainly not such as to have made our detention for a day necessary; no one was sent to receive us, or to show us where to encamp; every place in which we proposed to pitch our tents was objected to on the score of its being sacred to some wood sprite or river demon, or on some equally frivolous excuse, and we were kept standing on a sandy plain for more than two hours with a strong wind blowing up the valley. At length some officers came out of the fort, and pointed out for our camp one of the very places which had been before refused to us, and a few oranges and pieces of Thibetan bread were presented on the part of the Penlow, but none of the usual ceremonies of friendship were observed.

5. The following day the ex-Paro Penlow and his step-son, the present Penlow, sent for Cheeboo Lama, and commenced by threatening him and asking him what he meant by daring to bring Englishmen into the country. After some conversation, however, they changed their tone, and said that they believed that much good would result from the mission, but that the Durbar had positively prohibited them from allowing us to proceed; but that if we could wait where we were, pending a reference to the Durbar, which would take only four days, we should be made comfortable and should be treated with respect; they added that there was no object in our going on to Poonakh, that the Deb had no authority, and that the Penlow was the ruler of West Bootan and was the proper officer to treat with. I declined to open any negotiations with any one but the supreme authority,

authority, whether real or nominal, but agreed to remain four days pending a reference. Whilst, however, professing friendship, the conduct of the two Penlows and their Amlah was at first far from friendly. No notice was taken of us; we were stopped whenever we went out, and told that we must stay in camp till further orders, and were treated with insolence when we declined to do so; their Sepoys crowded round us, stealing everything they could lay hands on, jeering our coolies and followers, calling them slaves, and drawing their knives on them on the slightest rejoinder being made. Our servants were fined for going about with their heads covered; attempts were made to make us dismount from our ponies whenever we came near the residence of the police Darogah, and all villagers were punished who sold us provisions or had any communication with our camp. This discourtesy was at length carried to such an extremity as nearly to bring about an open rupture with the Penlow, especially as I found that the messengers from the Durbar who had promised to go back and return with permission for me to proceed within four days from my arrival at Paro had never even started. I sent to the Penlow and told him that I would no longer brook such treatment, and that unless he chose to adopt a very different course of action towards me, I should either go on to Poonakh without waiting for any further communication, or return at once to Darjeeling, and that the responsibility of determining which course of action I should pursue must rest with him. This produced a change of conduct; the letter and messengers were forthwith despatched to Poonakh. The Penlow asked for an interview, and stated that the unfriendly course adopted was attributable to his step-father, the ex-Penlow; that he, however, had no right to exercise any authority, having voluntarily abdicated, and that henceforth the ex-Penlow should not be allowed to interfere. Much of this, however, was positively false, and was a mere subterfuge adopted for the purpose of getting out of a false position. The annoyance to which we had been exposed now materially decreased. After a few days the ex-Penlow asked us to go to see him, and we were received in a friendly manner. It was clear to us at once, however, that the ex-Penlow's abdication was a mere political expedient resorted to during the late disturbances, that all the power was still exercised by him, and that the reigning Penlow was a puppet. After the first interview the ex-Penlow was very attentive and civil; he asked to see some of us every day, and gave us much information regarding the Durbar; he explained to us that though, for the sake of appearance, they had, during the period of our visit to the country, suspended hostilities, he did not admit the authority of the present Government; he explained that the ex-Deb had been forcibly dethroned by the Tongso Penlow, and that all authority had in fact been usurped by that officer; that the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs were puppets, and that the Amlah were none of them men of any ability or position, and were quite incapable of coping with the Tongso Penlow, who was filling up all the places about the Court with his own creatures. He further informed us that the Tongso Penlow's confidential adviser was a Hindustani, who represented himself to be a king, and had come after the mutiny with a number of papers purporting to bear the seals of the "Kings of Delhi, Lahore, and Nepal" and others, and had proposed to the Bootanese to join a general war for the purpose of driving the English from India, but that his overtures had then been declined chiefly owing to the advice of the Paro Penlow himself, who had pointed out the danger of staking all on the word of a single man of whom they knew nothing; he had subsequently joined the Dalingcote Soobah during his late rebellion against the Paro Penlow, had been taken prisoner, and confined at Paro, but had lately escaped, and had been received with great honour by the Tongso Penlow. He begged that we would bear in mind, whatever might happen that he was in no way responsible for anything that the Durbar did, and added that he had himself refused to stop our progress by force, and that if the Government attempted to use violence towards us he would render us every assistance. He gave us permission to go about as we liked, but the first day we availed ourselves of this permission Dr. Simpson and I were waylaid by a local officer, our ponies were seized, and an attempt was made to make us prisoners, and we were compelled to effect our release by force, as night was coming on, and we were eight miles distant from Paro. On our complaining of this act, we were merely told that the man was of a violent temper, and that he would not obey the Penlow's orders.

6. The Durbar took no notice whatever of my letter or of the messengers sent from Paro. After waiting, therefore, for 16 days, I refused to remain any longer where I was, and told the Penlow that I must either go on or return. He said that I had been treated with inexcusable neglect, but that he expected nothing better of the Durbar, and there was no accounting for anything they did, but that it would never do for me to return without having come to some understanding with the Durbar, and that if I chose to go on he would not raise any objection to my so doing. He also told me he had heard privately that the Durbar had determined to endeavour to evade receiving me.

7. On the 10th March we left Paro, and that night messengers arrived from the Durbar; the news of my intended departure from Paro had evidently reached Poonakh, and had at length made them send a reply which ought to have reached me 14 days before. The messengers, who were some of them the same men who had met us before, and said that the orders of the Deb Rajah were that I should at once return with them to Paro, and if after hearing all I had to say they thought it necessary, officers of higher rank would be sent there to treat with me. On examining them, however, I found that there was not in fact any real idea of sending any officers to treat; that these messengers themselves had neither instructions nor authority; and that the object of their deputation was simply to endeavour

to wear out my patience by delays and obstacles, and induce me to return. I told them that if they would state to me distinctly, on behalf of the Deb Rajah, that he declined to permit me to go to Poonakh or to receive me, I would return to Paro and start at once from that place for Darjeeling, and I explained to them what the consequences would be of my returning under such circumstances. They said that the Durbar had never refused to receive me, or authorized them to decline to let me go on, and that if, therefore, I would not return to Paro and remain there with them till some course of action was determined on by the Government, I had better go on. I asked them to return with me to Poonakh, or to go forward and explain what I had told them. This, however, they positively refused to do, as they had received orders to go to Paro and must obey them. I afterwards ascertained that, to punish the Penlow for having allowed us to enter his territory, these men had been furnished with an order on him for a sum of money, for though the Durbar would not take upon themselves the responsibility of refusing to receive me, they systematically punished all their local officers for not turning me back by force.

8. On the 15th March we reached Poonakh. I had sent several men on to announce my arrival, and had written to the Deb to say when I should reach Poonakh. No one, however, was sent to receive us, and the only notice taken of us was a message sent by a sepoy to say we could not be allowed to approach by the road, but must go down the side of the hill, and come in by a back road. I determined to give them no sort of occasion for picking a quarrel, and turned off by the route indicated, though it was so precipitous that we had very great difficulty in making the descent. For several days no notice whatever was taken of us, except small quantities of very inferior rice were sent by the Poonakh Jungpen,* and that a demand was made by the Tongso Penlow for the delivery of two British subjects, residents of Kishengunge, in Purnea, who had taken refuge in our camp. One of these men I had detained with the express sanction of the Paro Penlow, and the other was a slave at Poonakh who, meeting us on the road and seeing his brother with us, had naturally joined us. I protested against this demand, claiming the men as British subjects. I was told in reply that they should be returned at once, but that it was necessary to make inquiries from them regarding the circumstances of their captivity, in order that proper measures might be taken for punishing their captors. I allowed them to go away for this purpose, but instead of returning them, the Tongso Penlow sent them away out of Poonakh to be slaves at a monastery. I made frequent demands for their return. I was first met with evasion, and finally I was told plainly that they would not be delivered up.

9. After the lapse of several days the Amlah sent for Cheebo Lama: they abused him in unmeasured terms for bringing us into the country; said that the whole mission was planned by him for his own good, and that whatever happened in consequence would be on his head. On the 17th they requested to see me; we went down and were told that the Amlah or Council would receive us in a house near the fort; we had to pass through a disorderly crowd of sepoys and servants, who were extremely insolent, and several stones and pieces of wood were thrown at us. On approaching the house we were told that the Amlah were not ready, and we were kept standing out, on a plain in the burning sun, exposed to the jeers and impertinences of several hundred persons. The members of the Council assembled were the Tassishujung Jungpen (keeper of the fort of Tassishujung), the Poonakh Jungpen, the Deb Rajah's Dewan, the Deb Zimpen, or chief officer, and the Tongso Penlow, the Governor of Eastern Bootan, who has lately appointed himself also Zimpen, or chief officer, to the Dhurma Rajah. The members absent were the Joom Kulling, or chief kazee, and the keeper of the fort of Angdu Forung. The latter is the officer who, in his previous office of Poonakh Jungpen had organised and headed the late rebellion, which had led to the removal of the Deb and the appointment of an insignificant Lama to that office. To enable him to do this he had called in the aid of the Tongso Penlow, and that officer had come with a large force, and had turned the scale against the Government; but having done this, he went further, and instead of returning to Tongso, had taken up his quarters at the Durbar, and had appointed his own creatures and relatives to places of trust. He put in a puppet as Deb, and by appointing himself Zimpen to the Dhurma Rajah, thus practically secured all authority in his own person; the other members of the council were powerless in his hands, and were at heart much irritated by his remaining at Poonakh, with the exception, however, of the Tassishujung Jungpen, who was his son-in-law, and the Angdu Forung Jungpen, who was his chief supporter.

10. The Tongso Penlow, though by right only an extraordinary member of the Council, occupied the seat of honour, took upon himself the office of spokesman, and would not allow any of the other Amlah to take any part in the proceedings, or even to converse with any of us. The Amlah were on this occasion civil, though the manner of the Tongso Penlow was extremely supercilious; they made no objection to our bringing in our chairs and sitting down; none of the customary friendly ceremonies were, however, observed, and the visit was one of mere formality. They said that as we could not understand Booteah, and they did not know Hindustani, the best way of conducting negotiations would be by making Cheebo Lama acquainted with my views; that they would do the same; that

he

* Jungpen means governor of a fort.

he should go to them every day, and should, on his return, inform me of what had passed and take my further instructions; they would receive what he said as coming from me, and I should receive what he said as coming from them. This I readily agreed to.

11. I sent them the draft treaty which was annexed to your letter, No. 493, dated the 11th August, and the two following days were passed in discussions between Cheeboo Lama and the Tongso Penlow regarding its provisions. The other Amlah seemed to take no sort of interest in the matter, and could scarcely be made to listen to the clauses of the draft. No objections were raised to any portion of the treaty, except Articles VIII. and IX., the former referring to the appointment of an Agent at Poonakh, the latter relating to free commercial intercourse between the two countries. Some slight hints were thrown out regarding the return of the Assam Dooars, but on the Lama's pointing out that that had nothing to do with the matter I had come to settle, the subject was dropped.

12. I objected to the delay which had taken place in appointing a day for an interview with the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs. I was at first told that there was no occasion for me to see them at all. I insisted, however, and on the 20th March I was told that the Rajahs were waiting to receive us. We went, and every opportunity was taken of treating us with indignity. On the occasion of previous missions the envoys were allowed to sit, and were received with respect by the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs inside the palace; we, on the other hand, were taken on to a plain behind the palace, and hustled into a tent only a few feet square, made of a single cloth of thin cotton; the heat was almost unbearable, and the mob pressed round us so that we were in constant fear of its being pulled down over us. After being detained here for about half an hour we were told that the Amlah wished to see us, and we were taken to a small tent in which they were seated. We had been promised that we should be allowed to bring our chairs, but our servants were now forbidden to bring them. We remonstrated, and were told that we must adapt ourselves to the habits of the country. The Amlah were seated inside the tent, but there was no room for us, and we were told to sit on mats in the sun. Believing that they were intending to agree to the treaty, and were really disposed to be friendly, I did not like to raise difficulties, and attributed this extraordinary conduct to ignorance rather than to any intention to insult, and made excuses for the people to the other officers of the mission, who found great difficulty in submitting to the treatment to which they were exposed. I was asked for the Governor General's letters to the Rajahs; I said that I would deliver them myself; the Tongso Penlow said that this was not usual, and that he would receive them. I then handed them to him, and he put them down on the ground. We were now told to go to the Deb Rajah; we were pushed through the crowd to a little canopy in which the Deb Rajah was sitting; we were made to stand outside with uncovered heads in the sun, and the Governor General's letter was brought in by a common coolie and put down before him. The Deb seemed much frightened and did not speak; the Tongso Penlow acted as spokesman, and told us, as if from the Deb, that the Penlow would conduct with us any business for which we had come to Poonakh. We were then pushed rudely on one side to make way for the Deb, and after a short delay followed him to another little canopy in which a boy of about eighteen was seated. The same course was followed here, and the Tongso Penlow told us that the Dhurma Rajah also referred us to him for the conduct of business, though in point of fact the Rajah never opened his lips. We were then taken back to the little tent to which we had been first conducted. I complained of the heat and requested permission to return to camp, but was told that we must remain where we were till the Amlah had leisure to see us again. The Rajahs went back to the palace, and we were kept in the tent for an hour before the Amlah would see us. During this period the sepoy of the Deb and the Amlah mustered in great force round us, jeering at us, and behaving with great insolence, pushing one another against the tent, and on one occasion they took up a man, lifted the sides of the tent up, and threw him into the midst of us. We were quite helpless, as an objection had been raised to our bringing an escort. We protested against this conduct to some of the officials around us, but without the slightest effect.

13. On being again taken to the Amlah, it was agreed to go through the draft treaty clause by clause. After reading the first two articles the Tongso Penlow said that a clause must be added, to the effect that the resumed Assam Dooars should at once be made over to Bootanese officers, and that after this had been done all other matters in dispute could be arranged; that till this was done it was no use discussing the surrender of captive British subjects or of plundered property; these were matters of no importance, and could be settled at any time. I was much startled at this proposal, as well as by the overbearing manner which the Penlow now assumed. I explained to them that it was on account of outrages on British territory that the Dooars had been resumed many years ago, and that other proceedings had since been threatened. I informed him distinctly that the question of the Assam Dooars was one which had been closed for many years; that my instructions did not permit of my even discussing the subject; that I knew nothing of any claims ever having been made by the Bootanese for a re-settlement of the question; that the compensation agreed upon had been regularly paid by us and received by them, and that the only question connected with the return of land which I was empowered to deal with was the attachment of Ambaree Fallacottah. On his becoming violent I assured him that if even I did enter into any negotiation regarding the Assam

Dooars the Governor General would not ratify my engagements, and that it would do the Bootan Government more harm than good to press the matter; but that at the same time, if they thought otherwise, I would be the bearer of any letter they wished to address to the Government on the subject, but I told them plainly that I was quite certain that the Dooars never would, under any circumstances, be returned, and that it was better to dismiss all consideration of that subject from their minds, and take measures to prevent the loss of further lands, which would inevitably follow a refusal to comply with the moderate and just demands of our Government, whilst compliance with those demands would be immediately followed by the release of the tract now under attachment. The Penlow took up the draft treaty, crumpled it up, and said, "then we will have war; you are nobody; you have no authority from the Governor General; we don't want Ambaree Fallacottah, and as to the demands of the Government of India, a chupprasse might have been sent to settle them. I will have nothing more to do with you; go!" This was said with great vehemence, and with a haughty, threatening manner. I replied, addressing myself to the other Amlah, that I had come, in spite of the great obstacles which had been thrown in my way, for the sole purpose of securing a friendly understanding between the two countries; that I had done all in my power to bring this about, but that I now saw it was hopeless; that I was in no way to blame for the result; that of course it was optional with them to adopt an unfriendly course if they saw fit to do so, and that the consequences of so doing rested with them; that I should now at once return and report what had occurred to the Governor General. They none of them took any notice of what I said, and we returned to camp and made immediate preparations for leaving, as we agreed that after what had occurred it was clear that no good could result from our remaining.

14. The spies who were always kept in our camp at once reported our intention to depart to the Amlah. Messenger after messenger now came up from the other Amlah entreating us to remain for one day till they could explain their views to us, saying that they deplored what had occurred; that the Tongso Penlow had no authority to speak as he had done; that they all approved of the draft treaty I had submitted, and that they did not wish for the return of the Assam Dooars; that the Tongso Penlow had appropriated the whole of the revenue of those Dooars, and had paid nothing in for three years to the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs; that he was now endeavouring to usurp the whole Government, and if I would only stay he should be resisted, and all should be settled amicably; they added that my going away would end in a disturbance. I said that I would remain a day or two, and hear what they had to say, on the distinct understanding that the Assam Dooars should not again be alluded to, and that the Tongso Penlow should not be present at any future interview: the allusion made by the Amlah to the probability of a disturbance was explained by a message brought to the Lama from the Penlow, to the effect that, if I attempted to go away without settling all he wanted to have settled, he should stop me by force. I knew that most of the Amlah were really opposed to the Tongso Penlow, on account of the manner in which he had set their authority aside, and had bestowed office on all his relatives and dependants; but I was not then aware how entirely they were in his power. With a view of obtaining some written acknowledgment from the Government that the Assam Dooars should not again be alluded to, and of affording the Amlah an opportunity of publicly and officially declaring their dissent from the course of policy pursued by the Tongso Penlow, I addressed a letter to the Government stating that the Tongso Penlow had declined to enter into any negotiation until the Assam Dooars were returned, that I had no authority to enter into any discussion on that subject, and that I should therefore return and report what had passed to my Government. To this I received no reply, but next day the Penlow sent to ask what I meant by using a red seal, though I had always previously used one without any objection being raised; and he further said that it had been agreed that there should be no written negotiations, but that they should be conducted verbally through Cheeboo Lama. Relying on the assurance of the Amlah, I took no notice of this message. The Angdu Forung Jungpen arrived and sent for the Lama; he began, as the others had done, by abusing him for bringing us to the country, and warning him that he was responsible for all that happened in consequence.

15. On the 22d the Amlah sent to say that they had settled everything as I wished, and they asked me to attend at the Durbar. The two members of the Council who had hitherto been absent had returned and were present. It had been agreed that we should not be exposed to the insults of a mob, and that the Tongso Penlow should not be present. We had, however, to pass through a disorderly crowd, precisely as on previous occasions, and a few stones were again thrown at us, and before we had been long seated with the Amlah at the Durbar the Tongso Penlow walked in and took his seat at their head. The draft treaty was read article by article, and was agreed to, with the exception of Articles VIII. and IX. They would not enter into any argument regarding their objection to these articles, but said plainly that it was no use discussing the subject, for that nothing could ever make the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs agree to them, but that if I would consent to abandon these, they would at once agree to the rest of the treaty. I found that argument was useless, for they would not even attend to what I was saying, and I had seen enough to convince me that no British representative could reside with safety in Bootan, and that no trader could be safe, whatever the Bootanese Government might promise: I therefore consented to the omission of the articles in question. They then asked

asked me to have the treaty copied as soon as possible, as the season was advancing, and it would be some difficulty for me to return, and they had some of their journeys to make, which would also be attended with difficulty, a little later in the season. The question of the Assam Dooars was not mooted.

16. After this interview the Tassishjung Jungpen, whom I did not then know to be a son-in-law of the Penlow, sent to congratulate me on the turn affairs had taken, claimed for himself the credit of having prevented the Penlow's alluding any further to the Assam Dooars, and asked for a present.

17. I undertook to have the treaty translated, and fair copies of that and of the list of British subjects and plundered property demanded by our Government, ready within two days.

18. The preparation of these papers fully occupied two days, but the Amlah sent up constantly urging me to use greater dispatch, and they insinuated that I was needlessly delaying the business for which I had come. During these days the Hindustani to whom I have before alluded was continually coming to the camp speaking seditiously to the Sepoys of my escort and making them presents of money. His proceedings were duly reported to me by the jemadar of the escort, from time to time. He represented himself to the Booteahs as being General Nundanun Singh, son of Attaram Singh, and grandson of Runjeet Singh. He had, I found out, been in the habit of procuring arms and ammunition in small quantities from a certain Lutchmun Baboo, said to reside within seven days from Dalingcote. He was, as the Paro Penlow had told us, the confidential adviser of the Tongso Penlow; he was always close to him, and at interviews with us he was always placed behind my chair; he was dressed as a Booteah, but had regular Hindustani features; he was apparently about forty-five or fifty years of age, and his hair, which was cut quite close, was grey. He never ceased abusing the British Government, and the misconduct of the Tongso Penlow was no doubt mainly attributable to his counsels. He went so far as to induce the Penlow to claim some of our Sikh guard as Booteah subjects; the claim was not, however, formally preferred.

19. On the 24th, the treaty and lists being duly prepared, we were asked to bring them to the Durbar that they might be signed. The tents of the Durbar were brought across to our side of the river. On arrival we were shown into an empty tent, and were detained there an hour whilst the Amlah amused themselves by examining the arms of the escort and joking with the sepoy and the crowd. This certainly did not look very friendly; but as we had even that morning been urged to make haste and get the treaty ready for signature, we were unwilling to think that the neglect shown us was premeditated and intentional. On entering the Amlahs' tent the conversation was at first friendly; rice and tea were brought, but even whilst showing this apparent civility, several things were done which we found it difficult to bear patiently. The treaty was at length taken up for the purpose of comparing the two copies. After the first two articles were read the Tongso Penlow proposed to add that the Assam Dooars should be given up to him as soon as the treaty was signed, and that the whole of the revenue collected on them since the date of the resumption, calculated at three lacks of rupees per annum, should be paid over to him by the Governor General's Agent in Assam. I was perfectly astounded at this proposal, after all that had passed on the subject. I looked at the Amlah expecting them to interfere, but with the exception of the Angdu Forung Jungpen, they all pretended not to know what was passing, and occupied themselves in eating pawn and talking in a trivial, childish way to the other officers of the mission. I called upon them to listen, and then said that I now formally repeated once for all what I had already said before, that I had no sort of authority to enter into negotiations on this subject; that I positively refused to discuss the subject; that I would undertake that the Governor General would ratify the treaty of which the draft had been submitted by me, and to which they had already agreed, but that I was perfectly satisfied that he would ratify no treaty giving up the Assam Dooars, or any other lands, with the exception of Ambarree Fallacottah; and that if the Penlow persisted in bringing the subject under discussion I must withdraw, as I had proposed to do some days before, an intention which I had only foregone on a distinct promise that the matter should not be again referred to. I pointed out that their conduct in agreeing to a treaty, continually urging me to have it copied and signed, and then at the last moment rejecting it, was quite incomprehensible, and I again and again explained to them that my powers were confined to the draft that I had already submitted; anything beyond this was in excess of my power, and that I should only bring trouble on myself and on them by executing an engagement I had no authority to make. The Amlah were laughing and talking all the time I was speaking, and did not pay the slightest attention to what was passing. The Penlow replied that they had never agreed to the draft treaty, but had only told me to have it fair-copied; that that did not bind them; that he had never consented to it, and never would consent to that or any other treaty until the Assam Dooars were returned; that I had chosen to come there, and if I had no authority to treat on all matters I should not have come at all, but having done so, I could not now be allowed to go without settling the only matter in which he had any interest. They then asked us to adjourn to another tent pitched in a more public position, and surrounded by an immense crowd. The manner and tone of the Tongso Penlow and the Angdu Forung Jungpen became every moment more offensive. The Penlow took up a large piece of wet dough and began rubbing my face with it; he pulled my hair, and slapped me on the back, and generally conducted himself with very great insolence. On my showing signs of impatience or remonstrating, he

smiled

smiled and deprecated my anger, pretending that it was the familiarity of friendship, much to the amusement of the large assemblage of bystanders. He continued urging the surrender of the Assam Dooars, and saying how wrong I was to come there if I had no power to restore them. I made no answer and was watching the first opportunity of getting away without risking a disturbance. The Angdu Forung Jungpen surpassed the Penlow in insolence; he took some pawn which he had chewed in his mouth and told Dr. Simpson to eat it, and on his refusing, threw it angrily in his face. Matters were now becoming serious; we debated whether to withdraw at once or to await a better opportunity. I felt that to get up suddenly would probably lead to our being mobbed, the crowd having closed on all around us, and our tents being at some distance, and I determined to endeavour to get away without an open breach. Dr. Simpson sat perfectly still without wiping the pawn from his face, showing clearly that the insult was felt and understood by us all. The Angdu Forung Jungpen next seized Cheebo Lama's watch-ribbon from his neck, and with great violence wrenched away the watch that had been given to him by the Governor General; he passed it to one of the other Amlahs, who secreted it in his dress. They saw us consulting and looking for our escort, and apparently thought they had gone too far. The watch was returned, and Dr. Simpson was asked to wipe the stain from his face, which however he declined to do. Taking advantage of this change, I appealed to the rest of the Amlah, reminded them that on the previous occasion they had declared that they did not want back the Assam Dooars, and that they deplored the Tongso Penlow's conduct, and I called upon them to state now what they had told me then. They, most of them, pretended not to hear; others said that they agreed with the Penlow. I then said that it was clear that we could never come to any understanding; they wanted me to do what I had no power or authority to do, if even I wished to do it; that I must therefore take leave of them, and that of course it was quite optional with them to refuse to accede to the Governor General's terms if they thought, after all I had said, that that course was most to their interest, but that I should ask for safe conduct back to Darjeeling. The Tongso Penlow called out, "I want nothing but the Assam Dooars, and if I don't get them it is better to have war than a treaty; I will write to the Governor General." We gradually got outside the tent, and got into our camp without further molestation.

20. It was too late to leave that night, and we had no supplies. I intended to leave the next day if I saw any chance of getting away unmolested. The next morning, the 25th March, at daybreak, Joom Kulling, who had always been friendly, was opposed to the Penlow, and would benefit greatly by the return of Ambaree Fallacottah, came out of the fort and sent for Cheebo Lama, saying he had something of importance to communicate; but the moment the Lama started the Penlow's sepoys came out, and forbade his holding any communication with any one except the Penlow's son-in-law. The Kulling, though nominally of higher rank than the Penlow, was at the same time guarded and prevented from holding any communication with us; he sent to say he would come to me, but dare not do so. It was now clear to us that the Penlow had cast aside his mask, and had determined openly to set aside the Government altogether. Knowing that he had gained his present position by gross treachery and murder, our position became very unpleasant, especially as the other Amlah evidently had neither the power nor the will to protect us; they gave us to understand as much by messages, and entreated us not to thwart the Penlow too much; their friendly messages, however, were generally accompanied by demands for presents.

21. The Tassishujung Jungpen then sent for the Lama, and after some conversation he was taken to the Durbar, and a paper was given him in which it was stated that the Government of India should re-adjust the whole boundary between the two countries, return the Assam Dooars, pay compensation at the rate of three lacks for each year since the resumption, and deliver up all runaway slaves and political offenders who had taken refuge in our territory. This he brought to me, and taking it to be the letter which the Tongso Penlow had said he meant to write to the Governor General, I kept it, and said that I would duly deliver it to the Governor General, and requested that arrangements might be made for furnishing us with supplies and a passport, as I wished to return at once. The Lama returned to the fort with this message; the Penlow refused and insulted him, told him to tell me that I must sign and seal the paper; I replied that my signature would do no good, that I would say all they wished to the Governor General, but that I could do nothing more. The Lama told me that from the manner of the Amlah he saw no hope of our ever coming to any sort of amicable settlement; that they were becoming more abusive than ever; and that we must now keep a sharp watch over their proceedings, as they appeared disposed to treat us with violence. On receiving my second message, the Tongso Penlow threw off all pretence of friendship, told Cheebo that he had brought us to the country for his own ends, and should suffer for it; that he was now convinced that I was a person of no authority or position, and not even of rank equal to a servant of the Governor General's servants; that unless I at once agreed to sign the paper, and give an order for the surrender of the Dooars, he would seize and imprison Cheebo Lama and myself, and confine us in stocks in the dungeon of the fort. He said that we had come without any invitation, and having done so must take the consequences; that we should now see that we could not "sit on the heads" of the Bootanese.

The Angdu Forung Jungpen went further, and said, in the Lama's hearing, that no good could now come from any communication with us, that there was sure every way to be war, and it would be better to commence it by killing all those who were now in their hands.

hands. We agreed to say nothing farther that day, but to consult during the night how we could get away with the least risk. I was suffering from fever, brought on by exposure to the sun on the occasion of our visits to the Durbar, and I urged this as an excuse for sending no further reply that day; but we were not allowed to remain quiet. They again sent for the Lama: I told him to repeat my previous reply, that I had no authority to do what they wanted, that my signature would be of no use, and that I wished to return. The Penlow then said to the Lama that further discussion was useless, that I must sign, and that if I again sent to say I had no authority, he should confine me till some one came vested with authority to make over the Dooars. The Lama said he would bring my answer in the morning, and he found out through friendly Booteahs that the Penlow and Angdu Forung Jungpen had really determined to attempt to seize us, and that it was not a mere threat. We took measures for arming as many of our followers as we could, and kept up a constant watch night and day.

22. That evening I assembled all the members of the mission, including Cheeboo Lama, and held a long consultation as to the best course to adopt under the circumstances. It was clear to us that a friendly treaty, if even it had been desirable to enter into one after what had occurred, was now out of the question; what we had to do was to determine how we could best get back to British territory, and how we could best avoid embarrassing the Government. The Deb and Dhurma Rajahs and the majority of the council were helpless, if even they had been friendly: they were mere puppets in the hands of two treacherous and notoriously unscrupulous robber chiefs who had virtually seized on the Government. We could not stay where we were, for we had no supplies but those we procured from time to time from the fort; sentries were posted all round so as to prevent any communication with the villagers; our daks had for some time past been stopped, and we were only able to send in our letters by special messengers, who were sent out of camp on various pretences: though we might have held our camp for a time, 15 Sikhs could not long have resisted a force of several hundreds, if even we had had supplies; we were refused permission to withdraw peaceably, and we could only do one of three things, either allow the Booteahs to retain Cheeboo Lama and myself on condition that the rest of the camp was allowed to withdraw in safety, or make an attempt to escape by night, or agree to sign the paper which was forced upon me. We at once agreed that the first course was out of the question; if we were detained Government would have to send in a force at once to release us, and at that advanced season of the year it would have been very difficult to collect and bring a force into the country; in a few days the rivers would swell, and many of them become impassable, and the valleys would be rendered uninhabitable by malaria. The moment a force entered the country the Booteahs would threaten to take our lives unless it was withdrawn, and altogether our detention would place Government in a very difficult position. We were at first disposed to adopt the second course; and if there had been only ourselves and the escort we should have had some chance of evading pursuit and escaping down the Buxar Dooar road to the plains, or taking refuge with the Paro Penlow, but then even there was the uncertainty as to the extent to which the Paro Penlow might be relied on, and we had learned to place no confidence in any promise or assertion of any Booteah. But with 150 coolies to protect, some of them sick, and scarcely able to stand, we agreed that flight should only be resorted to as a last expedient. We should have had great difficulty in feeding our coolies, and we should have found it impossible to protect a long line with our little force. The only course left was to pretend compliance with their demands; this was extremely repugnant to our feelings, but after very serious thought we saw no other means of avoiding the most serious difficulty in which we were placed. I had, both verbally and in writing, assured the Penlow time after time that I had no authority to sign any treaty except that of which I had submitted the draft; that no treaty signed by me relating to the re-adjustment of boundaries, and the return of the Assam Dooars, would be ratified by the Governor General; and the only replies I had received to all my remonstrances were threats, that if I pleaded want of authority I should be imprisoned. I had asked repeatedly for permission to return to Darjeeling, but had been refused and threatened with violence if I attempted it. Argument was useless, for no one would listen to arguments, and it was evidently of no use to expect any assistance or support from the Amlah, who were all either partisans of or cowed by the Penlow; and if even it had been otherwise, and I had been able to induce a strong party to oppose the Penlow, I was satisfied that after the way in which we had been treated, the Governor General would not have wished a friendly treaty to be executed; and I had moreover seen quite enough to convince me that there was not a man in the country who had any sort of idea of the nature of a treaty, and that they never had any intention of abiding by any engagement involving the surrender of British subjects or property, if even they had entered into one. Any engagement entered into by me under these circumstances was clearly not binding on me or on Government, and even if no threats had been used, and I had voluntarily entered into an engagement beyond the limits of my instructions, the Governor General would not have been bound to ratify it.* Taking all this into consideration, we agreed that I should express my willingness to sign the paper submitted to me; but as it also seemed probable that even after this they would endeavour to detain me as a guarantee, we made up

* *Vide* Wildman, pp. 171-172; Vattel II., s. 156.

up our minds that if, after signing, they threw obstacles in the way of our departure, we would then go off at night, and trust to the Paro Penlow's protection.

23. I determined to make one final attempt, however, to obtain leave to go, and on the following day I told the Lama to say again that it was no sort of use my signing the engagement they proposed; that independently of want of authority, the engagement provided for the rendition of runaway slaves: that our laws did not recognise slavery; that on the contrary we considered it a serious crime, and that the Governor General would never listen to such a proposal. They had also insisted on the engagement being signed by Cheebo Lama, saying that it would be binding on Sikkim and on Cooch Behar, and I now pointed out that the Lama had come at my request, and not as a representative of Sikkim, and that his signature was useless; but the Penlow would not even listen to what the Lama was saying, and sent him back after grossly abusing him, telling him to remind me of his previous threats, and to return at once with my consent to sign. Further argument was obviously useless; and I then said that I would sign it as soon as they liked, and must then return at once to British territory. They then said that they wished to fair-copy the engagement, but when they brought me what purported to be a fair copy on the following day, I found that it had been entirely changed; that the condition regarding the payment of three lacs of rupees per annum had been omitted, evidently under a conviction that it would show on the face of the treaty that it had been extorted; and an absurd paragraph had been added, to the effect that if we ever encroached on Bootan we were to submit to be punished by the Bootanese, Sikkimese, and Cooch Behar Governments acting together—all slaves were to be returned, and all Dooars returned, including Julpigooree. There would have been no object in pointing out the difference between the original and the copy, and it would only have made them attach a false importance to the paper to have discussed its terms at all: fortunately the engagement contained no clause binding me to procure ratification to the treaty (though my original draft had included this stipulation). I said that I would sign it whenever they chose to fix a day; and I attempted to obtain permission to sign it in my own tent, and to start at once for Darjeeling. This they would not agree to, as the presents sent by the Governor General, and which I had been unable, on account of the refusal of the local officers to supply coolies, even for such a purpose, to bring on with me, had not arrived; though they were expected to arrive that day. It soon became evident that they were determined to obtain possession of these presents; men were sent up three or four times a day to see if they had arrived; and at length I was accused of having appropriated them by an officer sent by the Penlow, who said that the Governor General's letter contained a long list of cloth and other articles sent through me, and that if I did not give them up according to that list it would not be well. I asked who had read the Governor General's letter, and was told that it was in Bengalee, and had been read by the Moonshiee. This I knew to be false, for the letter was in English, and I had been desired to translate it, but purposely did not do so, because, seeing how suspicious they were, I thought that if a translation was appended in Cheebo Lama's handwriting they would declare that it was a forgery, and I had no one else with me who could write it. I at once taxed the messengers with this falsehood, but they persisted in their demand in a threatening, impertinent manner. The presents arrived that day, and the moment they arrived the Amlah became clamorous to possess them. Fearing from their manner that our camp would be plundered if the presents were withheld, I promised to give them as soon as I received supplies and proper arrangements were made for my being allowed to leave on a certain day. They then agreed that we should meet the Durbar on the 27th, and I should be allowed to go on the following day; supplies were also sent, and I distributed the presents, keeping back some small articles of jewellery which could be easily concealed and carried, and the guns, which I did not think it expedient to give them. In making an inventory of the presents given to the rajahs, the Penlow entered some beautiful pearl earrings as "glass ornaments set in brass," and represented all the other articles to be imitation or of inferior manufacture. All the most valuable presents were taken off to his own house, instead of to the Deb treasury.

24. On the 27th we went to the Durbar, hoping that the engagement would be signed, and that we should be at once allowed to leave. The Amlah having now got their own way treated us with far greater civility than on former occasions; we were allowed to bring chairs with us, and the usual ceremonies were now observed for the first time; no one was allowed to press on us or come near us; we were received in a house instead of in tents, were addressed with courtesy and respect, and were exposed to no insults. The Hindustani was in the verandah of the room, and was constantly consulted by the Penlow.

25. On the 28th the Amlah professed to be engaged in making preparations for our taking leave of the rajahs; several of them came to the camp; I was ill, and was sitting in a leaf hut: they requested permission to go and sit in my tent; I objected, knowing that they would steal everything they could lay their hands on. After some questions regarding the kings of Lahore and Delhi, their sons, and their power as compared with ours, all of which were evidently asked with reference to information they had received from the Hindustani, they insisted upon going to my tent, though I was unable to accompany them: I had to bring up all the Sikhs to prevent their plundering. We afterwards found out at Paro that these men had been sent by the Penlow to see if there

was

was anything in the camp which it was worth while to plunder, as, if so, it was his intention to organise a night dacoity in the camp. Fortunately we had secreted all our property on seeing the Amlah come out of the fort.

26. On the 29th we were asked to attend and take leave of the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs, and to sign the agreement; we were received in tents, but the people were made to treat us with respect. We were first taken to the Amlah's tent. The Tongso Penlow produced three copies of the agreement; none of them were signed by any one on behalf of the Booteah Government: the seal of a late Dhurma Rajah, and one purporting to be that of the Deb Rajah, had been affixed to one copy, but not to the others, and this even was not done in our presence. They made me sign and seal two copies, and made Cheebo Lama do the same. I put the words "under compulsion" on each copy to prevent its being sent down to Assam and made use of before I could communicate with Government. The third copy was then handed to me, and the Penlow asked me to sign that for him. I refused to do so, and appealed to the Amlah to say whether the Penlow was entitled to have a copy signed by me any more than the other Amlah were. They agreed with me, and the Penlow, seeing that he could not obtain this without a fresh dispute, gave way. We were then taken to the tent of the Dhurma and Deb Rajahs; they placed the usual white scarfs on our necks. This ought to have been done on our arrival and on the occasion of our first visit, and the omission to do so showed an intention to behave to us in an unfriendly manner. We were told that the demon Mohakul would be put on the heads of all present, and that if anything was then done to injure the Bootanese that demon would at once take notice of it. A large wooden four-headed demon was then carried round, and every one near the tent received a knock from it. A letter was then given for the Governor General, three ponies were presented, and a few pieces of silk; we then returned to the Amlah, and I said that I intended to leave at once. The Penlow said that there was no occasion for such haste, and that I had better wait; but on my repeating that I could not delay longer, he raised no further objection, and took leave of us.

27. The Tongso Penlow started as soon as we left, and went off to his own territory, with a large procession. The Hindustani accompanied him, dressed in robes of honour, and riding on a pony next to the Penlow himself. As soon as the Penlow had gone we struck our tents. The moment our coolies started, however, Booteah Sepoys rushed out and stopped the road, and others came up to us and asked what we meant by daring to leave without orders. They said that we were not to be allowed to go till the Angdu Forung Jungpen, who had gone to his own fort, had returned, which he would do in the course of a few days. I positively refused to stay a day longer; the men became very violent, and Cheebo Lama then volunteered to go to the fort and explain that I was too ill to remain in such a hot place, and that if anything happened to me in consequence of the delay they would be held responsible, and we then pushed by these men and got up the hill and on to the road, where we were in a better position whatever might happen. One of the Amlah sent out and told us to go on and wait for no one, and to take no notice of any orders sent by his colleagues. I sent the camp on, telling them to remain a few miles down the road for the evening, intending to march on in the night, whilst I remained behind with the Sikhs for the Lama, as I was apprehensive that they would seize him. The Lama found most of the Amlah in the fort exceedingly angry, and there was evidently a violent dispute going on amongst themselves; some were for detaining us, others for letting us go. The Lama at length, just as it became dark, sent to say that he was safe and I had better go on. The Lama did not arrive in camp till late, and I was very anxious on his account, not without reason as it turned out, for he had been detained and was told that he should be kept prisoner till I returned. Joom Kulling, however, managed to get him away on the pretence of giving him some dinner, and then got him outside the fort. The Kulling expressed great regret for the conduct of the Penlow, and considerable apprehension at the course which our Government would adopt on seeing the engagement and hearing all that had passed. He declared that the Assam Dooars were not wanted by any one but the Tongso Penlow, and that of late years no one had ever derived any benefit from the compensation paid by us annually for that tract.

28. In the middle of the night some officers with seven or eight men arrived, forbidding us to move till the Angdu Forung Jungpen arrived. I positively refused to wait, telling them that by their conduct the Bootanese had shown themselves that they attached no importance to the engagement entered into that morning, that I was determined to go on, and could only be stopped by force. They declared that the Angdu Forung Jungpen had something of great importance to communicate, and if I would only wait for six hours on the road the next day, he would come by a cross road and meet me. I agreed to this, but next morning sent the camp on with instructions to try and get across the Pass before dark, and I waited at the place appointed with the other officers and some of the Sikhs. About 11 o'clock the messenger returned, saying that the Angdu Forung Jungpen was furious, and had sent to say that he would not see me unless I returned; that I had chosen to go without his leave; that he would catch me before I got to Paro, and I was responsible for the result if I went on. I was determined to try my uttermost now to get out of the hands of these men, and gave orders to move forward. The Booteah officers then declared that they would not let Cheebo Lama go, and that they must take him back with them. This I positively refused to allow; they persisted, and I then said

that I would put up with this conduct no longer. They saw that I was determined to use force, and became unsettled; they then suggested that a letter should be written to the Angdu Forung Jungpen, explaining that I should have taken leave of him if he had been at Poonakh, but could not await his return, and that I had waited for him some time on the road and could delay no longer. With this and with a present of money for themselves they said that they would arrange that we should reach Paro without any interference, as they would delay in returning and reporting our departure until we had got well away. We managed to push across the Pass before dark, and halted on the other side. During the night a zinkaff arrived demanding the surrender of Cheeboo Lama; he kept the whole camp awake for some hours with his vociferations, but I threatened to turn him out of camp; he then became civil, and it appeared that, according to the usual Booteah policy, he was armed with a perwannah from one of the Amlah, which, failing all attempts at intimidation, he was under instructions to produce. This was in fact a passport through the valley we were then entering, and which was under the authority of this man, and we were asked to bear in mind that whatever the other Amlah had done the sender of this passport had treated us in a friendly manner. A white scarf was also sent by Joom Kulling, with a request that we would bear in mind that he had not behaved in an unfriendly manner to us, and that he was not on good terms with the Tongso Penlow.

29. We started again by moonlight, and by a forced march reached the border of the Paro Penlow's territory on the evening of the 31st March, and marched into Paro on the morning of the 1st April. The ex-Paro Penlow was friendly and attentive. He had heard all that had passed, and said that he had been very apprehensive regarding our safety; that he had kept a constant watch on the proceedings of the Durbar, and that if they had actually proceeded to violence he should have marched over to release us with all the men at his disposal. It is impossible to say whether this had really been his intention or not, but very probably it was, for he was a far-seeing and shrewd old man; the Tongso Penlow had been his enemy for years, and he avowedly did not recognise the authority of the person who was called Deb at Poonakh, but was an adherent of the Deb who was dethroned last year. The young Penlow was also professedly friendly, but he was a most importunate beggar: he tried to obtain possession of everything we had, and if unrestrained by his step-father he would not, I fear, have hesitated to obtain all he wanted by force. He is, moreover, a relation, on the father's side, to the Angdu Forung Jungpen, and on the whole it was a great satisfaction to us to feel that he exercised no real authority at Paro.

30. The people at Paro were all engaged in preparing for an immediate revolution, and they told us that we should hear of its commencement before we reached Darjeeling. We remained one day at Paro, and I made a fruitless attempt to obtain the surrender of some Bengalees who claimed our protection; but, in spite of all his professions of friendship, the Penlow would not part with these men, which shows how very hopeless it is ever to expect that they will, under any circumstances, abide by the terms of any treaty involving the surrender of captured British subjects. During our stay in the country we cannot have seen less than 300 British and Cooch Behar subjects in slavery, but I was only able to effect the release of one man, and this was without the consent or knowledge of any Booteah officers.

31. After the reception given us by the Paro Penlow we felt at ease in respect of any pursuit from the Durbar, for they dared not send any force into his territory. As soon as they found we had escaped beyond their reach the Durbar sent us a passport, which overtook us as we were leaving Paro. We left Paro on the 2d April, and the only difficulty we had to contend with on our homeward journey was the crossing of the Taigon Pass. The snow here was still four or five feet deep, and the lower stratum having melted, the ponies and mules sank at every step up to the girths: we had great difficulty in getting them through. We had to abandon two old mules given by the Paro Penlow, which were scarcely able to walk when they were given to us, and could make no progress at all in the snow. A pony given to Government by the Dhurma Rajah was so lame that we had to leave it behind after making one march from Poonakh; several of our own ponies were unable to overcome the difficulties of the Pass, and had to be left behind. On the Pass we were overtaken by a messenger from the ex-Paro Penlow, to say that the insurrection had commenced, that the ex-Deb had had a hostile meeting with the Tassishujung Jungpen, and that the Paro Penlow had left that day with all his men to assist the former: his policy, which was characteristic of the Booteahs, was to offer to arbitrate, and thus obtain a footing in the Tassishujung Fort and then take possession of it. At Dalingcote we obtained further news of the progress of the insurrection; the plan fixed upon was for the Byogur Jungpen to seize on Tongso, and shut the Penlow out of his own fort; the whole of the Amlah were then to combine with the Paro Penlow to prevent his return to the Durbar, and to eject his son-in-law from the fort of Tassishujung. The Tongso Penlow, on the other hand, was said to have determined to place his own brother in his place at Tongso, to return, eject the Deb whom he had himself appointed, and assume that office himself. If it is borne in mind that the men who are now combined with the Paro Penlow to eject the Tongso Penlow and support the ex-Deb, are the very men who last year invited the Tongso Penlow to Poonakh to eject that Deb and besiege Paro, and that these internal commotions are the normal condition of the country

country, it will at once be seen how futile it is to expect that under any circumstances a strong and stable government can ever be established in Bootan.

32. As news of our approach reached the frontier our daks, which had been stopped for weeks past, began to come in. Twenty-five daks were received in one day, and five the next. Orders had been sent from head-quarters prohibiting the carriage of our daks, and threatening those who did so. This was evidently part of the Tongso Penlow's scheme for detaining us, and shows that he had all along made up his mind to treat us as he did.

33. We reached British territory in fifteen marches from Poonakh, whilst it took us two-and-a-half months to reach Poonakh from the Teesta, and this in itself will show the difficulties attending our entrance into the country. I am happy to say that out of a camp of about 200 persons, the only casualty during the three-and-a-half months we were absent was two coolies, who died of cold and exhaustion in crossing the Taigon Pass.

34. There are three ponies of little or no value, and several pieces of common China silk, which were given by the Durbar. I could not refuse these without giving cause for offence and letting the Amlah see that I was leaving in anger, and if I had done this they would not have allowed me to go at all. I request instructions as to whether these should be sold by auction here or be returned through the Dalingcote Soobah.

35. I hope within a few days to submit my detailed report on the country, and also a memorandum which I am preparing regarding the measures which it would, in my opinion, be best to adopt with a view of punishing the Government of Bootan for its refusal to comply with our original demands, and for the fresh insults now offered to the British Government.

36. It may at first sight seem to be a matter for regret that a friendly mission should ever have been sent into Bootan, but from what I have seen of the government of that country, I am satisfied that it will in the end prove to have been the best course which could have been adopted. We have for so many years borne patiently the outrages committed by these people on our territory, that they had learned to treat our power with contempt; we now know that there is in point of fact no government in the country, and that it is quite impossible that there can ever be a government there sufficiently strong to warrant an expectation that they will ever become good neighbours. We were formerly restrained from avenging the insults offered to us by a doubt of the complicity of the higher authorities; we now know that they are the instigators and promoters of every act of lawlessness and aggression on our frontier, and that all British subjects captured on these occasions are kept as slaves in their forts and residences. A punitive policy was determined upon in 1857, and only suspended on account of the breaking out of the Mutiny. Affairs had reached such a stage that only two courses were in my opinion open to Government, either immediate demands for satisfaction by an armed force, or a friendly remonstrance against the course pursued towards us, with plain and distinct threats of the consequences which would result from a failure to make amends for the past, and to give security for future good conduct. The latter was the course determined upon by the Government of India in the first instance, and I think that in the prosecution of the measures now absolutely forced upon us by the positive refusal of the Bootanese to live with us on terms of good neighbourhood, we are in a better position than if we had at once either annexed territory or invaded the country. The most favourable terms were offered to the Government of Bootan, and it is self-evident from the draft treaty submitted to them, that it was not the wish of this Government to acquire further territory if it could be possibly avoided. The friendship of this Government has been deliberately rejected, and we have now no option as to the course which we must pursue.

From the Honourable *Ashley Eden*, Envoy to Bootan, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, c.b., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 47); dated Darjeeling, 7 May 1864.

I HAVE now the honour to submit the Memorandum promised in paragraph 35 of my Report, No. 45, dated the 21st ultimo.

MEMORANDUM on the Measures which could best be adopted for the Purpose of punishing the Government of Bootan for its continued Refusal to comply with our Demands for Satisfaction for repeated Outrages and Breaches of Territory, and for the recent Insults offered to the British Government through its Representative.

ON looking back at the past history of our relations with the Bootanese, it will be seen that we have been more or less on unfriendly terms with them since 1772. In that year we, for the only time in the course of our relations with them, invaded their country with a view of punishing them for their acts of aggression; but with mistaken leniency, this punishment was immediately followed by a cession of land, and they were in fact eventually gainers rather than losers by their misconduct. Since 1830, scarcely a year has passed in which the Bootanese have not committed gross outrages on British territory, yet never in one single instance has any sort of satisfaction or reparation been afforded. The consequence is, that the frontier has become the stronghold of violent and bad characters of both countries, who have joined together in a regular system of kidnapping and plundering British and Cooch Behar subjects residing near the frontier. The unusual forbearance of our Government has induced a belief in the minds of the Bootanese, that do what they will, and insult us as they may, no notice will be taken of their misconduct beyond empty demands for satisfaction, with threats of punishment in case of non-compliance. Indeed they now doubt our power to enforce our demands.

2. Some idea of the extent to which this leniency has been abused may be gathered from the fact, that since 1856 no less than 25 British subjects have been reported by the police to have been carried off into slavery into Bootan on various occasions. During the same period 69 subjects of Cooch Behar are officially reported to have been kidnapped, of whom 31 were released, for the most part, on payment of ransom. But these really represent a very small proportion of the persons actually kidnapped. In the neighbourhood of Paro and the Durbar we saw probably not less than 300 Bengalee slaves; many of those we spoke to had been carried off lately, and no report of their seizure ever seems to have been made; indeed all the menial offices of the forts and monasteries appear to be performed by Bengalees kidnapped from the frontier; they were all wretchedly clothed, and fed on the coarsest unhusked rice, barley meal and millet cakes.

3. Since 1851, 30 cases of plundering British subjects have been reported. No fewer than 18 elephants have been taken from the immediate neighbourhood of Julpigooree, and so little do the Bootanese dread us that several of the stolen animals are actually kept openly at Domohonee, within sight of the Julpigooree cantonment. The Cooch Behar authorities have tendered a list of no less than 50 outrages committed on their territory since 1859, and in one case the property plundered is stated to have been of the value of 20,986 rupees. In many of these cases cattle have been carried off and released on payment of a ransom, and in nearly every case the chief offender has been a Bootanese frontier officer. I believe that the history of nations affords no parallel instance of a powerful state allowing such frequent and deliberate violation of territory to go unpunished, and without obtaining either apology or reparation in one single instance. On two occasions within the last 30 years this Government has endeavoured to procure a friendly adjustment of differences, and a better understanding for the future, by the deputation to the country of a friendly mission. On both occasions the proffered friendship of the British Government has been deliberately refused, and on the last instance the refusal has been accompanied by indignities of the grossest description.

4. In 1856, Lord Dalhousie, in consequence of the insolence of the Tongso Penlow, determined to punish the Government of Bootan by taking possession of the Bengal Dooars; but in consequence of the mutiny, and under an idea that perhaps the supreme authority of Bootan was not responsible for the acts of the subordinate officers, proceedings were suspended, but a force was posted on the frontier at Julpigooree, and has remained there ever since. It was owing to this same notion that the Central Government was kept in ignorance of what was passing on the frontier, and that the demands of this Government were never really allowed to reach the higher authorities, and to the unwillingness of Government to commit even an apparent injustice by punishing the Government of Bootan for wrongs for which they possibly might not be primarily responsible, that it was determined to depute me to Bootan in November last for the purpose of pointing out to the Bootanese the inevitable consequences of persistence in their aggressive policy, and of endeavouring to convince them of the advantage of living on terms of good neighbourhood and intercourse with us.

5. The mission, if it has resulted in no other good, has been attended with this advantage, that it has finally set at rest the question of the extent to which the Government of Bootan has been responsible for the acts of its subordinate officers; and it has also shown that the state of the country is such that it is profitless to expect that there can ever be a Government in Bootan, under its present rulers, strong enough to restrain the violence and aggression of its subordinate officers, even if it were willing to do so.

6. Of the responsibility of the Government there can be no doubt, as most of the plundered property, and nearly all the persons kidnapped, are forwarded to the Penlows and higher

higher Amlah by the local Jungpens, or Soobahs, with the view of purchasing security in their tenure of office. We saw with our own eyes that Bengalees were in large numbers employed as slaves in the residencies of the Penlows and at the Durbar, and a British subject who had taken refuge in my camp, and for whose retention I had with much difficulty obtained the consent of one Penlow, was actually taken from me by another Penlow. We have in fact ascertained beyond all doubt, during our short residence in the country, that there is nothing in Bootan which in any way deserves the name of a Government. The greater portion of the country is divided between two chieftans, or Penlows. There is a perpetual feud between the Penlow of the east and the Penlow of the west; whichever for the time being obtains by violence, treachery, or wrong the supremacy proceeds to remove the reigning Deb and place his own nominee in power, surrounding him by his own creatures; and a Court thus formed constitutes the Central Government until the other Penlow and his party become sufficiently strong to eject them. Simultaneously with this struggle to nominate the Deb between the Penlows, similar struggles are continually carried on by the Jungpens, or Soobahs, and the zinkaffs, or soldiers, to eject and nominate the Penlows. Each Penlow on assuming office appoints his own Jungpens, and the consequence is that every official is changed every year or two, and that there are always two or three claimants to every office in the country. During our visit to Bootan we found two rival Soobahs to Dalingcote, two Soobahs of Sangbeer, three Paro Penlows, two Tongso Penlows, two Deb Rajahs, and two Dhurma Rajahs, and if we had visited a greater portion of the country we should have found probably that there were two claimants to every office. These claims are sometimes adjusted by an agreement that one claimant shall hold office for a certain time, retaining the other as his prime minister; on the expiry of the period fixed they change places. A few years ago there were within the space of four miles four Paro Penlows, each living in a fort and keeping up a constant skirmish with his three rivals, plundering and burning villages, and living in a complete state of anarchy. Two of these men are now alive and live close together, still opposed in heart, and each ignoring the existence of the other. That this is not a temporary and abnormal state of things is clear from the fact that it existed during the visit of Kishenkant Bose to the country in 1815, and is thus described by him:—"The Booteahs enjoy the resources of their country by mutual concurrence in the following manner: they first become zinkaffs, or poes (common peons), then tumas (darogahs), then zimpe (chief advisers) under the pilos or other officers, after that toilus, or soobahs of passes, after that zimpe, then pilo (penlow), and at length they may become Deb Rajah. The last Deb Rajah was in fact originally a zinkaff. If a man, however, possess extraordinary abilities or interest he may get on more quickly and become at once a zimpe from being a zinkaff. When a person gets a good appointment he is not allowed to keep it long, but at the annual religious festivals frequent removals and appointments take place. The Deb Rajah himself after a time is liable to be thrust out on some such pretext as that of his having infringed established customs, and unless he have either a tongso or paro pilo on his side he must, if required to do so, resign his place or risk the results of a civil war. On this account the Deb Rajah strives, by removals and changes at the annual festivals, to fill the principal offices with persons devoted to his interest. The Booteahs are full of fraud and intrigue, and would not scruple to murder their own father or brother to serve their interest; but what is wonderful is that the slaves are most faithful and obedient to their masters, and are ready to sacrifice their limbs or lives in their service, while their masters, on the other hand, use them most cruelly, often inflicting on them horrid punishments, and frequently mutilating them." The same state of things existed when the country was visited by Captain Pemberton. He says: "But as the removal of officers occupying the most responsible situations are so frequent, and they receive no fixed salaries, every successor endeavours to amass as much property as possible during his tenure of an office which, he is aware, is likely to be but of short duration; and as the removal of the superior is generally attended by the dismissal of every subordinate under him at the same time, the incentive to peculating industry exists in every grade, and the unfortunate cultivator is the victim of a system which not only affords no protection to the weak against the injustice of the powerful, but systematically deprives industry of the rewards of its labour." The villagers assured us that at the present time their condition was worse than it had ever been before; that formerly these civil wars were only occasional; that now they never ceased or lulled; formerly the villagers were themselves never attacked; that now each party's chief endeavour was to burn and plunder as many villages as possible, and the truth of this was self-evident from the appearance of the country. In every direction we saw desolate villages and large stone houses burnt and unroofed, and the hill sides were covered with terraced fields now ruined, uncared for, and relapsing into jungle. When our intention of entering the country was first communicated to the Bootanese, the Dalingcote Jungpen was besieged by his immediate superior, the Paro Penlow, who had, however, to withdraw unsuccessfully from the siege, whilst, on the other hand, the penlow himself was fighting in his turn with the Amlah and Tongso Penlow. During our residence in the country open hostilities were suspended, but the day we left Paro they recommenced; but on this occasion the position of the penlows was reversed; the whole of the Amlah were combined with the Paro Penlow against the Tongso Penlow, and the Dalingcote Jungpen had dispatched a contingent of 70 men to assist his late adversary. They had taken possession of the palace at Tassishjung, and the ex-Deb is now likely to be restored by a party comprising most of those who lately ejected him. So little do the subordinate authorities care for their superiors, that some messengers carrying letters from one of the Amlah to the Dalingcote Jungpen were obliged to ask for the protection of our camp whilst passing the

the fort of the Sangbeer Jungpen. The state of the country will be fully described in my report on Bootan; but I have alluded to it at length here because I think that, in determining what course should be pursued under the complications which have now arisen, it is very important to bear in mind that we are not dealing with any organised government, and that we have to take measures to make our power felt by a number of unscrupulous petty chiefs who, though they combine occasionally against a common enemy, practically act, to a great extent, independently. It is quite certain that there is no authority in the country capable of enforcing throughout the Province any order it may give. When they see that we are in earnest, the durbar will apologise and cringe and promise, but I am satisfied that immediately pressure is withdrawn, things will revert to their former state. I have seen most of the chief people of the country, and independently of any other consideration, I am certain that there is not one man in authority who would attach the slightest importance to any promise he had given, however solemnly, one moment after it became his personal interest to break it. It cannot be too prominently borne in view that there is no one in the country who has any personal interest in the prosperity of the country; there is not an official, from first to last, whose tenure of office is worth one year's purchase; the hereditary system is officially and socially unknown. The sole object of the chiefs is to plunder what they can, and enjoy themselves in sensuality and what they consider luxury whilst they can; they may be degraded at a moment's notice, and the moment a man dies all his goods are, under all circumstances, forfeited to the Soobah, Penlow, or Deb, whichever can first lay hands on them. I am quite satisfied, therefore, that any temporary occupation of the country, until an apology was made, and promises of reparation given, would be utterly futile, and would result in disappointment and involve further measures at a future time.

7. The following courses present themselves to Government in my opinion:—

1st. The permanent occupation of the whole country.

2d. The temporary occupation of the country, to be followed by the withdrawal of the occupying force after destroying all the forts, and letting the people see and feel our power to reach them at any future time.

3d. The permanent annexation of that tract at the foot of the hills called the Dooars and Jelpesh, which formerly and naturally belonged to Bengal, but which was partly wrested from the Mahomedan rulers of Bengal, and partly ceded by us at the end of last century.

8. As to the first course, there is much to be said on both sides. The occupation would not be expensive; the people would gladly welcome the measure, and the common request at nearly every village we entered was that we would, instead of making friends with the rulers of the country, take it under our own Government. The province is one of the finest in India, and under our Government would, in a few years, become one of the wealthiest. It is the only place I have seen in India in which the theory of European settlement could, in my opinion, take a really practical form. The whole country could be held by a regiment and a half. We should then have a range of perpetual snows as our eastern frontier, and the peaceable, well-disposed Thibetans as our neighbours. We should command the commerce of North-west China and Central Asia, for we could have a first-class road to Pare, which is within 22 days of Lassa, to which place there is an excellent road throughout. We should afford relief to the most oppressed population in the East; we should get rid of an infamous system of slavery, and we should protect our own subjects from the outrages of a troublesome neighbour; and in doing all this we should not interfere with the vested rights of a single man, for there is not an hereditary chief or landowner throughout the country. If every official were dismissed to-morrow, there would not be one even who could claim a pension by way of compensation. But, on the other hand, we should incur some obloquy from those who are unable to distinguish the condition of one country from another, and would attribute the measure to a renewal of a policy of annexation which is generally understood to have been abandoned. My own views are quite in accordance with those of the persons who hold that annexation of fresh territory should cease; but I am quite certain that the most zealous advocate of these views would make an exception in respect of Bootan, had he seen the lawlessness, anarchy, and oppression under which that magnificent country is now groaning, and literally becoming desolate. The condition of Bootan differs from that of any other country in the world, inasmuch as there is not only no ruling class, but not even a middle class. The rulers come from the common herd of hangers-on round the forts. The only title to promotion, or claim to respect, is notoriety as a murderer, or success in some act of treachery. Their character has been most accurately described by Captain Pemberton in the following words:—"In my intercourse with the highest officers of state in Bootan, the impression created was far less favourable than that produced by observation of the lower orders of the people. The former I invariably found shameless beggars, liars of the first magnitude, whose most solemnly pledged words were violated without the slightest hesitation; who entered into engagements which they had not the most distant intention of fulfilling; who would play the bully and sycophant with equal readiness; wholly insensible, apparently, to gratitude, and with all the mental faculties most imperfectly developed, exhibiting in their conduct a rare compound of official pride and presumption, with the low cunning of needy mediocrity, and yet preserving at the same time a mild deportment, and speaking generally in a remarkably low tone of voice. Much as my official duties have brought me into close personal intercourse with the native

native officers of the different courts of *inter* and *ultra*-Gangetic India, I have never failed to find some who formed very remarkable exceptions to the generally condemnatory judgment that would have been pronounced on the remainder; but amongst the officers of the Deb and the Dhurma Rajahs of Bootan, I failed to discover one whom I thought entitled to the slightest degree of confidence either in word or deed." This estimate of the character of a Bootanese official struck every member of the mission as being singularly accurate; but erring, if anything, on the side of leniency, I can most positively assert that it is the unanimous wish of the people that we should take the country. The heads of villages used to entreat us to do so in the most public and open manner, even before the Sepoys of the country. Two of the Jungpens or Soobahs made the same request, and numbers of the Sepoys expressed a similar wish. Since my return, one of the only two or three men in the country who have been able to purchase a right to trade with other countries, and who consequently possess some wealth, has been here and has asked that we shall avail ourselves of the present opportunity to take the country under our protection, and has inquired whether, if the villagers petitioned us to do so, we would grant their prayer. They say truly, that there is no king, that the country belongs to the people, and that the Penlows and Soobahs are simply men like themselves, who have, through violence and force, usurped authority.

9. The military occupation of the country could be effected without difficulty, and, I believe, with little or no opposition. It would be necessary to advance with three columns of about 500 men each, accompanied by a detail of artillery, probably a mountain-train gun and howitzer, with each column. One column should go from Assam, enter the country by the Bagh Dooar, and proceed by the route which follows the Mateesam river. On this point, however, the Commissioner of Assam should be consulted, and I will also make further inquiries. I know that there is a fair road to Tongso, and I believe that it goes through a place called Dansakha. I understand that Tongso can be reached in eight or ten days from the frontier.

10. The central column should start either from Julpigooree or Assam, and it might either proceed from Cherrung, up the valley of the Patchoo Matchoo, along the route taken in 1862 by Mokundo Sing, the messenger sent from Assam with letters to the rajahs, according to whom the road is not bad. Kishenkant Bose also describes this road, and, according to both accounts, the route from Cherrung to Poonakh is only seven marches. Mokundo Sing's marches must have been short ones, judging from the only one I know, namely, from Angdu Forung to Poonakh; he seems to have taken two-and-a-half days to accomplish what is really one very short march. The two columns, *viâ* Cherrung to Poonakh, and along the Mateesam Valley to Tongso, if they started from Gowaiparah, would march together to Bagh Dooar, and would proceed thence in a parallel direction, and might keep up constant communication with one another. The other road, which the central column might take, is that followed by Turner and by Pemberton on his return, *viâ* Chehecotta and Buxadewar and Passaka. From Chehecotta to Poonakh is nine marches. The disadvantages of the road are, that parts of it near Chupka are bad, though doubtless capable of being much improved by a few sappers, and that the pass leading to Poonakh is approached by a rather narrow gorge, though it is not one which would really render the route a dangerous one. Its advantages are, that the pass leads equally to Paro, Tassishujung, and Poonakh: a force coming by that route might detach men to any of these places with the greatest ease. The third column I have proposed should proceed *viâ* Dhona, the residence of the Jungpen of Sumchee (Chamoorchee of the maps): the road is said to be a good one; it leads into the Valley of Hab, and crosses the Cheula Pass into the Paro Valley; the distance would take about 10 marches. It might be thought even better to have four parallel columns—one by the Mateesam, one by Cherrung, one by Buxadewar, and the fourth by Dhona or Sumchee. I think it is of great importance that the country should be entered by several columns, rather than by a single column, as with troops marching in several directions, the Bootanese, with their few undisciplined men, would be perfectly paralysed. Under such circumstances, they could never bring more than 200 or 300 men into the field, of whom probably only 30 or 40 would be armed with fire-arms: it is most probable that they would never even venture out of their forts. Since coming to the conclusion, from my own personal observation, that a force of 1,500 men would be ample to take and to hold Bootan, I have come across a letter written by General Jenkins in June 1841, in which he calculated that two regiments only would be required to retain possession of the whole of Bootan.

11. By none of these roads would the troops have to advance over any high mountains; they would see no snow; the only part of the road on which snow ever falls, at any time of the year, is on the Cheula Pass, and no snow falls there till January or February, and it is only in exceptionally cold winters that snow falls there at all.

12. The guns accompanying the columns should belong to a mule battery. Each column should have a *dépôt* in a healthy, well-chosen position near the foot of the hills; for this *dépôt* a guard of 50 men would be ample. Supplies could be sent to these *dépôts* from the plains on bullocks and elephants; the first *dépôt* for the several columns would probably be Cherrung, or Bagh Dooar, Passaka, and Sumchee. The forts at these places would form good *dépôts* as they stand. Each column should have a second *dépôt* half-way to its destination; this would save a large amount of carriage, as supplies could be stored

in them instead of being taken on with the force, and could be forwarded in small quantities as required. Local labour could probably be procured for the purpose of carrying supplies from depôt to depôt, and mules and ponies, carefully equipped with thick pads and pack saddles, should be employed as a baggage train for the same purpose. If orders were given now, we could procure from Thibet about 100 good mules at 100 rupees each, and 200 hill ponies at 40 rupees each; other ponies might be purchased from Muneepore. If, however, a party of 50 sappers, or trained coolies, were sent with each column, the road might, without difficulty, be made passable for pack bullocks carrying one-and-a-half maunds each. The hill coolies could hardly be persuaded to go from this, and march with columns from the plains. There is plenty of fodder for cattle in the country, and water is abundant along all the roads. Pack ponies of an inferior description can be procured or hired in Purnea and Rungpore.

13. The forts are made of stone, but are all absolutely commanded by hills, and the roofs are only of shingle; they have large windows and balconies above a certain height, are full of timber, and would very soon ignite. The walls are thick, but not strongly built; they all have an open and unroofed space in the centre, into which shell could be dropped with the greatest ease; they were built to withstand stones from catapults, and bows and arrows, and not guns.

14. The Bootanese have no organised or disciplined force. At each of the forts of Paro and Poonakh, there are about 400 Poes or Sepoys, and at Tongso about 600: the Poonakh force has also to protect Tassishjung. Of the whole, about 600 are armed with old matchlocks; they have, however, scarcely any ammunition, and it takes three men to fire a matchlock. They told us that they had no confidence in fire-arms, and scarcely ever used them, except in taking forts. Their chief arms are stones, a long knife, a shield, and bows and arrows; the latter they can scarcely use. The catapult is a clumsy contrivance, by which 20 or 30 men, with an immense deal of trouble, throw a stone about 180 yards. Round their outposts they put little spikes of bamboos, which may possibly be effective against naked feet on a dark night, but would be little or no impediment to our Sepoys. The leaders, and some of the Poes, wear coats of mail and iron helmets. They admit themselves to be the most despicable enemies on the face of the earth: they told us that if one man was killed there was a fight for his body, but if in that another was killed, they always ran away. In the fights they have, which last for months, they consider the loss of two or three men to be evidence of a great struggle. When we first entered the country, the people were full of a "terrible battle" which had taken place, and in which the mortality had been quite unprecedented. On investigating the real facts of the case, we found that nine men had been killed on one side, and two on the other. Though those killed in these fights are few, those wounded are numerous; we scarcely met a man in authority who had not several scars and cuts on his face and body.

15. The troops should take in no tents with them, as it is almost impossible to carry them, and they are not required. Each man should receive an extra blanket, which he could carry with his bedding, and two of these placed together afford a sufficient shelter for the men. We had no tents for the escort in Bootan, or for camp-followers, and though we were exposed to cold, which the columns I have proposed would not meet with, we never had a single case of sickness.

16. The officers should have a small blanket pâl between two. The Sepoys should be absolutely limited to 20 seers of baggage per man, and a pony or mule would then carry the baggage of five men.

17. During the advance of these columns, a detachment of about two companies should proceed from Julpigooree and take possession of Dalingcote, which is distant three marches, the road being level nearly all the way to Ambioik, the plain in which we encamped below the Daling Fort. The fort is about 1,000 yards above the plain. After taking the fort, 100 men should garrison it, whilst the rest of the detachment destroyed the stockades at Mynagooree, Gopalgunge, &c. and took possession of all the elephants to be found there, most of which belong to British subjects. A reserve of a wing at Julpigooree, and a wing at Gowhatty, or some other place on the frontier, would probably be necessary. In the Dooars themselves cavalry could act efficiently.

18. For the permanent occupation of the country, it might be expedient for the first two years to have a wing of a regiment at each of the following places:—one at Paro, one at Tassishjung or Poonakh, according to the season of the year, and one at Tongso. The petty forts should be destroyed; detachments of one company should, perhaps, be posted at Daling Fort, Passaka, and Chupka, or such other places as the military authorities might select, and the force now at Julpigooree might be dispensed with.

19. Such of the present chiefs as were friendly might be provided for by being made farmers of tracts of country; the demand from the cultivators should, however, be fixed, and the revenue adjusted so as to leave the farmer a comfortable subsistence. As landholders under us, their position would be far better than it is at present, for their position would be secure and permanent. By this means we should, in the course of a few years, have a class of landed proprietors interested in the well-being and prosperity of the country, instead of, as at present, a number of low and ignorant men fighting for power with one another, and absolutely indifferent to the future of their country.

20. The second course, namely, the temporary occupation of the country, and the withdrawal after the destruction of the forts, is one which would, in my opinion, be attended with no real advantage, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the country. We might destroy the forts and eject the Government, but the result would be a general struggle for office the moment we withdrew. The successful candidates would make the people rebuild the palaces, and in the course of a few years, under a Government without records or traditions, the causes which led to the invasion, if not even the invasion itself, would not be remembered. The temporary occupation could be effected with the same force and in the same manner as the permanent occupation. The expense would be nearly the same; the advantages to be reaped would be nothing. If we could establish a firm and efficient Bootan Government during our occupation, the case would be different, but unless we were prepared to leave a force in the country to support our nominee, any person we might appoint would be unable to enforce his authority any better than the present rulers can. The only thing which is to be said in favour of this course is, that it would enable us to release all the Bengalee slaves now retained as captives in Bootan. We could compel the Bootanese to accept any terms we might dictate, but no arrangement into which they entered would be considered by them binding, nor if it were, could they carry out their own engagements.

21. If, as it seems to me is possible, the Government of India should be unwilling to go so far as to give to the whole of Bootan the benefit of British rule, in the room of the anarchy which has prevailed there for so many years, the measure which I would recommend is the adoption of the third course I have suggested above, namely, the annexation of the Bengal Dooars. There were originally 18 dooars or passes attached to Bootan, and under this name was included a tract of land running along the foot of the hills, from the Dhunseeree river on the east, to the Teesta on the west, and ranging in breadth from two to 18 miles. Seven of these dooars border on Assam, 11 on Cooch Behar and Bengal. The Assam Dooars have never belonged to the Bootanese; they formed part of the province of Assam. The rulers of that country were compelled to purchase security from the aggressive conduct of the Bootanese by leasing these lands to them on payment of an inconsiderable revenue. On our acquiring possession of Assam, we also acquired therewith the very unsatisfactory relations of the Assam Rajahs with the Bootanese. We confirmed and continued their occupation of these dooars, until after some years we found it impossible to recover the revenues, which were falling year by year into arrears; our frontiers were exposed to continual aggressions; some of the dooars were reported to be "absolutely depopulated," by reason of the oppression of the Bootanese: Bootan itself was one great scene of "anarchy and imbecility," and affairs reached such a pitch that there seemed to be "no doubt that the cause of humanity and civilization would be no less served than the interests of the British Government by restoring peace to a very extensive and productive tract on our immediate frontier." The two most eastern dooars were attached, in the first place, without any good result. There were two Deb Rajahs then fighting for the possession of the country, and both claimed the restoration of these dooars to them. It was quite impossible to come to any friendly understanding with either party, and indeed the Bootanese authorities admitted their own inability to manage their own subjects. At this time Captain Jenkins reported, in consequence of a communication from certain confidential messengers deputed by one of the Debs, that he was of opinion "that the Bootan Government were prepared to cede the dooars to us on condition of our paying them a fair compensation for what they drew from the dooars." An arrangement of this nature was, in the opinion of the Government of India, "likely to be attended with the best consequences," and the Governor General's Agent was authorised to give effect to it. The utter disorganisation of the country impeded negotiations, and whilst the matter was still under consideration, a fresh aggression of the grossest description was committed by the Bootanese, a number of villages in Peigunnah Koomyghat having been taken possession of by a force of about 90 Booteahs. Under these circumstances Lord Auckland, on 14th June 1841, addressed a letter to the Dhurma Rajah, warning him of "the measures which it would be his painful duty to adopt, should the country unfortunately continue much longer in its present state of anarchy, so that the duties which one state owes to that of its neighbours (*sic in orig.*) be neglected, and the Honourable Company's frontier districts become the sufferers from this lamentable state of things, the British Government will in such case not only be justified, but compelled, by an imperative sense of duty, to occupy the whole of the Dooars without any reference to his Highness's wishes, that being in his Lordship's opinion the only course likely to hold out a prospect of restoring peace and prosperity to that tract of country." Later in the year, in consequence apparently of instructions from the court of directors, orders were issued for the resumption of the whole of the Assam Dooars, and ultimately we agreed to pay to the Bootanese Government a sum of 10,000 rupees per annum as full compensation for the injury they sustained by the loss of their share of the Dooars revenue. This sum has been regularly paid and received without objection up to the present time.

22. The other 11 Dooars have, however, been allowed to remain in the hands of the Bootanese, notwithstanding Lord Auckland's threat and the unprecedented provocation we have received. These Dooars were wrested by the Bootanese from the Mahomedan rulers of Bengal. They form a naturally rich and fertile tract, and under proper government the whole of it would very speedily be converted into one vast plain of rice and cotton. These Dooars contain some of the finest cotton and timber lands

in Bengal. The amount of oppression exercised by the Bootanese over the Bengalee ryots of the Dooars is scarcely credible. Whilst at Dalingcote I rode some way into this tract and had a good deal of conversation with the ryots, who were constantly engaged in coming up to the fort with tribute. The people are really nothing better than slaves; the whole of their produce is taken by the Bootanese Jungpens; indeed the ruling class, and the idle bands of Lamas and followers which swarm round the forts, are entirely supported by grain, ghee, and other produce extorted from these unfortunate people. They entreated us again and again to represent their condition to Government, and to have their lands annexed to British territory, and during Sir F. Halliday's visit to Julpigooree in 1857 similar requests were made to him. In paragraph 13 of his minute, dated 5th March 1857, Sir Frederick says: "Various endeavours have been made by the heads of the villages in the country opposite to Julpigooree to persuade the British authorities to invade the Dooars, and free them from the oppressive government of Bootan. Messages to that effect have been sent across, and a deputation of heads of villages attempted to see me, probably with that object, but I declined to give them an interview. Assurances were conveyed through our own subjects that the people of the Dooars were very anxious to come under our rule, and it was intimated that if we would only send troops all supplies should be ready for them without expense. It was said among the better informed of our subjects on the frontier that a very little encouragement would induce the people of the Dooars to rise upon the present rulers, but to these and similar communications I gave no encouragement." Colonel Jenkins, in his letter to the Government of Bengal, dated 13th November 1856, thus describes the feeling of the people on this subject:—"The Dooars now adverted to embrace a very large tract of country, from the Monass river (the boundary of the Gawalparah district) to the Teesta River district under the superintendence of Darjeeling, consisting generally of very fertile plains, of which the eastern portion, from the Teesta river to the Monass, is almost entirely abandoned from the misrule of the Bootan Government. The only district which of late has been comparatively populated was Dooar Goomar, before the frontier Soobah drove off Aurung Sing by their dreadful system of extortion.

"The large Dooars of Bijnee and Sidlee are literally rendered desolate, and within this week the magistrate of Gawalparah has sent me a private letter from the Rajah of Sidlee, to the effect that the oppressions of the Booteahs were beyond all endurance, and the man who delivered it said that the object of his master was to prevail on us to take possession of the country; but that if his communication was by any means made known to the Booteahs, his life would be endangered." As far back as 1838 Captain Pemberton wrote: "It is against the inhabitants of the Dooars that the rapacity of the Booteah Zinkaff is principally exercised; his own countrymen have as little as himself to give, but the plains produce those articles of luxury and commerce which cannot be extracted from his barren mountains, and the powerless government he serves is unable to check his excess. The arrival of a party of zinkaffs in the Dooars, on any pretence, is a calamity against which these oppressed inhabitants earnestly pray. * * * On some few occasions, when the oppression and insolence of these official plunderers have been unusually great, a fearful vengeance has been taken, and there was in Poonakh during my residence there a Bengalee officer of one of the Dooars who, in a fit of desperation, had risen against his persecutors, and murdered on the spot two zinkaffs of the Paro Penlow, who had treated him and his family with every species of injustice." It appears further, from the letter No. 1610, dated 4th May 1855, from the Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department to Secretary to Government of Bengal, that the Dhurma Rajah proposed then to make over the Bengal Dooars to us. Captain Pemberton, in his Report in 1838, strongly recommended the annexation of these Dooars. He said, "With such a Government it is sufficiently evident that negotiation is utterly hopeless. Its nominal head is powerless, and the real authority of the country is vested in the two barons of Tongso and Paro, who divide it between them. A rigid policy under such circumstances would justify the immediate permanent resumption of all the Dooars both in Bengal and Assam now held by Bootan; for when the engagements by which they were permitted to occupy them have been so repeatedly violated, and the Dooars have been made places of refuge for organised bands of robbers and assassins, security to the lives and property of our own subjects would justify any measures, however apparently severe, which should strike at the root of a system so prolific of the most serious evil."

23. In the letter from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 186, dated the 11th January 1856, Lord Dalhousie, with reference to the insolence of the Tongso Penlow, the very man who has now again so grossly insulted the Government, distinctly directed the permanent occupation of the Bengal Dooars in the event of a recurrence of marauding incursions from Bootan; but his instructions were probably never acted on, partly in consequence of the mutiny, and partly from an idea that there had been a change in the Government of Bootan, and that the new Government would adopt a friendly and conciliatory policy towards us. Nothing could be clearer than the policy enumerated in paragraph 8 of the letter quoted above:—

"If not, and if there should be a recurrence of such incursions, the Governor General in Council, deeming it a paramount duty to protect the subjects of the British Government, will have no alternative; and he authorises the Agent, in the possible event supposed, to take measures for the complete occupation of the Bengal Dooars, on the understanding that such occupation shall be permanent, and that the admission of the Booteahs to a share in the

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the revenue of these Dooars shall rest entirely with the discretion of the Governor General in Council."

24. Again, in the Foreign Secretary's letter dated the 25th June 1856, on the occasion of a fresh aggression, the same policy was indicated:—

"Para. 9. For these reasons the Governor General in Council would prefer to state the facts as we know them to have happened to the Bootan authorities, to demand from them the punishment of the offenders, and an apology for the acts of their dependants, and to give them warning (already fully authorised) that if atonement is not made for this new aggression, the Government of India will hold itself free to take possession of the Bengal Dooars."

The Bootan Government offered neither apology nor atonement, and attempted to justify their proceedings in violating our territory. Sir F. Halliday, however, reported that there had been a change in the Government, that the new Government was reported to be disposed to be friendly towards us, and in consequence of the mutiny no troops were available in case the relations of this Government with Bootan took a hostile turn. It was finally determined to administer a much less severe punishment than was originally intended, and the small tract called Ambaree, on this side of the Teesta, which was farmed by us on account of the Bootan Government, and for which we paid to them 2,000 rupees per annum, was attached. This attachment simply resulted in renewed aggression, and the replies of the Government of Bootan to our remonstrances were pronounced "thoroughly evasive." Under these circumstances the Governor General's agent wrote in his letter No. 76½, dated the 12th November 1861: "I am myself inclined to think that it is almost unreasonable to expect any satisfaction from the Deb Rajah, and that although for some purposes it may be a useful fiction to assume that we are in correspondence with him and nothing else, nothing short of our having an European functionary permanently stationed at the court of the Deb could give assurance of our communications reaching him." Colonel Hopkinson expressed an opinion, which was fully justified by the information before him, that the Penlows usurped the authority of the Deb, and that the Jungpens in their turn usurped the authority of the Penlows; that, as had long before been observed, it was in the power of the frontier officers not only to intercept any communication which might be addressed to the Deb Rajah complaining of their conduct, but so to misrepresent the circumstances that had really occurred, as to make that appear an aggression against their Government which was really an injury to ours. He added that he suspected that it was no unusual occurrence for these functionaries to open our letters and answer them themselves in the name of the Deb. Colonel Hopkinson expressed an opinion that if Government was still reluctant to enter upon the occupation of the Bengal Dooars, beginning with Julpesh, as provided in the Despatch of the Government of India, No. 1603, dated the 14th April 1857, and if it was desired that the Bootan Government should have yet another opportunity of making reparation for past offences, and establishing their friendly relations with us on a securer basis than they are at present, it might be well to consider whether it could be afforded in any more satisfactory or certain way than by the deputation of a mission to the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs. He urged, in support of this view, "the distinction and marked respect and attention to all its wants with which Captain Pemberton's mission was everywhere received." Sir John Grant forwarded the letter to the Government of India, observing that it seemed to him that "some course of action of a decided character must be taken." "Of the two courses suggested by Major Hopkinson, namely, the occupation of a portion of the Bootanese territory, or the sending of a mission to Bootan, and constituting a permanent agency at the court of the Deb Rajah, the latter seems to the Lieutenant Governor the more advisable. Indeed, in the state of things represented by the agent, unless it were resolved to treat the central Bootan Government as non-existent, he does not see that any other course would be of permanent advantage." In his letter of the 23d January 1862, No. 55, Colonel Durand communicated an expression of the opinion of the Governor General in Council (Lord Canning), that it was very expedient "that a mission should be sent to Bootan to explain what our demands are, and what we shall do if they are not conceded." After some delay, caused by the neglect of the Bootanese Government to reply to the letter announcing his Excellency's intention of dispatching an envoy, the mission entered Bootan on the 4th of January 1864. Our demands were pressed upon the Bootan Government in a conciliatory spirit, and the consequences of non-compliance clearly indicated, and the return not only of the revenue under attachment, but even of the Ambaree estate was promised, provided the Bootanese complied with our demands, which were of the most moderate nature, comprising merely the surrender of captive British subjects and plundered property, and not, as before, involving the delivery of the offenders into our hands. The insolence with which this friendly mission was treated at Poonakh has been fully detailed in my letter No. 45, dated the 21st April 1864, and as it seems to me the Government of India has now no possible alternative but to put in execution the threats conveyed in Lord Auckland's letter to the Deb Rajah, dated the 14th June 1841, and which has been now so often repeated that the Bootanese have ceased to attach any importance to them, and have learned to believe that our forbearance in the face of repeated aggressions is the consequence of inability to enforce our threats. In my opinion, the very least that the Government can do is to take permanent possession of the whole tract at the foot of the hills comprising the eleven Dooars of Bengal, and the estates which were ceded by us to the Bootanese in 1774, one of which, Julpesh, is immediately opposite our military cantonment of Julpigooree, and is generally affirmed to have formed a portion of the Bykantpore estate.

The compensation paid for the resumed Assam Dooars should cease at the same time; indeed it has already been withheld by the Governor General's agent this year, in consequence of an attempt made by the Tongso Penlow to obtain payment to himself as of right, declaring falsely that the Deb Rajah had been deposed, and that he had been appointed Deb in his place. This money has been paid heretofore through the Tongso Penlow on the Deb Rajah's receipt, and for three years he has failed to remit any portion of it to the Durbar. Whatever else it may be considered expedient to do with a view of procuring satisfaction for the repeated insults offered to us, I think that the course which I have indicated is imposed upon Government, not only in assertion of its own dignity, and in execution of positive threats held out, but also in duty to its subjects resident on the frontier. The feeling of impatience which our forbearance has excited amongst our own subjects may be gathered from a letter from the manager of Messrs. Dear & Co. to the deputy magistrate of Titalyah, dated the 5th March 1862, in which he says, "If Government are unable to compel the Gopalgunge man (a Bootanese officer) to restore my stolen elephant, would there be any objection to my trying to get her myself by any means in my power? I pay income tax to Government; I think I have a right to the protection of Government; if Government are able (I know they are willing) to protect me and my property, I am content to abide their time to do me justice, but if they are not able, then let them pay me the value of my elephant, or give me leave to protect and do justice to myself."

25. In taking possession of these Dooars it would be necessary to do more than issue a formal notification that the Dooars were attached to the British territory, otherwise we shall render the position of the inhabitants of that tract worse than it has been before. Drawing all their supplies, as they do, from this tract, the Bootanese will not probably surrender them without at least a formal show of resistance; and if the Dooars were left exposed to the raids of the Booteahs they would become even more depopulated and desolate than they now are. But under adequate protection the ryots will flock into them, and they will speedily become one mass of rich cultivation. On the lower range of the Bhootan hills, immediately bordering on the Dooars, is a regular chain of small hill forts, in which reside the Booteah officers, under whom the Dooars now are, such as Dalingcote, Passaka, Sumchee, Cherrung, Bijnee, &c. A certain number of these forts should be occupied, and the remainder should be destroyed or held as police posts. These forts are nearly all in perfectly healthy situations at an elevation of 2,000 to 3,500 feet, and completely command the passes into Bootan. They are all very easy of access, with good roads for pack cattle and elephants leading up to them, and at a very little expense roads for carts might be made close up to the forts. The forts might be so re-constructed as to be capable of being held by 100 men against the united forces of all the chieftains in Bootan. Supplies could be obtained from the Dooars below, and with a passable road constructed parallel with the plains, and communicating from fort to fort, the frontier would be admirably protected. I should also be disposed to annex a certain portion of hill territory with the Dooars; the centre of the range of hills in front of the line of forts might then be the frontier, and we should then not only confine the Booteahs to their own natural abodes, but should have a certain quantity of hill land in which the oppressed hill people could find security and protection from their tyrannical rulers. With these places of refuge open to them, the ryots, and even the soldiery, if they can be so called, would very speedily leave their chieftains to themselves; indeed, with these Dooars gone, these robber chiefs could no longer support their followers, and even that which they now choose to call a government would speedily collapse. I think that it is of the greatest importance any way that the portion of the Bootan hills between Dalingcote and Darjeeling should be occupied. The villagers now consider themselves half British subjects, as from their proximity to our territory they are able to evade the oppressive demands of their own rulers, and in consequence the whole hill side is studded with prosperous villagers; the men work as coolies in our territory a great portion of the year, and bring over the produce of their cultivation to Darjeeling. If this small piece of territory is left in the hands of the Bootanese after the occupation of the Dooars, the Sikkim and Darjeeling frontiers will be constantly exposed to Booteah raids, and eventually the tea plantations in the neighbourhood of the Teesta and Runjeet will have to be abandoned, as the labourers will be continually seized with panic arising from the insecurity which such an arrangement would involve. The mountain tract to which I allude will be understood if a line is drawn from the Sikkim frontier through the Richer to Dalingcote; but, as I said before, I would make the boundary throughout the water-shed of the first range from the Dooars, say a line drawn from the summit of the Tulélah Pass.

26. There is a very mistaken impression that the Dooars are an unhealthy and unproductive tract: a portion of those now under jungle may be unhealthy in the rains, but when the jungle is cleared and a free current of air admitted, they will be just as healthy as any other part of the plains, or healthier, for the natural drainage of the country is excellent; and the unhealthy portion of them is a gentle, almost imperceptible slope from 1,000 feet to the level of the plains. The soil is a rich black vegetable mould, abounding with magnificent timber. At a distance from the residence of the Soobahs, and near our frontier, the land is even now much cultivated; rice is sold at eight annas per maund, and there is some of the finest grazing ground in India in the Dooars. The upper portion was many years ago apparently cultivated; the villagers have all fled, and the place is overrun with herds of elephants, which, judging from the way in which they had trodden the earth down, and the noise they made round our camp at night, must be exceedingly abundant. Colonel Jenkins, in his letter No. 69, dated 21st May 1841, expressed the following opinion regarding

regarding the value of the Dooars: "Under our management, the vast tract of fertile land which these Dooars comprise, could soon be occupied by the outpourings of the immense population of Rungpore and Cooch Behar, and besides the great increase of their value by the extension of cultivation, the Dooars would become of inestimable importance to Eastern Bengal, from the restoration of the timber trade, which has now almost entirely been stopped from the state of anarchy which has convulsed all the Bootan territories for the last few years." And again, in his letter No. 93, dated 27th June 1841, he says: "I regret that I can add little or nothing to the information given by Captain Pemberton of the state of the Dooars in his account of his mission to Bootan; since that time Buxa or Buksha Dooar on our side has been almost totally deserted, as are all the Assam Dooars, except the three we hold attached. The great Dooars of Bijnee and Sidlee were once held as zemindarees of the Mogul Government; under our Government the Rajahs have been considered independent, but they are in fact under the authority of the Cherrung Soobah, and except the small village of Neez Bijnee and the band of robbers in Sidlee, both are absolutely depopulated. The more western Dooars are, I believe, still partially each inhabited; but I know little of them, and can say nothing of their value except what may be inferred from the repeated offers of Hurr Gobind Kutmah (a Booteah official), to pay 50,000 rupees a year to be taken under the protection of our Government, and maintained in his portion of the Dooars (a very insignificant portion of the whole, composed of Bhothant, Mynagoree, Chemonaree, Gopalgunge, about 60 miles long, and 6 to 12 broad), and the Roykat's communication to Mr. Kellner, that if he could get quiet possession of the tract he was fighting for, it would be worth a lac and a half of rupees." The area of the Assam Dooars was estimated at 990 square miles, and that of the Bengal Dooars, 2,584 square miles. In another letter Colonel Jenkins says, "I cannot say what we could afford to give for the Dooars; but I imagine far above any revenue the Bootan Government at present draw from them, for the lands are greatly coveted by the borderers, and would be most extensively broken up immediately the cultivators were guaranteed against the present oppression of the Booteah subordinate authorities."

27. The revenue derived from the Dooars by the Paro Penlow was calculated by Captain Pemberton to be in value nearly double that derived by the Tongso Penlow from the Assam Dooars. The revenue we now derive from the Assam Dooars is about half a lac of rupees; the Dooars held by the Paro Penlow are a very small portion of the whole Bengal Dooars, and if he receives a lac for his portion, the total revenue of the Dooars must be several lacks. I do not think, however, that any real estimate can be formed of the revenue now derived from the Dooars, and if it were otherwise, this would afford no reduction of the amount which the Dooars would produce under a proper Government. The revenue system of the Bootanese is correctly described by Captain Pemberton:—"Enjoying no fixed salaries, and deriving but little advantage from the barren mountains amongst which they reside, the Soobahs and Penlows look to the Dooars as their only source of profit, and almost every article of consumption is drawn from them under the name of tribute, the amount of which is certainly dependent on the generosity of the several Soobahs, who regard the people of the plain with the same sort of feeling which the taskmasters entertained for the enslaved Hebrews."

28. The other portion of territory which I have proposed should be annexed, consists of the estates in the plains which we gave to the Bootanese in 1774, for what purpose I have entirely failed to comprehend. In giving up a number of our Bengalee subjects to the power of the Bootanese, we committed a great wrong, which we should take the present opportunity of rectifying. I observe that the estimated collections of Jelpesh, according to the list given in at that time by the zemindars, were 16,454 Nairaine rupees, the collections of Fallacottah we know to be 2,000 Company's rupees per annum, and I observe that on the cession of Charabundah, a remission of Rs. 10,833. 8. was made.

29. I do not think, however, that it is necessary to discuss in any detail, the direct profits we should derive from the measure. It is a question which ought to be settled on other and higher grounds; we are morally bound to the people whom we made over to the Bootanese in 1774, and to our own subjects resident on the frontier, to take measures to afford them security from further oppression; we are bound to take satisfaction for the insults offered to our Government; and these are, I think, responsibilities which we can no longer ignore. It is satisfactory to know that in doing this, the benefits we shall bestow will involve no corresponding pecuniary loss to this Government, and this is all that need be considered. Under the same feeling that the measures to be adopted with reference to the late proceedings of the Bootanese, should be obviously determined on their own merits; and that we should not be exposed to the charge of giving effect to an acquisitive policy under the blind of avenging wrongs, I have not entered into any detail regarding the pecuniary value of Bootan to us if annexed to our territory. I believe, however, that under our Government it would soon become one of the richest provinces in Bengal; but if I were to attempt to show how this could be effected, I might seem to desire to strengthen the case against Bootan, by the advocacy of that large class of men who are now seeking for profitable investments of capital in land in this country.

30. Some apprehension may exist that in dealing with Bootan, we may embroil ourselves with the Thibetans. It is true that Bootan pays a nominal tribute to Thibet, but I am perfectly confident that the Thibetans would never send a man over the Snowy Range

to the aid of the Bootanese. In the first place the Thibetans are now engaged themselves in a serious civil war, and have no means of undertaking a foreign war. In the next place, they have such a bad opinion of the Bootanese that no Thibetan can continue in the country, and all Bootanese entering Thibet are disarmed and watched as robbers from the day they enter till the day they leave; and lastly, it is entirely contrary to the Thibetan policy to send a force across the snows; if they could have an exception in any case, it would have been in the case of Sikkim, but they positively refused to send any assistance; they issued orders to their frontier officers, that if we invaded Thibet, they were to stop us; but they were on no account to aid either party. They knew our power well, and the Thibetan Government is composed of many men of great intelligence. They might address a letter, as they did in 1773, pleading for the Bootanese, but they would do nothing more.

31. In conclusion, I would point out that the time for field operations in Bootan is from 15th November to 15th April.

32. If Government should, however, entertain a strong opinion that even under the peculiar circumstances of the Dooars, it is not expedient to annex any territory, and that all that is required of us is to enter the country and destroy the forts, it would be right, I think, to make an exception in the case of the Fort of Paro, the ex-Penlow having received us, to a certain extent, in a kindly manner. But I am sure the course will be attended with much embarrassment; directly we advanced, the Durbar would sue for terms, and if we made them, they would be broken by the Bootanese the day we left. Our chief enemy, the Tongso Penlow, will probably be out of power by that time, and the Government will declare itself to be exceedingly friendly. But the whole history of our relations with Bootan during the present century should prove to us the impolicy of listening to any such plea. The Government of Bootan will never be friendly except under pressure; it is a Government kept alive only by plunder, and it must plunder or cease to exist. If even a certain number of the Amlah wished to live on friendly terms, they could not do so. We should have no sort of guarantee for the maintenance of any engagements under which the Bootanese might place themselves towards us. We might demand payment of a certain sum as an indemnity, but this would only be to impose a fine on the unfortunate cultivators, already oppressed to the utmost.

33. We might occupy the Dooars temporarily, and pay ourselves an indemnity from the revenues; but it would be imposing a grievous wrong upon the inhabitants of that tract to give them the benefit of civilised rule for a certain period, and then to hand them over again to Bootanese government. After a very mature reflection, therefore, and a full consideration of all that can possibly be said on the other side, I am quite satisfied in my own mind that we should take possession of the Bengal Dooars, and that the course which would obviously be the proper one under other circumstances, of temporarily occupying the country until reparation was made, would in this case lead to disappointment, and eventually necessitate further proceedings.

A. Eden,
Envoy to Bootan.

From the Under-Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Honourable A. Eden (No. 252); dated Simla, 13 July 1864.

I HAVE received and laid before the Governor General in Council your letters, of the dates and numbers noted in the margin,* submitting an account of your proceedings in connection with your mission to Bootan.

2. His Excellency in Council is of opinion that it would have been well had you given up your mission, particularly after you arrived at Paro: it was clear at the outset that the Bootanese had no intention of receiving you. They did much to deter you from marching forward almost from the very first, and the behaviour of even the Paro Pillo was anything but encouraging and friendly.

3. But having once determined to press on and reach the capital of Bootan, your conduct was as resolute and dignified as, under the trying circumstances in which you were placed, it could probably be; and as regards the proposed treaty, though it would, under the circumstances, have been more judicious to have made no allusion to Articles VIII. and IX., his Excellency in Council does not think that, in any case, your treatment would have been different.

From the Honourable A. Eden, late Envoy to Bootan, to Colonel H. M. Durand, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 71); dated Darjeeling, 25 July 1864.

I LEARN with great regret from your letter, No. 252, dated 13th instant, that his Excellency the Governor General in Council, while approving of the manner in which I conducted the mission to Bootan in other respects, is of opinion that I was wrong not to give up the mission after I had arrived at Paro, and that I acted injudiciously in having made any

*Letter, dated 21st April, No. 45.
Letter, dated 7th May, No. 47½.

any allusion to Articles VIII. and IX. of the Treaty, though it is at the same time justly admitted that there is no reason to believe that the treatment which I received was in any way affected by my so doing.

2. In your letter, No. 493, dated 11th August 1863, after communicating to me the intention of his Excellency the late Viceroy to do me the honour of selecting me for this difficult and unpleasant duty, and detailing the instructions by which I was to be guided, you added in your concluding paragraph, "On the success with which you may conduct these negotiations to a conclusion will depend the credit which will attach to you, and the degree in which your services on this mission will be appreciated by the British Government," alluding, I presume, to the Government of India. It must be admitted that this standard of success is one with which the Government of India has not, as a rule, avowedly tested the acts of its officers; indeed, had it been so, it is very certain that readiness to assume responsibility under circumstances of difficulty would never have, as it hitherto has, been one of the most valuable characteristics of public servants in India. With your distinct warning before me, however, that a special exception was to be made in my case, I had, of course, no grounds for expecting that I should receive any credit from Government for the difficulties I had faced, or the personal hardships I had endured, in a conscientious desire to fulfil, if possible, the purposes for which I was sent into Bootan.

3. But though I have, under these circumstances, no right to feel any pain or disappointment that Government has withheld from me credit for the attempts I made to secure its objects, inasmuch as "my negotiations were not conducted to a successful issue," even though the result is admittedly owing to no default of mine, I think I may reasonably be excused for asking his Excellency in Council to reconsider the censure passed on me for not having returned from Paro without attempting to make the Bootan Durbar acquainted with the wishes and intention of the Government of India, and for having alluded in its integrity to the draft treaty drawn out by the late Governor General himself, and entrusted to me for the purpose of being submitted to the Dhurma and Deb Rajahs. Should his Excellency be unable to withdraw this censure, I may, perhaps, then ask that my explanation as to my conduct on these two points may be brought on record with your letter to which this is a reply.

4. First, as to my having failed to turn back from Paro. On this point you observe, "His Excellency in Council is of opinion that it would have been well had you given up your mission, particularly after you arrived at Paro; it was clear at the outset that the Bootanese had no intention of receiving you. They did much to deter you from marching forward almost from the very first, and the behaviour of even the Paro Pillo was anything but encouraging and friendly." There were two occasions on which I thought it was open to question whether it would not be expedient to give the mission up: the first of these was before we crossed the frontier at all. It will be recollected that letters from the Lieutenant-Governor were despatched to the Dhurma and Deb Rajahs early in September, announcing the intention of the Viceroy to send an envoy to Bootan, and requesting that proper arrangements might be made for the reception of the mission on the frontier, and for its safe conduct to the Durbar. When I arrived at Darjeeling in November no reply to this letter had been received, though ample time had elapsed. I was not disposed to enter the country until the reply was received, and I again addressed the Durbar and told them that I had arrived at Darjeeling, and requested that some one might be sent to the frontier to meet me. I waited here for two months, but still no reply was received. I reported this to you, but was informed in reply that his Excellency in Council saw "no reason why the advance of the mission should be postponed." Immediately on receiving this intimation of the views of Government I started from Darjeeling, and the responsibility of so doing was clearly not mine, and, as I understand your present letter, it is not even now considered that this was a mistake.

5. The other occasion to which I refer was at Dalimkote. I reported to you from that place the difficulties I encountered at the outset, and you replied that you had laid my letter before the Governor General, and that you "did not think the state of affairs unfavourable to a successful issue" to my mission. In proceeding on to Paro, therefore, I was clearly acting in accordance with the views of Government as to what was right. Your remark that it was clear at the outset that the Bootanese had no intention of receiving me, must relate to the neglect of the Bootan Government to reply to the Lieutenant Governor's letters and to the treatment we received at Dalimkote, for between that place and Paro we received no indication of the intention of the Government towards us. This disinclination to receive us was reported to you, and so far from any implication being conveyed to me that, in consequence of the discouraging treatment I had received, it was considered inexpedient for me to persist in my endeavours to reach the capital, I was distinctly told twice that Government did not see any cause for postponing, much less for giving up, the progress of the mission. With this intimation of the views of Government before me it certainly did not appear to me possible that after we had overcome all the serious difficulties of the journey, after we had arrived within three short marches of our destination, after we had overcome the opposition, and, indeed, secured the co-operation, of the most powerful chieftain in Bootan, from whose suspicions we had been warned that we had more to fear than from any other cause, it could be the wish of Government that the mission should have been given up. If it was to be given up at all on account of the discouraging reception of the officials, this should have been done at Dalimkote; but as it was not thought necessary to give it up there before the chief difficulties of the journey

were

were attempted, I could not think myself justified in giving up when these difficulties had been faced and successfully overcome. The Deb Rajah had written to me that "I should not speak of returning to Darjeeling, as he had never declined to receive me." The Paro Pillo told me that he would not hear of my returning to Darjeeling without having seen the Rajahs; I had written repeatedly to the Deb, saying that, if he did not wish to receive me, he had only to say so, and I would turn back; but he carefully avoided saying anything of the sort, and when his messengers were asked to choose between letting me go on or return, they invariably told me to go on. I saw that there was a great probability of the terms of the treaty I was told to negotiate not being agreed to by the Bootan Government, but I had no sort of ground for expecting them to treat me with insolence or violence; indeed, I had every reason to expect the contrary, from the experience of the past. Captain Turner was treated with hospitality; and though Captain Pemberton was treated with indifference and some neglect, the Government of Bootan, whilst refusing his terms, protected his person, and gave him safe conduct into and out of the country; and I should not, I submit, have been justified in anticipating any different treatment from anything which had occurred; and this being so, I should have been still less justified in turning back when within so short a distance of my destination without giving the Government of Bootan a distinct option of accepting or refusing the terms offered to them. As I have said on a previous occasion, it was the wish of the Durbar that I should become disheartened and turn back, and they would then have made political capital of my discomfiture, and would have declared to our Government their strong desire for friendship, and their disappointment that, by turning back without any sufficient reasons, I had deprived them of an opportunity of cementing this friendship by a treaty. I desire to speak with all due respect, but I cannot resist the conviction that, had I thus turned back, and had the Bootan Government written, as I am convinced they would have written, the Government of India would have believed that the success of the mission had been sacrificed to my want of zeal and perseverance. I observe in paragraph 2 of my Report, dated 21st April last, that had I turned back those who now blame me for going on would have been amongst the first to accuse me of displaying want of spirit. I carefully weighed all that was to be said on both sides of the question, and I concluded that this was a course in which I, being on the spot, and with a knowledge of all the circumstances of the case, ought to be guided by my own judgment, and I felt assured of the cordial support of Government, let the result be what it might. I deeply regret to find that in this I erred.

6. Next, as regards the injudiciousness of my conduct in alluding to Articles VIII. and IX. of Lord Elgin's Draft Treaty. The instructions which I received in regard to Article VIII. will be found in paragraph 8 of your letter, No. 493, dated 11th August 1863. I was specially instructed to arrange with the Bootan Government for permission for the Government to appoint an Agent at their Court, if it should see fit to do so, or to depute from time to time a mission to Bootan. This was one of the "main principles" of the treaty which paragraph 11 of the letter above quoted gave me no authority to modify, and, so far from injudiciously forbearing to exercise a discretion vested in me, I assumed the responsibility of exceeding the limits of my instructions, and finding that the terms of the article were disagreeable to the Bootanese, I presented a draft treaty with this article struck out. Article IX. relates to a matter which I was authorized not to press; neither of these articles was in any way forced even upon the notice of the Bootan Government. Before the subject of a treaty was broached by me, Cheeboo Lama took the draft to a private interview he had with some of the Amlah; they listened to it in a friendly spirit, and said that they thought it all that could be desired, except Articles VIII. and IX., which they did not think the Tongso Pillo would agree to; but they added that these were matters they should like to discuss with me: they were discussed, and seeing that they were not approved, I agreed to omit them, and there was no further reference made to them at any time.

7. I had intended to bring the services of the officers who accompanied me to the notice of Government in my General Report, which is now nearly completed, but I am now disposed to think that it is better to take this opportunity of doing so, although I believe that all the officers of the mission would have been much surprised and disappointed if I had turned back from Paro; they are not, of course, in any way responsible, directly or indirectly, for my having determined not to do so, and they cannot, therefore, be included in the blame which has been attached to me on this account. I was much indebted to Captains Austen and Lance, and to Dr. Simpson, for the cheerful and zealous spirit in which, in the hope of promoting the success of the mission, they endured hardships and trials to which officers in this country are seldom exposed. Dr. Simpson, in addition to his duties as medical officer, rendered me great assistance in a political point of view, and all of the officers of the mission gave cordial and hearty assistance in their special departments. It will be a matter of regret to me if any want of success on my part should deprive them of the acknowledgments of Government. Had the mission been more successful, the difficulties, hardships, and annoyances to which they were exposed would have been less, and would have been forgotten in the satisfaction of a successful conclusion to the mission; the credit which belongs to them, therefore, is in no way lessened by results for which, even theoretically, they cannot be in any way held responsible.

8. I cannot speak in too high terms of the services rendered by Cheeboo Lama, Dewan of Sikkim. He furnished us with some 200 coolies from his own private estate, who remained

remained with us faithfully from first to last: without his orders not a man would have crossed the frontier under such discouraging circumstances as those under which we entered the country. He kept all the accounts of the pay and rations of the whole of the camp followers, obtained supplies for us from the villages, and, though subjected to gross insults and ill-treatment, he was unceasing in his attempts, by counsel and explanation to the suspicious and ignorant Bootanese, to secure the objects of the mission. His knowledge of the habits and language of the people were of the greatest service to us, and his widely-spread reputation as an honest and scrupulous administrator in his own country secured for us a welcome in all the villages of West Bootan. He supplied us with guides from the Sikkim monasteries, and nothing but the cheerful and confident manner in which he faced all difficulties induced our desponding and alarmed camp followers to persevere. This is the second occasion on which I have been associated with the Lama in a duty of this nature, and I know no native gentleman for whom I have a higher esteem, or whom I believe to be more thoroughly and unselfishly devoted to the interests of our Government, though not in reality a British subject.

From the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Honourable *A. Eden* (No. 410); dated Simla, 23 August 1864.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 71, of the 25th July 1864, and to inform you that the Governor General in Council, after full consideration, regrets that he cannot modify the opinion expressed in my letter, No. 252, of the 13th July 1864, in regard to those parts of your proceedings when entrusted with the mission to the authorities in Bootan to which your letter refers.

2. I am also instructed to forward, for your information, a copy of paragraph 2 of the Secretary of State's despatch,* No. 39, of the 18th July.

* See page 220.

3. His Excellency in Council fully appreciates the valuable services of Captains Austen and Lance and of Dr. Simpson. Now that the Government of India is in possession of the reports† of Captains Austen and Lance, due notice will be taken of their labours; those of Dr. Simpson are not overlooked, and his Excellency will recognise them in a suitable manner at the same time that those of Captains Austen and Lance are acknowledged.

† See pages 233-44.

4. To Cheebo Lama, Dewan of Sikkim, his Excellency in Council will address a khureeta, thanking him for the assistance rendered to the mission.

(No. 53.)

From the Honourable *Ashley Eden*, Envoy to Bootan, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Darjeeling, 20th July 1864.

Sir,

In my letter, No. 45, dated the 21st April, I have given a detailed and minute account of the proceedings whilst at *Paro* and *Poonakh* of the mission to which I was appointed by your letter, No. 495, dated the 11th August 1863. I considered that an account of the ill-treatment to which we were exposed whilst engaged in the duty entrusted to us should for many reasons be kept distinct from my general report on the state of Bootan and on our progress through the country, and in so doing I had the precedent of Captain *Pemberton's* Mission in 1837.

Bootan Mission.

2. Having in view the necessity which has unfortunately been forced upon us of now adopting some decisive and punitive policy towards the Government of Bootan, it seems to me to be expedient that I should briefly review the whole of our political relations with that country from first to last, and that I should describe at length the long series of events which led to the deputation of the mission under my charge, so far as I am able to do so from the records at my disposal.

3. There is nothing, apparently, on record to show that previous to the year 1772, the Government of India had any political cognisance whatever of Bootan. In that year, however, the Bootanese obtruded themselves upon our notice by setting up a claim to the district of *Cooch Behar*. They invaded and took possession of a great portion of that little state, and carried off the *Raja Durunder Narain* and his brother, the *Dewan Deo*, with the intention of placing on the throne a *Raja* of their own. The *Cooch Behar* family solicited the aid of the Government of India, which was at once accorded, and a detachment of four companies of *sepoys* with two guns was dispatched under Captain *Jones* for

Early relations with Bootan.

the purpose of driving back the invaders to their own frontier. This duty was so efficiently performed by Captain Jones and his little force, that the Bootanese were not only driven beyond the frontier, but were followed into Bootan by Captain Jones, who carried the three forts of Darling (Delamcotta of the maps), Chichacottah, and Passakha, and so pressed the Bootanese that they were compelled to invoke the aid of the Thibetan Government at Lassa. In consequence of this appeal, the Teshoo Lama, who, during the minority of the Delai Lama, was acting as Regent of Thibet, addressed to the Governor General, Warren Hastings, a very friendly and intelligent letter which was read in Council on the 29th March 1774. In this letter, the Teshoo Lama sued for peace on behalf of the Government of Bootan, denouncing the Bootanese as a "rude and ignorant race;" suggesting that, though they had fully deserved punishment, they had been sufficiently chastened; and urging that, as Bootan formed a dependency of Thibet, a persistence in the prosecution of the war with Bootan might irritate the Grand Lama and all his subjects against the British Government. He concluded by saying, "I have reprimanded the Deb for his past conduct, and I have admonished him to desist from his evil practices in future, and to be submissive to you in all things. I am persuaded he will conform to the advice which I have given him, and it will be necessary that you treat him with compassion and clemency. As for my part, I am but a Faqueer; and it is the custom of my sect, with the rosary in our hands, to pray for the welfare of all mankind, and especially for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of this country, and I do now, with my head uncovered, entreat that you will cease from all hostilities against the Deb in future." This letter was conveyed to Calcutta by a Hindoostanee pilgrim, named Porungheer Gossein, who some years later accompanied Captain Turner on his mission to Thibet, and a Thibetan named Paima. They were charged to deliver certain presents to the Governor General, amongst which were sheets of gilt leather stamped with the Russian Eagle, showing that even at that period there was commercial intercourse between Russia and Central Asia. The Governor General appeared to consider that this letter afforded a favourable opportunity for an attempt to establish friendly relations with Thibet, and to open out to our commerce a country heretofore closed against us. The Council, therefore, at once complied with the request of the Teshoo Lama, and a treaty of peace, on the basis of the return of each country to the boundaries which existed before the invasion of Cooch Behar, was made on the 25th April 1774. The Bootanese engaged to deliver up the captive Raja of Cooch Behar and his brother, and to pay a tribute of five Tangun horses for the district of Chichacottah, of which we had taken possession, but which, with all other lands taken during the war, was returned on the execution of the treaty. The Deb Raja at the same time undertook to respect the territory of the East India Company; to deliver up ryots running away from the Company's territories; to prosecute any demands the Bootanese might have upon British subjects before the regular courts of the British Government; to refuse shelter to Sunniasees hostile to the English, or to allow English troops to follow them into Bootan; to permit the Honourable Company to cut timber in the forests under the hills, and to protect the woodcutters.

Mission of Messrs.
Bogle and Turner.

4. With the view of establishing communication with the Government of Lassa, the Government of India determined to send an envoy with a reply to the letter of Teshoo Lama, and on the 6th of May 1774, Mr. Bogle was deputed to the court of the Regent with a letter from the Governor General, and with presents of pearls, corals, brocades, cloth, shawls, &c. Mr. Bogle was detained for a considerable time at Tassishujung, the winter capital of Bootan, and did not reach the court of the Lama till October 1774. There is no record of his progress through Bootan, but as he reached his destination and returned to British territory in safety, it may be assumed that the Bootanese treated him in a friendly manner whilst he was in their country. Mr. Bogle does not appear to have been charged with any political functions in regard to Bootan. In the discharge of his duties in Thibet, he seems to have met with complete success, and to have obtained the entire confidence of the Regent, so much so, indeed, that on his return he was entrusted by the Lama with a sum of money for the purpose of building, on his behalf, a temple on the banks of the River Hooghly. It would be interesting to know whether this temple still exists, and if so, how it is maintained. After the death of Teshoo Lama in China, and on the reported re-incarnation of the Grand Lama, the Governor General, with a view of strengthening and maintaining the friendship established by Mr. Bogle, determined to dispatch an envoy with his congratulations on the event. Captain Turner was selected for this duty, and started in 1783; he was detained in Bootan from the middle of May till the middle of September, but seems to have had no special business to conduct with the Bootanese, though I gather from the proceedings of the Collector of Rungpore, dated the 11th June 1789, that he was instructed to cede to the Government of Bootan the district of Fallacottah. If Captain Turner's very glowing description of the Government and the people is to be believed, they were a much finer, more civilised and obliging race than they were when Captain Pemberton visited the country, and than they now are.

5. In 1787 the Dhurma and Deb Rajas sent the Timpoo Jungpen as a Vakeel to Calcutta for the purpose of procuring an adjustment of certain boundary questions which formed the subject of dispute between the Booteahs and the frontier Zemindars. The Deb Raja claimed the district of Hobraghaut on behalf of the Bijnee Raja, but, on being questioned, the Bijnee Raja repudiated the claim, and denied ever having authorised the Deb Raja to make any application on his account. The Deb next claimed, on account of the Zemindar of Beddiagong that, a mehal named Goomah, which had been given to Bulramchund

ramchund Burroah in the time of the Moguls, should be restored. The Zemindar on being questioned, declared that he had nothing to do with the Deb Raja, and had never authorised him to make any such demand. The Deb Raja laid claim to a part of the Zemindaree of Bykantpore, alleging that it belonged to him in virtue of an adjustment made in the time of the Moguls, about 1159 B.S. A report on this claim having been called for from the local officers, the Collector reported most positively in favour of the Bykantpore Zemindar; nothing could have been clearer from the documents produced by the Zemindar of Bykantpore, bearing the seal of the Council of Dinagapore, and registered before the Cazy of Calcutta, than that the claim of the Deb was unfounded; nevertheless, the Government of the day directed that the disputed land, namely, the mehals of Aien Fallacottah and Jelpaish, should be made over to the Bootanese. I am afraid that on this occasion the friendship of the Bootanese was purchased at the expense of the Bykantpore Zemindar, and that the unfortunate Bengalee ryots living in these mehals, who were thus practically handed over as serfs to the barbarous rulers of the hill tract to their north, had a just cause for complaint in the transfer thus so hastily made. The Collector reported to Government that the Deb Raja's claim for these lands was groundless, "as he is already possessed of more than those he is entitled to," and in replying to the Deb Raja, he sent him copies of the documents produced by the Bykantpore Zemindar, and said "When you have considered these documents, I leave the decision of the present dispute to your own justice. The Zemindar of Bykantpore, you will perceive, has got in his possession a regular deed, sealed with the Company's seal, and under the signature of Mr. Harwood, and the other gentlemen of the Dinagapore Council. Can I, without a violation of justice, act in opposition to it?" How, in the face of such documents, the Government of the day reconciled it to their sense of justice to give up these lands to the Booteahs, it is not easy to understand. That the Booteahs know well that they had no sort of right to the lands, is evident from the fact that they now invariably speak of them as having been given by the East India Company for the purpose of maintaining temples dedicated to the idol Mahakul. The Bykantpore Zemindar received a remission of revenue for the lands thus taken away from him, though why this remission was made, if it was believed that the mehals really belonged to Bootan, is not clear. From the papers delivered in by the Bykantpore Zemindar at that time, it appears that the collections for Jelpaish amounted to 16,454-10 Narrainee rupees; they now probably produce not more than 2,000 rupees, owing to the oppression exercised towards the cultivators by the Bootanese. For Fallacottah a remission of 3,239 rupees was made to the Zemindar, yet when we received charge of the mehal in 1842, to manage it on account of Bootan, the collections had fallen under Booteah misgovernment to 800 rupees per annum; but within two years of its again coming under our management, the mehal was farmed for 2,000 rupees, and is now let on a ten years' lease for that amount.

The friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Bootan, which was believed to have been renewed and cemented by the visit of Captain Turner to the Deb, was not of a very lasting nature. Practically, the intercourse between the countries continued to be as purely nominal as it had always been, and within a very few years we became seriously embroiled with the Bootanese on the question of the right to nominate a successor to the Raja of the little state of Bijnee, which was nominally under the protection of both countries. It was established beyond question that the right of nomination was vested in this Government, but unfortunately we committed the error of confirming the nomination which had already been made by the Bootanese, under a wrongful assumption of authority.

6. In 1815 some disputes occurred regarding the Bootan frontier boundaries, and a native official named Kishenkant Bose was deputed to the court of the Dhurma and Deb Rajas for the purpose of adjusting the questions at issue. This officer, who seems to have been an intelligent and observing person, entered the country from the Assam side. He went from Gawalparah to Bijnee, thence to Sidlee and Cherrung, and so up the valley of the Patchoo-Matchoo to Poonakh. On his return he seems to have branched off from Angdu Forung, and to have re-entered Bengal *via* Cooch Behar. His opinion of the Bootan Dooars was, that, "if well cultivated," they were "capable of producing a revenue of seven or eight lacs of rupees, but they are in general waste, and at present the whole revenue of Bootan, including Mal and Sayer, and all items of collection, does not probably amount to three lacs of rupees." The Government of Bootan seems to have been composed then, as now, of a number of greedy, intriguing, unscrupulous place-hunters, each striving to oust and circumvent his neighbour. He observes, "that the Bhuteahs enjoy the revenues of their country by mutual concurrence in the following manner: They first become Zinkaafs, or Poes (Sepoys or Peons), then Tumas (Thompa?), then Zimpes under the Pilos or other officers, after that Jodus* or Subahs of Passes, after that Zimpe, then Pilo (Penlow), and at length they may become Deb Raja. The last Deb Raja was in fact originally a Zinkaaf. If a man, however, possess extraordinary abilities or interest, he may get on more quickly, and become at once a Zimpe from being a Zinkaaf. When a person gets a good appointment he is not allowed to keep it long, but at the annual religious festivals frequent removals and appointments take place. The Deb Raja himself after a time is liable to be thrust out on some such pretence as that of his having infringed estab-

Mission of Kishenkant Bose.

* Jungpen, from jung a fort, and pen a governor.

lished customs, and unless he have either a Tongso or Paro Pilo on his side, he must, if required to do so, resign his place or risk the result of a civil war; on this account the Deb Raja strives by removals and changes at the annual festivals, to fill the principal offices with persons devoted to his interest. The Bhuteahs are full of fraud and intrigue, and would not scruple to murder their own father or brother to serve their interest." Kishenkant remarked that there was "no burglary or dacoity in houses in Bootan, and robberies take place upon the highway, the ryots having nothing in their houses for dacoits to carry away." The same practical incentive to honesty exists to the present day. The relations between the Government and the ryots were apparently then precisely what they are now. "Whenever any ryot or landholder or servant has collected a little money, the officer of Government under whose authority they happen to be placed, finds some plea or other for taking the whole. On this account the ryots are afraid to put on good clothes, or to eat and drink according to their inclination, lest they should excite the avarice of their rulers." "In all ways the ryots are harassed. Whatever rice they grow is taken almost entirely for revenue by the Government, and they are also obliged to deliver the grass and straw; of wheat they retain a larger portion, and they do not give to Government any part of their dhensi. All the colts that are produced from their mares, and all the blankets they make, are also taken by the officers of Government at a low price. They are also bound to furnish firewood, spirits, and grain, for the Government officers, and the husks and straw for the cattle, and are further obliged to carry all the bales of goods in which the officers trade gratis; for exemption from the last grievance those who can afford it pay something to the Deb Raja, which of course renders it still more burdensome on those who cannot do the same."

Disputes regarding
Dooars.

7. Subsequent to Kishenkant Bose's visit to Bootan, our intercourse with the country seems either to have been very slight indeed, or not to have been thought worthy of record, for no account of any communication with the Booteahs is to be traced until the period of the first Burmese War of 1825-26, when it became necessary for us to drive the Burmese out of Assam, of which province they had taken forcible possession, and had nearly depopulated it by a series of most atrocious outrages. Having repelled these foreign invaders, we were compelled for the protection of our frontier to assume the government of Lower Assam, which its imbecile rulers were unable to administer. Unfortunately, in becoming the possessors of this province, we also found ourselves in possession of the very unsatisfactory relations of the Assamese with the Bootanese. As these relations were chiefly connected with what are called the Dooars, or passes, it will be well here to give some account of the tract known as the Bootan Dooars. There is a narrow slip of land, ranging in breadth from 10 to 20 miles, which runs along the base of the lower range of Bootan Hills from the Darjeeling district to the frontier of Upper Assam. It extends from the Dhunseeree River on the east to the River Teesta, or rather the Durlah, on the west. The land comprised within these limits is naturally singularly rich and fertile; it is formed of the richest black vegetable mould, is washed by many rivers, and has a southern slope from 1,500 feet to the level of the plains of Bengal, so slight and gradual as scarcely to be perceptible. It is capable of producing almost any crop; it is singularly well adapted for the cultivation of cotton; indeed, considering the small quantity of land under cultivation, a fair amount of cotton is already grown there, but the quality is of such an inferior description as scarcely to deserve the name. Near our frontier a large quantity of rice is grown, and sold at two maunds for the rupee. Entering into this tract from the hills are 18 passes; each pass is under the authority of a Jungpen (governor of a fort), or as we call them, Soubahs, and under the administration of each Jungpen is a certain division of territory which bears the name of the pass to which it is attached, and thus the whole locality came to be known as the Athara Dooar, or 18 passes or dooars. Of these, 11 are situated on the frontier of the Bengal district of Rungpore, and the dependent State of Cooch Behar, between the rivers Durlah and Monass, and the remaining seven are on the frontier of Assam, between the Monass and the Dhunseeree rivers. The Bootanese were not slow to discover the value of the land at the foot of the hills, and managed to wrest those bordering on Bengal from the Mahomedan rulers of the country, probably very soon after their first arrival in Bootan, about two centuries ago. The other seven dooars are on the frontier of the districts of Durrung and Kamroop, in Assam, and are generally called the Assam Dooars, whilst those bordering on the Bengal frontier are called the Bengal Dooars. The Bootanese were never able to obtain absolute possession of the Assam Dooars as they had of those of Bengal, but they so harassed the Assam princes by frontier outrages and incursions, that the Assamese were only too glad to purchase security by making over their seven dooars to the Bootanese in consideration of an annual payment of yak-tails, ponies, musk, gold dust, blankets, and knives, of an estimated value of 4,785 Naraanee rupees and 4 annas, an arrangement which has been aptly described as a mutual compromise between conscious weakness and barbarian cunning.

The seven Assam Dooars are—

1. Booree Goomah.
2. Kalling.
3. Ghurkolla.
4. Banska.
5. Chappagoorie.
6. Chappakhamar.
7. Bijnee.

The 11 Bengal Dooars are :—

1. Dalimcote (Darlingjung).
2. Zumercote (name obsolete in Bootan, where it is called Moinagoroo).
3. Cheemoorchee (Sumchee of Bootan).
4. Luckee Dooar.
5. Buxa (Passakha).
6. Bhulka.
7. Bara.
8. Goomar.
9. Reepoo.
10. Cherrung.
11. Bagh or Bijnee.

The whole of this tract is inhabited by Mechis and Kacharis, the only classes apparently able to live there in consequence of the atrocities of the Booteahs and the malaria generated in the vast jungle tracts, which, though perfectly healthy if cultivated, are year by year becoming depopulated through the short-sighted policy of the Bootanese Government and petty frontier officers, whose relation to their ryots was described by Captain Pemberton 30 years ago in terms which are equally applicable at the present time, except perhaps that, as is always the case where the people are physically weak and their tyrannical rulers are physically strong and morally uncontrolled, the oppression has become intensified with the progress of time; "almost all the principal officers in charge of the dooars on the plains are Kucharies, Assamese, or Bengallees, appointed nominally by the sunnud of the Deb Raja, but virtually at the recommendation of the Pilos (Penlows) in whose jurisdiction they are comprised, and without whose sanction they would never be able to retain their situations for an hour; their orders are received immediately from the Zoompens (Jungpens) or Soubahs in charge of the districts to which the dooars are attached, and who generally reside in the mountains, and are chosen from amongst the most favoured class of Booteahs. Enjoying no fixed salaries, and deriving but little advantage from the barren mountains amongst which they reside, the Soubahs and Pilos look to the dooars as their only source of profit; and almost every article of consumption is drawn from them under the name of tribute, the amount of which is entirely dependent on the generosity of the several Soubahs, who regard the people of the plains with the same sort of feeling which the task-masters of Egypt entertained for the enslaved Hebrews." At the present day, except in the immediate neighbourhood of our frontier, the unfortunate Mechis are little better than slaves to their Booteah rulers; they are allowed to keep scarcely enough of the grain they themselves grow to afford them bare subsistence, and they have to work hard to comply with the never-ending demands made upon them for rice, cloth, betel-nut, cotton, and ghee, which they have not only to supply without charge, but which they have also to carry week by week to the forts of the Jungpens on the lower range of hills. The demand of revenue is limited only by the power of the Jungpens and their officers to extort more from these wretched people. These tribes apparently cannot live in the lower plains of Bengal, and are therefore unable to escape from the oppressions of the Booteahs as the Bengallees can.

8. The British Government renewed and confirmed to the Bootanese the engagements made with them by the Assamese. These engagements were somewhat of a complicated nature, and were well calculated to produce the misunderstanding which, at a very early date, arose up between the two Governments. In the first place, though the five Kamroop Dooars were held exclusively by the Bootanese, and were subject to no interference with their management either by the Assamese or ourselves, the two Durrung Dooars, Booree Goomah and Kalling, were held under a very peculiar tenure; the British Government occupied them from July to November in each year, whilst the Bootanese held them for the remainder of the year. In the next place the tribute was payable in kind, and as an inevitable consequence of payment of this nature, disputes arose as to the value of the articles of tribute. There were Sezawals appointed on the frontier to receive the tribute from the Bootea officers; it was said that these men frequently changed the articles originally sent, substituting others of inferior value, and it was also said on the other hand that the articles sent were not of the value agreed upon. These articles of tribute being sold by auction seldom realised the value at which they were appraised by the Bootanese, and as each year's tribute, in consequence, fell short of the fixed amount, a constantly accruing balance was shown against them. The Bootanese evinced very little inclination to adjust this balance, and only answered demands for payment by violence and aggression on our frontier. The Deb Raja wrote to the Governor General's agent, "You are probably not aware of the reason of arrears of our current tribute; it is therefore necessary to give some explanation. It was customary when we first came down to collect our revenue to present you with a piebald horse, and afterwards with others, but without any reference to the value of them, as also gold, knives, musk, and chowries. Your people sell these articles at such very low prices that we must necessarily fall into arrears; the ryots, in consequence, are much oppressed. You are aware that others have now possession of our talooks, and reap their benefits, although we have to pay the Kurrin; Chanroo Mooke will draw your attention to this subject, to which you will be pleased to give your consideration, and restore them to us, taking the proper kown (?) for them.

Outrages and aggression.

Attack on Chatgaree.

Booree Goomah attached.

You must know that the Assam Raja gave up these Dooars for Pan Tamool* for the Dhurma Raja." To which the Agent to the Governor General says, "In reply to the reasons you give for the arrears of tribute, I have to observe that the horses now sent are such inferior animals that they are scarcely saleable at auction, and I am inclined to think they must be changed on their way here; this is the cause of the arrears." Our demands for the liquidation of these arrears were met by evasion, aggression, and the plunder and abduction of our subjects residing on the frontier. The first serious outrage of which record is to be found was an attack made on Chatgaree, in Zillah Durrung, on the 22d of October 1828, by the Doompah (Jungpen?) Raja of Booree Goomah Dooar; some Booteah refugees were carried off, and with them the owner of the house in which they were residing. Whilst the case was under investigation, the Raja, with a force of 280 men, treacherously attacked one of our frontier outposts, where a party of eight sepoy was stationed; the native officer and some of the sepoy were killed, and a number of women and others were carried off captive. The release of the captives and the surrender of the Doompah Raja was demanded in writing by the Agent on the North-Eastern Frontier, but the Bootan Government took no notice whatever of the Agent's representation, and finally the release of the captives was effected by a jemadar and a party of Sebundies, who ascertained the place in which they were confined, advanced upon it suddenly, and set the prisoners at liberty. We then occupied the Dooar from which the outrage had been committed, and retained possession of it, in spite of the frequent applications of the Deb Raja for its restoration, until 1834, though, curiously enough, the first demand for the surrender of the Dooar was not made till it had been attached for three years, probably owing to the central Government of Bootan not hearing sooner of what had happened. At length the Government of Bootan declared that the offenders whose surrender had been demanded were dead; they were told to produce evidence of the fact; they failed to do this, however, till another year had elapsed, and then witnesses were sent who deposed that the Doompah Raja, who had been confined in irons in the palace at Poonakh, had been burnt in a fire which had destroyed the building, and that his chief accomplice had been drowned whilst superintending the construction of a chain bridge. In the opinion of the officer in the best position at the time to judge of the temper of the Bootanese, they would not have been induced to accede to the terms on which the restoration of the Dooars was made to depend, even after these six years of negotiation, "had not the accidental death of the principal offenders relieved them from the necessity of surrendering them to the British Government, and enabled them to escape the degradation which they thought attached to the surrender of any criminal." On the statement of these witnesses regarding the death of the chief delinquents (although with our present knowledge of the Booteahs, their evidence would be considered of little real value), and on the payment of a fine of 2,000 rupees, the Booteahs were allowed to re-occupy the Dooar in 1834. Not a full year had, however, elapsed before they again perpetrated a fresh outrage of the grossest description on British subjects. A large armed force from the Bijnee Dooar attacked the village of Nogong, and carried off ten persons into Bootan, where they were detained as prisoners. At the same time the local officers drew the attention of Government to the increasing frequency of these atrocities, and reported that the Booteah officers had positively refused to pay the current tribute, or make arrangements for liquidating the outstanding balances of previous years, aggregating more than 30,000 Narrainee rupees. Our villages on the frontier were reported to be in some instances entirely deserted, and there was a general feeling of insecurity spreading along the border, which called for prompt and decisive measures. Twenty-two British subjects had on various occasions been carried off by the Booteahs of Bijnee alone; a detachment of Assam Light Infantry, under a native officer, was therefore sent into Bijnee to release these unfortunate people. They gallantly stormed the stockade, rescued nine captives, and took the chief Booteah officer of the district prisoner; he admitted his culpability, and showed that he had acted with the connivance of the Tongso Penlow, to whom some of the prisoners had been sent as a present; four more captives were subsequently surrendered, and the rest were "satisfactorily accounted for," though in what manner does not appear. As it was proved that the Bootan frontier officers harboured bands of regular robbers, who paid considerable sums for the protection afforded them, a demand for the surrender of all the robbers in the Bijnee and Banska Dooars was made, and in default of compliance, and in the event of all arrears of tribute not being paid, the immediate attachment of the Dooars was threatened. Unfortunately a mistake was made which has since been too often repeated; a clear demand was made, and a distinct and specific proceeding was threatened, in the event of non-compliance; the demand was treated with contempt, and the threat was never enforced. The Deb Raja sent no reply whatever to the demands of the British Government; and the Bootanese now became so troublesome that a distinct corps was raised for the special purpose of protecting the unhealthy Dooar frontier, a number of natives of that part of the country being formed into the Assam Sebundy corps.

9. Whilst the Bijnee outrage was still under consideration, a fresh incursion into the district of Durrung was made by Booteahs from the Kalling Dooar; a large amount of property was plundered under the orders of the chief Booteah officer of the Dooar, Gumbheer

* Probably meaning for the supply of pan and tobacco.

Gumbheer Wazeer, a disreputable Assamese. The magistrate of Durrung, apparently knowing the uselessness of making demands, advanced to the frontier with 16 men of the Assam Sebundy corps, and the promptness of the proceeding so frightened Gumbheer that he came into Captain Mathie's camp and delivered over to him 13 of the offenders who had been engaged in the outrage. Captain Mathie continued his inquiries regarding the gangs of frontier robbers protected by the Booteahs, and by pressure induced Gumbheer to surrender 27 more criminals. Within two months from the occurrence of the Bijnee outrage, two further incursions were made from the Banska Dooar into the district of North Kamroop. The offenders were traced to the residence of the Booteah frontier officer, Boora Talookdar; an unsuccessful demand was made for the surrender of the property and the criminals, and then, on the 14th of February 1836, the magistrate, Captain Bogle, with a detachment of 80 Sebundies under the command of Lieutenants Mathews and Vetch, advanced across the frontier. The Booteah chief fled to Dewangiri; stolen property was found in his house; a formal demand for satisfaction was addressed to the Dewangiri Raja and the Tongso Penlow; a notification was issued temporarily attaching the Dooar, and two of the principal passes were closed. The Dewangiri Raja at once commenced to negotiate, but was told that nothing short of a full compliance with the demands made upon him would be accepted. Whilst occupying the Dooars the British officers apprehended 13 offenders, who admitted that they were professional robbers appointed by the Dewangiri Raja and other officers of the Bootanese Government. The Dewangiri Raja, under the pretence of desiring an amicable adjustment of the question at issue, came down from the Hills to meet Captain Bogle, accompanied, however, by a considerable armed following. He was refused an interview until the offenders demanded had been surrendered, and on the 1st March he gave up 19 ringleaders, and then, attended by 20 mounted sirdars and 600 followers, he visited Captain Bogle, having in his train, however, the chief criminal, Boora Talookdar, whom he refused to surrender. He professed the greatest friendship, so much so that Captain Bogle re-opened the passes to traders, though he still demanded the surrender of the criminals. The Raja, under the pretence of returning to the Hills, quietly took up a strong position and built two stockades. He was ordered to retire, and on his failing to comply with the requisition, Captain Bogle proceeded to enforce his demand. The Booteahs abandoned the first stockade on the approach of his party, and fell back upon the main body, where they stood to receive him. Lieutenant Mathews at once charged them, and at the first volley the Booteahs broke and fled, leaving 25 killed and about 50 wounded, and with the loss of all their baggage. The result of the action was that Boora Talookdar and six of the offenders who had been demanded were surrendered; formal possession was taken of Banska Dooar, and a letter was addressed to the Deb Raja recapitulating the circumstances which had necessitated this step. It was believed that considerable exertion had been made by the Bootanese to bring a force of this strength into the field, and the cowardice shown by a force of 600 men, when brought face to face with 75 of the Assam Sebundies, clearly established their utter worthlessness as soldiers.

Banska Dooar
attached.

10. The Booteahs were now thoroughly alarmed. Many of the offenders who had been engaged in outrages on our territory were delivered up; zinkaffs or messengers were sent to make terms, and characteristic cringing letters were addressed to the agent by the regent and by the Tongso Penlow, containing the unvarying falsehood by which the Bootanese ever seek to repudiate their responsibility for the misconduct of their frontier officers. They declared that they had never heard of the robberies committed on our frontier; that none of the letters of remonstrance addressed to the Bootan Government had ever been received, and they requested that all arrears of revenue might be taken from the Dooar, and the Dooar itself returned. The granaries in the Dooars were delivered up to the Bootanese officers, and unfortunately the great mistake was committed of promising the surrender of the Dooar, on an engagement being entered into by the zinkaffs for the better management of the Dooar, and for the extradition of offenders against our Government. The zinkaffs obtained from the regent a blank form bearing his seal, and entered into the required agreement, and the practical effect of this was that a powerful Government like ours was induced to negotiate with persons of the rank of common Chuprassies, as representatives of a petty state which had been compelled to ask for our forbearance, and which is itself singularly exacting in all matters of etiquette. The obvious consequence of this proceeding was that the Deb Raja never ratified the agreement, although the Dooar was returned in anticipation of his so doing. This misjudged forbearance is probably to be attributed to the extraordinary misapprehension which seems to have prevailed, that any active measures on our part "would be pursued at the imminent risk of a war with China." I believe that the existence of such a country as Bootan is entirely unknown to the Chinese, and that very little beyond its name, and that it is a country inhabited by treacherous robbers, is known even in Thibet.

Banska Dooar
released.

11. Under the belief that all communications from our Government were withheld by the frontier officers from the Durbar, it was determined in 1837 to send an envoy from the Governor General to the court of the Dhurma and Deb Rajas "to settle the terms of commercial intercourse between the states, and if possible, to effect such an adjustment of the tribute payable for the Dooars as might diminish the chances of misunderstanding arising from that source." This mission was intrusted to Captain Pemberton, an officer who was singularly qualified for the duty, having more knowledge of the states and tribes on our north-eastern frontier than any one has ever possessed before, or has had an opportunity

Deputation of
Captain Pemberton.

of acquiring since. The Government of India communicated to the Dhurma and Deb Rajas their intention of sending an envoy to the Durbar. The Bootanese Government sent messengers to Calcutta with their reply, the object of which clearly was to endeavour to evade having to admit an envoy to the country. They proposed that an envoy should not be sent until some fresh cause of dispute arose, and they announced that they should then be glad to receive a representative of the Governor General. The Government of India, however, adhered to its determination, and the messengers were sent back with an intimation of the probable date of the departure of the mission. Captain Pemberton, accompanied by the distinguished botanist, Dr. Griffith, and an escort of 25 sepoys of the Assam Sebundy Corps, under the command of Ensign Blake, left Gowhatty for Bootan on the 21st of December. Captain Pemberton was most anxious to obtain information regarding East Bootan, and to fill up a portion of the blank left in the maps and reports of his predecessors, Messrs. Bogle and Turner, and he therefore determined to enter the country by the Banska Dooar and Dewangiri. He was detained for some time on the frontier at Dum-Duma, waiting for letters from the Dewangiri Raja; again he was delayed on one excuse or another for 20 days at Dewangiri, during which time a rebellion broke out, headed by the Tahga Penlow; every attempt was made to induce Captain Pemberton to return to the frontier, and re-enter the country by the Buxa Dooar Pass, and proceed to Poonakh by the route which had been followed by Messrs. Bogle and Turner. This, however, Captain Pemberton managed to avoid doing, and was at length allowed to proceed through Eastern Bootan, through the district of the Tongso Penlow. Though the Bootan Government avowedly received the envoy in a friendly manner, and sent messengers to conduct him to the Durbar, he was exposed to much annoyance and delay on the road, and was not allowed to hold any communication with the people of the country. During his residence in the country, as during that of Captain Turner, a rebellion was in full operation, the object of which was to dethrone the Deb Raja. The draft treaty submitted to the Government of Bootan by the envoy was extremely moderate and favourable to the Bootanese; it was agreed to by the Deb and Dhurma Rajas, and by all the Amlah except the Tongso Penlow, whose interests were slightly affected by a portion of it, and on this account alone it was finally rejected by the Government of Bootan.

12. Captain Pemberton thus describes the manner in which the Bootan Government evaded signature of the treaty:—

“Mr. Scott, by whom these engagements were made, overlooking the unfair advantage which had been taken of the Assam princes during the declension of their power, renewed and confirmed the agreements which had been extorted from the weakness of those rulers; and the Booteahs were secured in the continued enjoyment of privileges of which a less generous policy would have altogether deprived them. Every concession continued to be made for the sake of preserving those amicable relations which could not be interrupted without causing great local distress; and the reward of such forbearance has been seen in acts of repeated aggression, in the murder and abstraction of British subjects, the non-payment of tribute, and the refusal, until force had been employed, to make reparation for the injuries inflicted, or to assist in devising plans to prevent their future recurrence.

“A mission was deputed from the Supreme Government to the Court of Bootan under a belief that the rulers of that country were kept in ignorance of the proceedings of their local officers, and that when known some decisive steps would be taken to guard against the probability of interruption to those amicable relations the continuance of which was of vital importance to Bootan itself. In its progress through the country the mission was everywhere received with marked distinction; the envoy was waited upon by every Soubah of the districts through which it passed, and nothing could have exhibited a more anxious desire to do honour to the power that deputed it than the extreme respect with which the letters and presents of the Governor General of India were received by the Deb and Dhurma Rajas of Bootan. Yet so wholly impotent is the Government of the country, and so lamentable are the effects of the contests for supremacy which have devastated Bootan for the last 30 years, that its rulers dare not enter into engagements which, however calculated to promote the general welfare, may indirectly clash with the imaginary interests of a Pilo or Zimpe. During many protracted discussions held with the ministers of the Deb, every argument was used, and the most detailed explanations were offered, to arrest the attention of the Government, and to show the extreme hazard incurred by the misconduct of its officers. Various propositions were submitted and discussed, and the draft of a treaty was at last prepared with the avowed concurrence and approval of the Deb and his ministers, who repeatedly admitted, both in private and at the public durbars, that its provisions were unobjectionable; they appointed a time for ratifying it by signature, and when the period for doing so arrived, evaded it on the most frivolous pretexts; the Deb to the last admitting that he had no valid objection to offer, and that it was calculated to benefit his country by removing many existing causes of dissatisfaction: these opinions he held in common with the ex-Deb, the Paro Pilo, the Tassi Zimpe, Wandipoor Zanpen, and the Sam and Deb Zimpes; and yet he avowed that he dared not sign it, as the Tongso Pilo objected.

“With such a Government it is sufficiently evident that negotiation utterly hopeless. Its nominal head is powerless, and the real authority of the country is vested in the two Barons of Tongso and Paro, who divide it between them. A rigid policy under such circumstances would justify the immediate permanent resumption of all the Dooars, both in Bengal and Assam, now held by Bootan; for when the engagements by which they were

were permitted to occupy them have been so repeatedly violated, and the Dooars have been made places of refuge for organised bands of robbers and assassins, security to the lives and properties of our own subjects would justify any measures, however apparently severe, which would strike at the root of a system so prolific of the most serious evil. But there are many powerful motives for pursuing a less severe course of policy than that which stern justice and insulted forbearance demand.

"These Dooars form, as has been already observed, the most valuable portion of the Bootan territory; through them and from them are procured, either directly or indirectly, almost every article of consumption or luxury which the inhabitants of the Hills possess. Their principal trade is with them; the priests and higher classes of the laity subsist almost exclusively upon their produce. The silks of China and the woollens of Thibet are purchased in barter for the cotton, rice, and other products of the plains; and the policy which would exclude the Bhooteahs altogether from these possessions would sever one of the strongest ties by which they may now be constrained. It is, however, no less clear that some decisive measures are indispensably necessary to guard against the repetition of such aggressions as have been committed at various times against the British Government since its occupation of Assam; and as these offences have, in almost every instance, been perpetrated within the jurisdiction of the Tongso Pilo, whose pernicious counsels and avarice prevented the ratification of those agreements which were calculated to prevent their recurrence, it is but just that the weight of punishment should fall more heavily upon him than upon those other members of the Bootan Government whose conduct evinced a greater respect to the moderate demands and wishes of the British Government. By drawing this distinction and explicitly stating it to the Bootan Government, the justice which attached the Assam Dooars would be felt, and the generosity which spared those of Bengal appreciated."

Captain Pemberton's mission seems to have been followed by no satisfactory results, and on his return things remained in much the same state that they had been in before. An admirable report on the country was drawn up by the envoy, which added much to the little stock of information which Government possessed regarding the internal government of Bootan, and considering the great difficulties in which he was placed, by having all his communication with the people of the country along the route he travelled prohibited, and all his proceedings watched by spies, his account of the country is singularly full and accurate.

During the year 1839 the Bootanese carried off 12 British subjects; one died of his wounds, another was murdered for attempting to escape, and a third was wounded and thrown down a precipice because he would not work. The insurrection which commenced during Captain Pemberton's visit to the country seems to have continued till 1840, and in that year one of the Deb Rajahs, in a letter to the Governor General's Agent, in which the anarchy and confusion under which the country was groaning were freely admitted, says "Soompor Deb Rykat of Bykantpore, owing to the instigations of the Dajee Lopes, has forcibly taken possession of our Western Dooars and is ruining the ryots: Chila Zinkaff was sent to you in consequence of this, with letters from the Dhurma Raja and myself. Still nothing has been done and the country is going to ruin." "The Dajee Lopes of Poonakha are false in saying that the Dhurma Raja is on their side; on the contrary, the Raja is on my side, of which, should you have any doubt, send one of the people who accompanied Captain Pemberton; pay no attention to those Dajee Lopes." In forwarding this letter to Government, in his Despatch of the 14th October 1841, No. 153, the Governor General's Agent proposed to send a native officer to the Durbar for the purpose "of communicating with the Deb Raja on the state of misrule which still continues in the Dooars." He added, "I am quite satisfied that the present Government of Bootan cannot of themselves restore the Dooars to any degree of good management, or hold out adequate protection to induce the Cacharees to return to them. I conceive, therefore, that they must continue to be depopulated until they come under our administration. From conversation I have had with the two last zinkaffs (messengers) who have come down, both of whom I know to be confidential persons, I think the Bootan Government are prepared to cede the Dooars to us on condition of our paying them a fair compensation for what they draw from the Dooars; and, if it met with the approval of his Lordship, I would propose to make a direct offer to farm the Dooars, both of Bengal and Assam, provided the Bootan Government vest in us the entire judicial and fiscal administration of the tract of country. I cannot say what we could afford to give for the Dooars, but I imagine far above any revenue the Bootan Government draw from them; for the lands are greatly coveted by the borderers, and would be most extensively broken up immediately the cultivators were guaranteed against the present oppression of the Booteah subordinate authorities. Had we possession of the Dooars, the Bootan Government would necessarily, in a short time, become entirely dependent upon us, as holding in our hands the source of all their subsistence: and the Booteah communication with the Dooars, which is now solely for plunder, would be converted into a traffic that would be of the greatest benefit both to the Dooars and the Hill country. The Bootan Government, besides, would be rescued from its present state of anarchy and imbecility, for that party which we acknowledge, and to whom we pay the rents of the Dooars, would be so strengthened as to command the ready obedience of the country." The Government of India* approved of the Agent's proposal to send a native officer to communicate with the Raja, and to offer to take in farm the Raja's share of the Dooars which were subject to his authority. The

Further outrages,
and resumption of
Assam Dooars.

Governor

* Letter No. 1272, dated 2d November 1840.

Governor General was of opinion that an arrangement of this nature would be likely to be attended with the best consequences, as tending to the better cultivation of the Dooars and the pecuniary advantage of the Raja himself. Very shortly after the deputation of a native officer to Bootan had been determined on, and whilst the matter was still pending, a fresh outrage was committed on our territory by the Bootanese. Five villages were seized; the catcherry of the Zemindar of Khoonta Ghat was attacked and plundered, and one of his servants was taken off. The Government of India decided that measures should be taken to check this spirit of aggression on the part of the Booteahs, and the Governor General's Agent was authorised, if he saw fit to do so, to attempt to capture the offenders with a sufficient force of sebondies. I have been unable to apprehend the precise course adopted by the Governor General's Agent on receipt of these instructions, but I gather that about this time, the two Eastern Dooars, Kalling and Booree Goomah, were formally attached and occupied by our officers. On the 21st of May following, the Governor General's Agent forwarded letters from the Dhurma and Deb Rajas, complaining that the country was being "devastated" and "ruined" by insurrection, requesting that the attached Dooars might be released, promising payment of arrears of revenue, and adding, "You say you want proof that Darjelope is not the Deb Raja, and that the Dhurma Raja is living with me at Tassishujung, and that you wish to send a gentleman to inquire whether this is the case or not. At this I am much pleased, as nothing but good can arise from it. Let a gentlemen start in the cold season by the Banska Dooar route, and he will be able to return in Chyt or Bysack.* Sir, you state that my Dooars are daily going to ruin, and that there is not half the number of ryots in Bungha (Banska) Dooar that there formerly was, and that Ghurkolla Dooar is entirely jungle; this has arisen from the people in the plains seizing the opportunity of the disturbances in the Hills to defraud the ryots." On this the Governor General's Agent proposed that an European officer should be sent to the Bootanese Durbar, with a proposal to interfere with a view of putting an end to the disorganization and misrule then existing in the country. It appeared that one claimant to the Deb-Rajaship held a secure and impregnable position in the fort of Angdu-Forung, and had possession of some of the Dooars, whilst the other claimant was at Tassishujung, with the Dhurma Raja. Whilst the struggle was going on in the Hills for the Deb-Rajaship, there were two parties fighting in the plains for some of the Bengal Dooars,—Doorga Deb, son of the Bykantpore Zemindar, backed by the Angdu Forung Deb on one side, and Hurgobind Katam, backed by the other Deb on the other. The lands in dispute formed a very inconsiderable portion of the Dooars, but Hurgobind offered to pay us 50,000 rupees a year if we would help him to obtain possession of them, and the Bykantpore Zemindar said, that they were worth to him three lacs of rupees. This seemed to Colonel Jenkins to be a fitting time for establishing our relations with the country on a better footing. He said, "Under the pretty equal balance of power between the contending Deb Rajas, and the deprivations the Booteah chiefs must all suffer from the distracted state of the Hill country, the wars in the Bengal Dooars, the attachment of two, and the almost entire ruin of the other Dooars of Assam, I should imagine that the timely deputation of an officer at this moment to Bootan might be attended with a more successful result than was obtained by the late mission. If the Deb and Dhurma Rajas, who may certainly be assumed to be the legitimate rulers of Bootan, could be induced to give us the izarah (farm) of the Dooars, and to transfer their management to us, our occupation must be immediately followed by the tranquillization of the whole country, for the Cherung Soubah and Deb of Wandipore (Angdu Forung) could not maintain themselves if deprived of the resources they now draw from the plains. Under our management, the vast tract of fertile land which these Dooars comprise would soon be occupied by the outpourings of the immense population of Rungpore and Cooch Behar; and, besides the great increase of their value by the extension of cultivation, the Dooars would become of inestimable importance to all Eastern Bengal, from the restoration of the timber trade which has now almost entirely been stopped from the state of anarchy which has convulsed all the Bootan territories for the last few years." He remarked that the Bootan Government was "totally unable to settle the affairs of their own country, and it is probable that they would now gladly accept of our interference; but if our Envoy was unable to prevail on the Bootan Government to accept our aid generally, I should have no hesitation in immediately occupying all the Dooars both of Assam and Bengal, should the Envoy see no reason to the contrary, and preparations for that event should be made when the officer proposed to be deputed moved up to Bootan." In reply, the agent was informed that, in the unsettled state of Bootan, and the disorder of its Government, the Governor General in Council was averse to adopt the measures suggested by him of sending another mission to that country, as in the almost equally divided strength of the parties contending for superiority in Bootan, there could be no security that the party which the mission might acknowledge would eventually obtain the superiority; and in so distant a region his Lordship was not aware of the advantage of the British Government espousing the cause of one party, and aiding it to overcome its adversary; and without such aid, it did not appear likely that a mission would contribute much towards the establishment of a strong and undivided Government; and though questioning the expediency of a great Power like that of the British Government in the East, entering into correspondence with a chief whose authority was disputed by those whom he claimed as his subjects, and who was opposed by a rival in possession of a large portion of his nominal dominions, Lord Auckland

* About April.

land addressed the following "admonition and warning" to the Deb and Dhurma Rajas:—"I have learned with unfeigned regret from my Agent in Assam, of the present state of your country, and the disorders which prevail on the frontier, and I am therefore induced, in consideration of the long friendship which has existed between the Bootan authorities and the Honourable Company, to address you this friendly letter to warn you of the measures which it will be my painful duty to adopt should your country continue much longer in its present state of anarchy, so that the duties which the Government of one State owes to that of its neighbours be neglected, and the Honourable Company's frontier districts become the sufferers from this lamentable state of things. The British Government will in such case not only be justified, but compelled by an imperative sense of duty, to occupy the whole of the Dooars without any reference to your Highnesses' wishes, as I feel assured that it is the only course which is likely to hold out a prospect of restoring peace and prosperity to that tract of country." At the same time, a report was called for on the state of the Dooars, and in reply to this call, Colonel Jenkins urged, that if there should "be any hope of succeeding in putting an end to the present anarchy in Bootan by our interference, there would seem to be no doubt that the cause of humanity and civilization would be no less served than the interests of the British Government, by restoring peace to a very extensive and productive tract of country on our immediate frontier." His objection to the military occupation of the Dooars was that it might involve subsequent invasion and occupation of Bootan, which would necessitate the employment of two regiments. Regarding the state of the Dooars he said, "I regret that I can add little or nothing to the information given by Captain Pemberton of the state of the Dooars, in his account of his mission to Bootan. Since that time Buxa Dooar on our side has been almost entirely deserted, as are all the Assam Dooars, except the three (Kalling, Booree Goomah, Ghurkolla) we hold attached. The great Dooars of Bijnee and Sidlee were once held as zemindaries of the Mogul Government; under our Government the Rajas have been considered independent, but they are in fact under the authority of the Cherrung Soubah, and except the small village of Neej Bijnee and the band of robbers in Sidlee, both are absolutely depopulated. The more Western Dooars are, I believe, still partially well inhabited, but I know little of them, and can say nothing on their value except what may be inferred from the repeated offers of Hurgobind Katmah to pay 50,000 rupees a year to be taken under the protection of our Government and maintained in his portion of the Dooars, and from the Rykat's (Bykantpore zemindar) communication to Mr. Kellner, that if he could get quiet possession of the Dooars his son was fighting for, it would be worth to him a lac or a lac and a-half of rupees." (The estimate was stated in a previous letter to be three lacs). The area of the Dooars was calculated by Captain Pemberton to be 6,600 square miles. By Colonel Jenkins the area of the Assam Dooars was estimated at 990 square miles, and that of the Bengal Dooars at 2,584 square miles. The Governor General, in his Despatch from the Political Department, No. 2049 of the 26th July 1841, stated that he saw "so little hope of obtaining a valid cession of the rights of Bootan in the Assam Dooars from any competent authority," that he was averse to sending another agent to that country: "fruitless missions of this kind," he observed, "will only tend to aggravate our embarrassments, and are not creditable to the British power:" an estimate was at the same time called for of the establishments required for the purpose of restoring order and security within the Dooars. This having been furnished, and the Court of Directors having concurred in the view taken by the Government of India of its rights to exercise a controlling power over all the Assam Dooars, and having acknowledged fully the claim that the inhabitants of those Dooars had on the British Government for protection, the Governor General in Council, in the letter of the Political Department, No. 2432, dated the 6th September 1841, authorised the Agent to attach the remaining Dooars, "which are now in a state of increasing disorganization," and a sum of 10,000 rupees per annum has ever since been paid to the Bootanese Government as compensation for the loss they sustained by the resumption of their tenure.

13. The immediate effect of this measure was to put a stop to the outrages committed on our frontier, but raids continued to be made by the Bootanese on the villages of the Dooars for some time afterwards. Since 1855, however, when the Dewangiri Raja was removed by his own Government, there has been comparative tranquillity in that part of the frontier.

14. In the following year the Bootan Government complained to us of the conduct of a son of the Bykantpore zemindar, to whom they had let in farm the Mehal of Fallacottah, which, as I have stated before, was ceded by us to the Bootanese in 1784. Apparently they were unable to manage the estate through their own officers, as it is situated on the west bank of the River Teesta and about 20 miles within our frontier, and had in consequence been compelled to farm it to a resident of the plains. The Bykantpore family always have considered that this land was wrongfully taken from them and given to the Bootanese, and the farmer being a member of that family took the opportunity of endeavouring to regain possession of it by withholding the rent and refusing to obey the orders of the Booteah officers. He also was accused of making inroads into Bootan from the estate, and of there secreting the plunder obtained in these raids; it was, in fact, a kind of no-man's-land; we had no authority there, and the Government of Bootan was unable to enforce its orders on its own subordinates. The retention of the estate by the farmer, under these circumstances, was a perpetual source of disturbance on our frontier, since the

Fallacottah taken
under British
management.

Booteahs could have access to the estate only by passing through our territory. In accordance, therefore, with the wishes of the Bootanese, we took the estate under our own charge, and held ourselves responsible for the due payment to the Bootan Government of the net proceeds of the property. On our taking charge of it, in 1842, the farm produced only 800 rupees per annum, but when once under our Government its value immediately increased, and in 1844 it let for 2,000 rupees, which sum was regularly paid to the Bootanese till 1859, when it was attached for reasons which will presently be shown. The lease was renewed on the same terms, for a period of 10 years, in 1860, and on the expiry of that lease the farm will probably fetch nearly 4,000 rupees per annum.

Continued outrages
in Bengal Dooars.

15. Though the Assam frontier has been quieter since we occupied the Eastern Dooars, the aggressions committed from the Bengal Dooars on our territory and on Cooch Behar, and patiently borne by us, have been unparalleled in the history of nations. For 30 years scarcely a year has passed without the occurrence of several outrages any one of which would have fully justified the adoption of a policy of reprisal or retaliation. In every instance the aggressors have been, not the villagers, but the Bootan frontier officials, or gangs of robbers protected and harboured by them, and generally led by some of their immediate dependents. Our Government has been satisfied with simply asking for satisfaction; in some cases the demand has been accompanied by threats, but in no case have these threats—through one cause or another—ever been carried into execution, and the Bootanese have long since ceased to attach any importance to them. A breach of good neighbourhood committed on any of their other frontiers, whether Thibet, Sikkim, or Towang, was certain to be followed by immediate reprisals, and they have, therefore, learned to consider the British power to be weak in proportion as it was forbearing, in comparison with other States. So little have they feared us that elephants stolen from our subjects in Julpigooree have been openly kept for years at a stockade on the bank of the Teesta, immediately opposite our military cantonment at that place. Since 1856, no less than 25 British subjects have been reported by the police to have been forcibly carried off into slavery in Bootan. During the same period, 69 residents of the dependent State of Cooch Behar are officially reported to have been kidnapped, of whom 31 were released on payment of ransom. But there is indisputable evidence that these reported cases represent a very small proportion of the offences of this description actually committed. Since 1851, thirty cases of plundering British subjects have been reported, and no fewer than 18 elephants have been carried off from the immediate neighbourhood of the Julpigooree Cantonment. The Cooch Behar authorities have tendered a list of no less than 50 outrages committed on their territory since 1857; and in one case the property plundered is stated to have been of the value of 20,936 rupees. The Dooars and the forts of the Jungpens have been made the rendezvous of the robbers, dacoits, and cattle-lifters both of Bootan and of our territory. Criminals had only to cross the frontier with their ill-gotten gain to make sure of a welcome, protection, and employment from the nearest Booteah official. To show that this is not an exaggerated statement of the provocation which we have received from these people, it will be well to specify several of the cases which have occurred of late years, and to recount the moderate and conciliatory manner in which our demands for satisfaction have been made, and the insolent indifference with which they have been treated. In 1852 an elephant valued at 1,000 rupees was stolen from Atta Ram Byragee, of Rungpore, by the Moinagooree Kattam; in 1853 Ameeroodeen's elephant, valued at 1,000 rupees, was stolen by the same person; and a third elephant of the same value was stolen by the Kattam from Enam Mahomed in 1854. In February 1854 an attack was made on the house of Daoooreah Doss, of Shaftbaree, in Zillah Rungpore; Daoooreah Doss was killed, his wife wounded, and 52 rupees' worth of property was plundered. One of the culprits, named Roopa, took refuge with the Moinagooree Kattam, a Booteah official, and the demands for his surrender were treated with contempt. In January 1855 an attack was made on the house of Brojoo Sounder Chowdry, in the same village, by 100 or 125 Booteahs; the master of the house was killed, and property to the value of 4,000 rupees plundered. The ringleaders were in the service of the Moinagooree Kattam, and were traced to his fort. In March 1854 a mission was sent by the Bootan Government to Gowhatty, with a view of obtaining an increase in the amount of compensation paid for the resumed Assam Dooars; the officers entrusted with this duty were the Jadoom, or Dewangiri Raja, and an uncle of the Dhurma Raja, both of them very nearly related to the Tongso Penlow. The Jadoom Raja behaved to the Agent of the Governor General with great insolence, and failing to obtain what they wanted, they committed a series of robberies on our territory on their way back to Bootan. In one case the house of the Chowdry of Banska Dooar was attacked and plundered by a party of 20 or 30 Booteahs. A few nights after the house of Bukut Churn Heerah, of Sohunpatta, was attacked and plundered by 40 or 50 Booteahs. Then the house of Porun Madahi was plundered, and a few days later the house of Sreeram Thakooria, of Katullgari, was robbed of cash and property to the value of 1,539 rupees. Several other persons, chiefly Government officials, were also threatened with similar injury, and amongst them the Namtolteah Raja, a Booteah chief, who had settled on the plains. The magistrate of Kamroop was deputed to the spot to give assurance and protection to the villagers on the frontier, and while he was there a party of the Dewangiri Raja's servants were taken in the fact of carrying off some Booteahs who had settled in our territory. The magistrate reported that the "whole of the people had become so alarmed that most had left their homes and property and fled to the jungles, as the Booteahs had already wounded several, and applied torture to others to make them disclose their property." The magistrate took
with

with him a company of the 2d Assam Light Infantry, and so long as he was there the robberies were discontinued. A demand was made for the surrender of such of the offenders as had been recognised, but the requisition was first met with evasion, then with insolence and refusal. The magistrate was accused of bringing false charges, and extorting confession and evidence by means of torture. The men who had been apprehended distinctly confessed to having been engaged in some of the robberies under the direct orders of the Dewangiri or Jadoom Raja, and stated that the whole of the property was made over to the Raja. Whilst these cases were still under inquiry, further robberies and dacoities were committed by gangs of Booteahs, on merchants and others. A party of 40 Booteahs plundered a merchant named Uttum Chand, residing at Nittanund Panbarie, of property to the value of 700 or 800 rupees, and another trader was robbed of some cloth and 60 rupees; the offenders were believed to be Dewangiri men, and the Governor General's Agent stated that he had no longer any doubt that the Dewangiri Raja was not only implicated in all the outrages which had been committed, but that he had organised the bands of robbers, and that it was to be feared that the Tongso Penlow was aware of the acts of his subordinate, if he had not empowered him to commit them. It appears that the Government of Bootan ordered the Tongso Penlow to pay into the treasury a sum of money of double the value of the property plundered by his relative and subordinate, the Dewangiri Raja. This is not an unusual proceeding in Bootan; when a demand on our part is strongly pressed, the local officer responsible for the offence is made to pay a sum of money, which is divided amongst the Amla, and great credit is taken for the punishment inflicted, though probably in the majority of the cases the Amla themselves have connived at and profited by the offence. The Tongso Penlow, on receiving the Deb Raja's orders, wrote to the Governor General's Agent two singularly insolent and threatening letters, and ordered him to pay half the fine, reporting at the same time that the Dewangiri Raja had been removed. The chief ground of complaint against the Agent urged by the Penlow was that he had addressed the Deb Raja direct regarding the outrages committed on our frontier, and he used the following significant expression, "I am a Raja like the Deb Raja, how can he injure me?" He further proposed that a British officer should be sent into Bootan, there to inquire into the cases of plunder committed on our territory, his object probably being to hamper Government by seizing and detaining any one we might send. Colonel Jenkins, the Agent to the Governor General, at once saw through this, and expressed an opinion that compliance with such a proposal "was quite out of the question, and no officer could be sent without a strong guard to protect him from treachery, which the Booteahs would commit without the slightest hesitation, in spite of any vows to the contrary, if they thought they could do so with impunity. Though apparently, in common intercourse, a frank and ingenuous people, no one could place the slightest trust in any one of the race, for we know from constant occurrences that they are totally untrustworthy, more faithless indeed than the worst savages on our frontier." He recommended that the Booteahs should be punished at once by the instant occupation of all the Bengal Doars, the only measure likely to be effective short of invading the country. On receipt of the Agent's Report, Lord Dalhousie directed the following observations and orders to be communicated to him in the Foreign Office Despatch, No. 186, dated the 11th January 1856:—

Insolence of Tongso Penlow.

"With Colonel Jenkins' letter to your address, No. 163, dated the 13th November last, and also with that from Major Vetch, dated the 18th ultimo, are submitted translations of letters from the Tongso Pillo, conceived in a spirit and couched in a language equally improper and unbecoming, and containing demands which it is impossible to entertain seriously for a moment. Colonel Jenkins has, of course, acted quite rightly in abstaining from any notice of the Tongso Pillo's requisition for the payment of half the fine levied upon him by the Deb Raja, and in refusing to send back the Booteahs who had been apprehended by our officers, as insolently demanded by that authority.

"In regard to the future there can be no doubt that, however unwilling the Government may be to bring about a hostile collision, some effectual means must be used to put a stop to the aggressions of the Booteahs, and to shield our ryots from the constant alarm and actual injury which those aggressions or the apprehension of them occasion. And this necessity is rendered all the more urgent by the overbearing tone of the Tongso Pillo's communications, and by the menacing attitude of the late Dewangiri Raja, who is said by Colonel Jenkins to be 'fortifying a position near our frontier,' with the intention, as he supposes, of 'giving us every annoyance' in his power.

"Colonel Jenkins proposes that the value (8,620 rupees) of the property plundered by the Dewangiri Raja, or with his connivance, should be deducted from the Booteah share of the Doar revenue, and he submits the 'question whether we shall not withhold any payment until the whole of the offenders demanded by the magistrate are given up to us for trial.' He further suggests that the Booteahs should be punished at once 'by the instant occupation of all the Bengal Doars, the only measure,' he adds, 'likely to be effective short of invading the country.'

"The Governor General in Council, although he is most anxious to avoid a collision with the Booteah Government, feels that it is impossible to tolerate the insolent and overbearing tone of the Tongso Pillo's communications to his representative on the North-East Frontier, and that if it be tolerated, the motives of the Government may be, and probably will be, misconstrued, and the consequences will be more troublesome to the Government, and more injurious to the interests of its subjects, than if it be at once resented.

Lord Dalhousie threatens to occupy Bengal Doars.

"His Lordship in Council therefore authorises the agent on the North-East Frontier to

point out to the Tongso Pillo the extremely unbecoming tone of his several communications, and the inadmissibility of the requisitions which they contain; to require him, on the part of the Governor General in Council, to apologise for the disrespect which he has shown towards his Lordship's representative, and in his person to the Government of India, and to inform him that unless he forthwith accede to this demand, measures which he will be unable to resist, and which will have the effect of crippling his authority on the frontier, will be put in force. The Agent will, at the same time, inform the Tongso Pillo that, under any circumstances, the value of the property plundered with the connivance of his brother, the late Dewangiri Raja, will be deducted from the Booteah share of the Dooar revenues. It is not thought expedient to go beyond this, and to declare that payment of the share of the Dooar revenue will be entirely withheld until all the offenders who have been demanded are surrendered.

"If the above remonstrance should be responded to in a becoming spirit, it will be sufficient for the Agent to warn the Tongso Pillo that any repetition of the aggressive movements of which we have recently had to complain will be forthwith resented by the permanent occupation of the Bengal Dooars. It is possible that this menace may have the desired effect of bringing home to the mind of the Tongso Pillo the risk which he incurs by encouraging or permitting incursions into British territory; if not, and if there should be a recurrence of such incursions, the Governor General in Council, deeming it a paramount duty to protect the subjects of the British Government, will have no alternative; and he authorises the Agent, in the possible event supposed, to take immediate measures for the complete occupation of the Bengal Dooars, on the understanding that such occupation shall be permanent, and that the admission of the Booteahs to a share of the revenue of those Dooars shall rest entirely with the discretion of the Governor General in Council.

"His Lordship in Council is not unaware that the Deb Raja is the nominal head of the country, and that it is the conduct of the Tongso Pillo and his brother, the late Dewangiri Raja, and not the conduct of the Deb Raja, which has called for some measure of severity on the part of the British Government. But it is obvious that the Deb Raja, even though he may be ostensibly well disposed towards the Government, is unable, or unwilling, or remiss in his endeavours to restrain his subordinate chiefs; and it cannot be permitted that for this want of power, or want of will, or want of energy, the subjects of this Government should suffer. The Deb Raja must share in the penalty due to the delinquencies of those who own his authority, and for whose acts of aggression on British territory he must be considered responsible."

The Governor General's Agent at once carried out these instructions. A letter demanding an apology was forwarded to the Penlow through the Dewangiri Raja, who first of all reported having dispatched it the moment it arrived, but subsequently, forgetting apparently what he had said before, wrote and said that he had taken upon himself to suppress the letter for fear of offending the Penlow, a proceeding which was clearly the result of a collusion between the two chiefs, with the object of evading the demand for apology. Some time after letters of apology were received from the Government of Bootan, and on Colonel Jenkins's recommendation were accepted as sufficient indication of proper feeling on the part of the Bootan Government, and the Dooar revenue was paid, after deducting the value of the plundered property (2,868 rupees). In forwarding these letters of apology, the Agent commented on our ignorance regarding the constitution of the Government of Bootan, and observed as follows:—"I would take this opportunity of bringing to notice that all the Booteah authorities seem to have come to a decision not to give up offenders on our demand, though they offer to punish such as are convicted of offences, and I would beg instructions, under these circumstances, what course is to be pursued in cases of aggression; it would seem worse than useless to make demands for the surrender of criminals that we are not prepared to enforce. What is wanting, I think, is a better understanding with the head of the Bootan Government, which might be effected by the deputation of an officer* to Bootan if the internal state of the country should seem favourable to the measure, but without a restoration of power to the Dhurm and Deb Rajas we could not expect to effect much improvement in our relations with the subordinate authorities."

"An intelligent person might, however, pick up much information that would be valuable to us, for we are now almost totally ignorant of what is taking place in a country so extensively connected with us."

16. Whilst even these letters of apology were on their way, another serious aggression was committed on the Assam frontier. A person named Arun Sing, the hereditary zemindar of Goomar Dooar, and a man of considerable local importance, who had left Bootan and taken up his residence in British territory, was forcibly carried off into Bootan by a party of armed Booteahs from Bulka Chang, headed by the Bootan frontier officer in person. On this case the following orders were passed by the Government of India:—"The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal suggests that a friendly application should, in the first instance, be addressed to the Dhurm and Deb Rajas (under whose authority the Tongso Pillo pretends to act), stating what has been reported, asking explanation, and assuming that, if the report be correct, the Bootan authorities will not fail to see the propriety of affording full reparation.

"This, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, would be very proper if the offence were a first one, or if previous offences had been atoned for. But his Lordship in Council

Apology made.

*European or native.

Further aggressions.

Council does not think that it is a mode of proceeding which will command attention or respect in the present circumstances. Considering what has passed, and is still passing, any such application from the Government of India cannot becomingly or wisely assume a tone of friendliness; nor does it appear necessary to ask for an explanation of the violation of territory, the fact being beyond doubt, and the offence being one which, committed without notice or appeal to the Government of India, nothing can justify.

"For these reasons the Governor General in Council would prefer to state the facts, as we know them to have happened, to the Bootan authorities; to demand from them the punishment of the offenders, and an apology for the acts of their dependents, and to give them warning (already fully authorised) that, if atonement is not made for this new aggression, the Government of India will hold itself free to take permanent possession of the Bengal Dooars." The demand for the surrender of Arun Sing was met as usual by evasion; the Deb Raja replied, "You have written to me to release the zemindar and send him back, and that it will not be well if I do not do so. The zemindar has all along been a servant of mine, and you write to say that there will be a quarrel if he is not sent back. I have not done an injury to any subject of your territory; there is no power greater than that exercised by the Honourable Company and the Dhurma Raja, and being on friendly terms it is not proper to write about such trifle; but if the zemindar has written to you, you will let me know, for even his doing so was improper."

Further demands.

Refusal to comply with these demands.

In communicating this reply to Government the Agent observed that, to the best of his judgment, there was no reasonable expectation that any reform of the management of their districts on the plains will be effected by the Government of Bootan, "as the contention which appears to have existed for so many years amongst the chief families of Bootan for the supreme government of the country appears to be still continued." He was of opinion that further reference to the Government of Bootan was useless, and that the Government of India had no alternative but to take measures to obtain redress for past offences and security for the future; and the measure which, in his opinion, promised to be effective was the annexation of the Bengal Dooars, but, as in the case of the Assam Dooars, he proposed to admit the Bootanese to a share in the revenue. He thus described the condition of those Dooars at that time:—

Proposal to occupy Bengal Dooars.

"The Dooars now adverted to embrace a very large tract of country, from the Monass River (the boundary of the Gawalparah district) to the Teesta River district, under the superintendence of Darjeeling, consisting generally of very fertile plains, of which the eastern portion, from the Tasha River to the Monass, is almost entirely abandoned, from the misrule of the Booteah Government. The only district which of late has been comparatively populated was Dooar Goomar before the frontier Soubahs drove off Arun Sing by their dreadful system of extortion. The large Dooars of Bijnee and Sidlee are literally rendered desolate, and within this week the magistrate of Gawalparah has sent me a private letter from the Raja of Sidlee to the effect that the oppressions of the Booteahs were beyond all endurance, and the man who delivered it said that the object of his master was to prevail on us to take possession of the country, but that, if his communication was by any means made known to the Booteahs, his life would be endangered."

Colonel Jenkins thought that the annexation would be considered a mercy by all the inhabitants of the country, and that we should have their entire good will to assist us in their occupation.

17. Whilst this matter was still under consideration two other grievous wrongs were committed by the Bootan officials and reported on the 21st November 1856. A British subject, named Salgaram Osawal, having gone across the frontier to Moinagooree to trade, was seized and detained on the false pretence that he had in deposit property belonging to a deceased subject of Bootan. This unfortunate merchant has never been released to this day. In the other case, a party of fifty armed Booteahs employed by the Booteah official at Madaree Chung came to Shalmarah in Cooch Behar and carried off Jubeel Doss, Ramdolall, Hurmohun, and three of their women, and cash and property of the value of 2,176 rupees. Jubeel Doss and the three women were released on payment of a ransom of 1,400 rupees, and on a promise to pay 1,000 rupees more. Three persons who had gone to effect their release were detained as security for the payment of the latter sum, and these five men are still, if alive, confined in Bootan. These unfortunate people were tortured, and Jubeel when he came before the Agent on his release still bore the marks of burning and other torture. The Agent applied formally for the release of the captives, but was told in reply that Ramdolall owed money, and could only be released on payment of the debt by his son. Simultaneously with these great raids into our territory, thefts of cattle and elephants were constantly going on. Between 1854 and 1857 seven such cases were reported on the Rungpore frontier, and five cases in 1857 alone on the Cooch Behar frontier. The chief offenders in all these cases were Bootan officials, the worst of whom was the Moinagooree Kattam, against whom alone there are fifteen distinct charges on various dates. Things had reached a pitch when it seemed to the Government to be necessary to act. A regiment was ordered to the frontier, and the Local Government was told to consider whether it would be the better course to annex the Bengal Dooars, or to withhold the revenue of the Assam Dooars. There seemed to have arisen about this time a curious idea that the Tongso Penlow was a man well disposed to our Government, and less to blame than the other officials. Why such a notion should have been entertained is not quite intelligible, for though there had been outrages on the western frontier as well as the eastern, the Tongso Penlow had throughout treated our Government with un-

Further outrages.

Regiment moved up to the frontier.

varying insolence and ill-concealed contempt. The Lieutenant Governor was about to visit the frontier and was asked to report on the best course to adopt with a view of bringing the Bootanese to a sense of their duty towards their neighbours.

Sir F. Halliday's
Minute on Bootan
affairs.

18. In a Minute dated the 5th March 1857, Sir F. Halliday communicated to Government the impressions left on his mind, after consulting Colonel Jenkins and intelligent natives living on the frontier :—"Without pretending to have arrived at any very accurate knowledge of the subject," Sir F. Halliday was of opinion that the withholding of the revenue of the Assam Dooars was a punishment which would fall more heavily on the Tongso Penlow than the Central Government of Bootan, and he seemed to think that there were strong indications of an intention to adopt an improved foreign policy on the part of the Bootan Government, that certain obnoxious frontier officials had been dismissed, and that the rebellion which had so long thrown the country into confusion had ceased. The Lieutenant Governor thought that the Deb being now free to act without opposition would pay more attention to the administration of the country, and in this state of things, and the season being too far advanced for any active operations, he suggested that a communication should be addressed to the Deb and Dhurma Rajas through both Penlows "in such a manner as to make them aware of its purport, solemnly warning them against trifling with the forbearance of the British Government, and once more avowedly for the last time calling upon them to deliver up Arun Sing and Ramdoolall, or abide such measures as the British Government may on failure of full satisfaction adopt on its own account towards the vindication of its right and power." The course which Sir F. Halliday proposed to adopt, failing compliance with this ultimatum, was the annexation of the territory ceded to the Bootanese in 1780, 1784, and 1787, viz. : Ambaree Fallacottah and Jelpaish. He observed that "the Jelpaish tract on the left bank of the Teesta River in Bootan was undoubtedly part and parcel of the Bykantpore Zemindaree of Rungpore, belonging to the Raja of Julpigooree, and it is still looked upon by that old family and its retainers and dependents, and indeed by the whole country side, as a part of their old domain, improperly given up to the Booteahs, and likely some day or other to be recovered. Jelpaish itself, which is not far from the Bootan fort of Moinagooree, is the site of the old family temple of the Bykantpore family." The resumption of this ceded tract seemed to him to be an "easy, simple, and on our side very popular measure." The feeling of the people of the Dooars was thus described by Sir F. Halliday :—"Various endeavours have been made by the heads of villages in the country opposite to Julpigooree to persuade the British authorities to invade the Dooars, and free them from the oppressive Government of Bootan. Messages to that effect have been sent across, and a deputation of heads of villages attempted to see me, probably with that object; but I declined to give them an interview. Assurances were conveyed through our own subjects that the people of the Dooars were very anxious to come under our rule, and it was intimated that if we would only send troops all supplies should be ready for them without expense. It was said among the better informed of our subjects on the frontier, that a very little encouragement would induce the people of the Dooars to rise upon their present rulers. But to these and similar communications I gave no encouragement." A definite written proposal was made about the same time by a number of the residents of the Dooars, that we should take their territory, and they even gave in a list of the revenues which we should be able to raise in the event of our complying with their request. A cantonment was selected on the frontier at Julpigooree, and the 73d Regiment of Native Infantry, and a detachment of the 11th Irregular Cavalry were posted there. The Supreme Government concurred with the Lieutenant Governor so far as to think that, having reference to the late changes in the Government of Bootan, one more demand should be made to the Deb and Dhurma Rajas, and the two Penlows, for the delivery of the abducted persons, Arun Sing and Ramdoolall, accompanied by a warning that if the demand should fail of success the Government of India would take measures at its own pleasure for enforcing it. The first step of retribution which the Government proposed was the seizure in permanent possession of the Fallacottah estate, which was within our own frontier line, to be followed thereafter by the occupation and retention of Jelpaish. The mutiny, however, broke out at the time, and occupied the attention of Government, and rendered it improbable that we should have men available to carry out the threat, and this final demand was not therefore made. Whilst the subject was still under discussion, a party of 300 or 400 armed Booteahs, headed by Bootan officials, entered Cooch Behar, plundered the house of Sakaloo Parmanick of property to the value of 20,936 rupees; four chowkedars were wounded, and two relatives of the house owner were carried off captive; two days previously 123 buffaloes and two herdmen were carried off from the same place. In reporting this case, Colonel Jenkins observed that it was of no use whatever writing to the subordinate Booteah officer on the frontier for the surrender of captives or plunder, and that in his opinion the proper course in such cases was for the officer commanding at Julpigooree to proceed at once in pursuit of the offenders. This case having been represented to the Deb Raja, and a punishment having been threatened in the event of failure to release all subjects of this Government and of Cooch Behar then in confinement, the Soubah of Bulka Dooar was ordered to investigate the case; he came to the place of meeting, attended by a large body of armed followers, "conducted himself throughout in a violent manner,"

Cantonment
established on the
frontier.

Further outrages.

* Minute dated 5th March 1857, paragraph 9.

manner," and refused to take any steps towards investigating the outrage until a revision was made of the frontier boundary laid down in 1851-52. Colonel Jenkins reported this to Government and said,* "Nothing, I conceive, will effectually put a stop to these daring inroads but the posting of a considerable force of Government troops, disposed in one or two detachments, on the frontier of Cooch Behar; but the mere presence of these guards will not be sufficient, I fear, to induce the Booteah authorities to give up the unfortunate individuals now detained in captivity, and the restitution of the value of the property which has from time to time been plundered from the border villages, except by the actual occupation of one or more of the Dooars until our demands are fully complied with.

"The superior officers of Bootan are possibly well disposed towards our Government, but they have no effectual control over the Soubahs of Dooars, nor the Soubahs over their subordinate katmahs, as I have often attempted to point out; and unless our Government themselves punish the Soubahs by the attachment of the Dooars, our captive subjects and dependents who cannot escape or effect their own ransom will end their days in confinement, and those who have been forcibly robbed will in vain look for the restoration of their property from the Supreme Government of Bootan." In 1859 further aggressions were reported, and the Home Government directed inquiries to be made regarding the missing men, and warned the Government against over leniency. The Deb, in a flippant and impertinent reply to our demands, declared that Arun Sing had died because his days were numbered. Colonel Jenkins then considered all attempts to obtain satisfaction in a friendly manner were quite useless, and strongly recommended the annexation of Fallacottah and Jelpaish. The Lieutenant Governor, Sir J. Grant, did not think that the Deb's answer was such as to necessitate immediate action. He did not consider that the conduct of the Booteah Government was such at that time to make it expedient "to expend the best bolt in its quiver, which can never be replaced;" he thought that there was a great advantage in the Bootanese possessing land, the annexation of which, in the event of misconduct, could always be held out as a practical menace, and that the execution of this menace should be kept in reserve for some new occasion; but that on such occasion arising the Governor General's Agent should be authorised at once to take possession of the tract in question.

The Governor General did not concur in this view; he considered that the former orders for the punishment of the Bootan Government should be put in force, and directed that the Fallacottah estate should be taken possession of, a categorical statement of the circumstances which had led to the adoption of this measure being sent to the Bootanese, and requisition being made not only for the restoration of captives, but for the punishment of the guilty parties, an intimation being at the same time given to the effect that the territory would not be restored till full reparation was given. In giving effect to these orders, in March 1860, some confusion occurred through the misapprehension of the local officers. The Bootan Government was informed that the territory was seized, but the letter which was ordered to be sent to them, leaving them a chance of recovering it by complying with the demand of our Government, was not sent. But it did not appear expedient to disavow the act of the local authorities, and it was allowed to stand, though it had placed Government in the awkward position either of having to extend its occupation or of receding from a threat.

Fallacottah revenue attached, and demands again made.

19. At the very time that arrangements were being made for occupying Fallacottah, a fresh outrage was committed on our territory by a party of 50 or 60 Booteahs of Goomar Dooar, who came down during the night to the village of Pettah, in Pergunnah Goorlah, plundered property to the value of 258 rupees from the house of Deem Doss, and carried off his nephew, Jadooram. The boy was confined at the cutcherry of the Booteah frontier officer for 10 or 15 days, and then released. The Dalingjung Jungpen made frequent demands for the rent of Fallacottah; the circumstances under which the attachment had taken place were communicated to him, and he was told that the payment would be renewed when the demands of our Government had been complied with. When disturbances on the Sikhim frontier led to the invasion of that country in 1861, and the Raja of Sikhim made a treaty of amity with us, and threw his country open to free intercourse with British subjects, the Government of Bootan endeavoured to fasten a quarrel on to that country by declaring that the Fallacottah revenue had been attached on account of the misconduct of the Sikhimese, and threatened the Raja with the consequences. Early in January 1861 the Bootan frontier officer at Gopalgunge sent over men who stole a valuable elephant belonging to Mr. Pyne, the manager of Messrs. Dear and Co. at Sillagooree. On Mr. Pyne's tracing the elephant, and finding it to be in the Gopalgunge stockage, he asked the Booteah officer to send it to him. The man acknowledged having it, but refused to deliver it up till he received a present of 300 rupees, a telescope, and a gun. A few months before the same man had stolen from the same neighbourhood another elephant belonging to a native gentleman, and a favourite pony belonging to a Mr. Proby. The Agent to the Governor General made a further demand in April 1861 for the surrender of British subjects and residents of Cooch Behar captive in Bootan, and for the release of Mr. Pyne's elephant. In reply he received a letter the authenticity of which he doubted at the time, but which during my late visit to Bootan I found to have been really written by the Deb: in this the Deb had the insolence to declare that the elephant belonged to Bootan, and added, "If you are in need of the elephant, give cash 300 rupees, with

More outrages.

* Letter No. 19, dated the 9th March 1859, paragraphs 8 and 9.

Renewed proposal
to occupy Bengal
Dooars.

with gun and telescope, and you shall have it." It is clear from this letter that not only are these outrages on British territory committed by Booteah officials, but that the highest authority screens them, probably participating in the plunder. Major Hopkinson urged that his letter, to which the Deb's was a reply, had been intended as a final demand for redress, previous to proceeding to take material guarantees for obtaining it. The letter having failed in obtaining any redress, the agent saw no course open except the enforcement of our demands by commencing with the occupation of the Jelpaish district, or by preference of Darlingcote and Zumercote. He considered that by this course we should inflict punishment on the officers who had chiefly offended against us. In September 1861, the agent reported another serious outrage committed on Cooch Behar subjects, certain Booteahs of Banska Dooar having carried off four elephants and four mahouts; the men and elephants were released by one of the Rajah's jemadars; the Rajah of Cooch Behar took that opportunity of submitting a list of no less than 17 elephants, belonging to residents of his district, which had from time to time been carried off by the Bootanese.

Bootanese proposal
to treat.

20. Shortly after this the Darlingcote Jungpen wrote to the superintendent of Darjeeling, and told him that, having represented to the Deb and Dhurma Rajas the circumstances which had led to the attachment of the Fallacottah estate, he had received instructions to meet the superintendent and make inquiries regarding the offenders, and asked the superintendent to appoint a place of interview. The propriety of complying with this application was referred to the Governor General's agent. Major Hopkinson, however, saw little hope of any satisfactory result from the interview; he considered that ample information regarding the offenders had been furnished to the Government of Bootan, but that, "instead of affording us redress or satisfaction, the only way in which they have ever condescended to notice our demands has been by answers always evasive and sometimes insolent." In regard to the proposal to negotiate with the Darlingcote Jungpen, he said:—"In reply to the second question, I would submit my very strong doubt of the expediency of allowing the Dalimkote Soubah an interview with Dr. Campbell, so far as such an interview could be held to imply the recognition of the right of the Dalimkote Soubah to discuss Bootan affairs, and to act as the representative of the Bootan Government. The Dalimkote Soubah is simply a second-class deputy commissioner under the order of the Paro Pillo, or Commissioner for the Western Districts of Bootan, who is altogether inferior in position, power, and influence to the Tongso Pillo, or Commissioner for the Eastern districts. The Dalimkote Soubah is only one of six deputies, and has no control over those of his brother Soubahs, as of Banska, or Bulka, or Cheerang, against whom we have the greatest cause of complaint. With one of these Soubahs the Dalimkote Raja is said to be even now at feud, and thus our connecting ourselves with him might provoke instead of prevent attacks on our frontier."

"Looking to the Dalimkote Soubah's position there is a certain impertinence, I think, in the tenor of his letter to Dr. Campbell, but it is easily conceivable why he puts himself forward so prominently in the matter, since, though the rent of the Ambaree Fallacottah is assumed to be withheld from the Bootan Government, it is probably the Dalimkote Soubah, through whom it is remitted, who really loses it, or the greater part of it.

"No doubt, besides the pecuniary consideration, there are other inducements nearly as valuable to make the Dalimkote Soubah desirous of establishing relations between himself and the British Government. If he could pretend with some face to be the confidant of the British Government, and the exponent of their sentiments to the Bootan authorities, there is no saying how far the pretension might not carry him; the appearance of our good will and confidence would be also very useful to him in his present quarrel with the Gopal-gunge Raja, in which, I hear, one of his men was lately killed.

"I should not expect much advantage in dealing with the Dalimkote Soubah even were he the accredited agent of the Deb and Dhurm Rajas, because all experience of Tartar courts shows the futility of negotiating with agents instead of with principals.

"The best feature in the Dalimkote Soubah's communication is, I think, the evidence it affords of his anxiety for a resumption of cash payments of the Ambaree Fallacottah rents. It is quite evident that, to make them sure, he would do his best to keep on good terms with us, and give us no grounds of offence; and from this circumstance, as well as from the result of the course taken in regard to the Assam Dooars, we may conclude that, if we were to take possession of the Bengal Dooars and promise an allowance for them to the Bootan authorities, the Soubahs would be kept on their best behaviour by the fear of payment being withheld."

Proposal to send
a mission.

21. At the same time Major Hopkinson addressed another letter to the Government of Bengal, in which he stated the position of affairs with Bootan in the following words:—"I am myself inclined to think that it is almost unreasonable to expect any satisfaction from the Deb Raja, and that though, for some purposes, it may be a useful fiction to assume that we are in correspondence with him, and nothing else, nothing short of our having a European functionary permanently stationed at the Court of the Deb, could give assurance of our communications reaching him.

"The Pillors are supposed to divide the government of Bootan between them, and in
most

* Letter No. 79, dated 19th November 1861, paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

† Letter No. 76½, dated 12th November 1861, paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

most instances, probably, dispose themselves, in the name of the Deb Raja, of such of the references made by us to that authority as fall into their hands.

"But this is not all; for as the Pillors usurp the authority of the Deb, so in turn their authority is encroached upon by the Zimpoons or Soubahs; as was long ago observed, 'it is in the power of the frontier officers not only to intercept any communication which might be addressed to the Deb Raja complaining of their conduct, but so to misrepresent the circumstances that had actually occurred as to make that appear an aggression against their Government which was really an injury to ours.' Our communications with the Bootan Government are transmitted either through the Dewangiri Raja, or else the Banska Dooar Soubah, and I suspect that it is no unusual occurrence for these functionaries to open our letters, and answer them themselves in the name of the Deb Raja.

"If the Government are still reluctant to enter upon the occupation of the Bengal Dooars, beginning with Jelpaish, as provided in the Despatch of the Government of India, No. 1603 of the 14th April 1857, to which I referred in my letter, No. 60 of the 21st August, and desire that the Bootan Government should have yet another opportunity of making reparation for past offences, and establishing their friendly relations with us on a securer basis than they are at present, it might be well to consider whether it could be afforded in any more satisfactory or certain way than by the deputation of a mission to the Deb and Dhurm Rajas at Tassisudon.

"It must be remembered that nothing could exceed the distinction, and marked respect and attention to all its wants, with which Captain Pemberton's mission was everywhere received, and which were continued during the entire period of its stay in Bootan; and I see no reason to suppose that a similar mission would meet with a different reception now, while, if successful, it might terminate in the establishment of a permanent agent at the Bootan Court, and such an agency would be the best instrument for paving the way for friendly intercourse with Lassa."

In forwarding this letter* to the Government of India, the Lieutenant Governor observed that "some course of action of a decided character must be taken." "Of the two courses suggested by Major Hopkinson, namely, the occupation of a portion of the Bootanese territory, or the sending of a mission to Bootan, and constituting a permanent agency at the Court of the Deb Raja, the latter seems to the Lieutenant Governor the more advisable. Indeed in the state of things represented by the agent, unless it were resolved to treat the central Bootan Government as non-existent, he does not see that any other course would be of permanent advantage.

"It does not seem to the Lieutenant Governor that the Governor General's permanent agent in Bootan should be necessarily a European, if a permanent European agent be objected to. A native Vakeel, by whose agency the actual transmission to the ruling power of the representations made by the British Government could be secured, would be of great service.

"With reference to the Dalimkote Soubah's application for an interview with the superintendent of Darjeeling, referred to in the third paragraph of Major Hopkinson's letter of the 19th ultimo, Dr. Campbell has been instructed to recommend the Soubah to address the Governor General's agent on political matters." Lord Canning's general concurrence in this view was communicated to the Bengal Government in Colonel Durand's letter, No. 55, dated 23d of January 1862:—"His Excellency in Council desires me to state that it is very expedient that a mission should be sent to Bootan to explain what our demands are, and what we shall do if they are not conceded, and to make our engagement with Sikhim clearly understood by the Booteahs. But his Excellency in Council is doubtful as to placing an agent in Bootan, and it will be better to leave this question to be decided after the result of the mission is known. Captain Hopkinson should be required to state what arrangements he will consider necessary for the security of the mission."

Government determined to send a mission to Bootan.

But whilst this correspondence regarding the deputation of a mission to Bootan was still going on, the Governor General's agent reported further Booteah outrages. A number of Bootanese of Bulka Dooar, headed by the Bootan frontier official in person, carried off two women and four men from Cooch Behar, plundering a large amount of property; the Raja sent a few Sepoys after the marauders, but the Booteahs fired arrows at them and wounded one man. The Raja of Sidlee was also reported at the same time to have been guilty of several acts of oppression. He in one case carried off 18 buffaloes belonging to a man named Birnarain, and when asked by the Deputy Commissioner to restore them, he insolently replied that they had strayed and damaged crops, and he had therefore sold 10 of them and the remaining eight had died. Another outrage, reported on the same occasion, was the kidnapping of eight British subjects by a Booteah official named Jawlea. Here, then, were three gross outrages committed in one single month on various parts of the frontier, any one of which if taken alone was sufficient to constitute a *casus belli* on satisfaction or reparation being refused. On the 3d of January 1862 the Bootanese, on the pretence that it was through the misconduct of the Sikhimese that they had lost Fallacottah, sent 60 armed men, who were said to be acting under the orders of the Darlingcote Jungpen, into Sikhim; they seized and carried off 13 men and women, subjects of Sikhim, and cattle of the value of 495 rupees. The men and women were believed to be sold into slavery. In the following month the agent to the Governor General reported further aggressions. About 50 or 60 armed Booteahs forcibly entered the

Fresh outrages.

* Letter No. 185, dated 11th December 1861, paragraphs 4, 5, and 6.

Darjeeling threatened.

Troops moved up to frontier.

Description of Dooars.

the house of Peda Doss of Mandhas Bhoosa at night, plundered his property, and wounded him. Again, four sepoy and a havildar of Cooch Behar were attacked and wounded by about 400 Booteahs, and one man, named Ishwaree Pandey, was carried away. The Cooch Behar Raja, hearing that the Booteahs had arranged to offer up the sepoy a sacrifice to their god Mahakul, sent a few sepoy to release him; he was traced to the house of the Booteah frontier officer, whose men fired on the advancing party. The fire being returned and some of the Booteahs being wounded, the Booteahs, according to their usual practice, threw away their arms and fled. Ishwaree was found in irons, and released. The Cooch Behar Raja complained that owing to the aggressive conduct of the Bootanese the talooks of Cooch Behar adjoining Bootan would "probably be soon deserted," and he claimed British protection under the treaty of 1773. It was determined to send two companies of infantry to protect him, but as the rains were approaching, and no further incursions were expected at that time of the year, the Cooch Behar Raja ultimately came to the conclusion that there was no necessity to send these men into his territory. But though the Cooch Behar frontier was quiet, the frontier of Rungpore and Darjeeling was very much the reverse. Information was received from four distinct sources of an intended attack on Darjeeling. Insolent demands for the Ambaree revenue were made by the Darlingcote Jungpen, and a considerable force of Booteahs was marched to the Rungpore frontier, and simultaneously arrangements were made for crossing the Teesta for the purpose of attacking Darjeeling. Two companies of H. M.'s 38th Regiment and a wing of the 10th Native Infantry were moved up to the frontier, and outposts were pushed forward from the regiment at Julpigooree. The result of this was that the Bootanese immediately returned to their homes. The Moinagooree Jungpen wrote to the Deputy Magistrate of Julpigooree, asking him to meet him as he wished to give up for punishment certain British subjects who had been taken prisoners by him in consequence of their making war against Bootan. It turned out that three of these men were carried off when employed in grazing their cattle; the fourth was a merchant who had to pass along the frontier whilst going from one place to another in British territory. The Soubah had clearly no intention of giving the men up; he endeavoured to make a bargain with them for the surrender of an enemy of his, who he declared had taken refuge in our territory, and eventually retained them and went off to his fort: these men are still prisoners in Bootan. The Soubah also admitted having in his possession elephants belonging to British subjects. The Deputy Magistrate penetrated a short way across the Bootan frontier, and thus describes the state of the Dooars:—"One day I penetrated into the interior a distance of about 10 miles; the country was perfectly desolate. I passed through some villages where there was not a soul to be seen; they had seemingly been deserted some months previously. The domestic fowls left by the inhabitants had become wild; some were perched on the choppers† of the huts, and flew away at my approach, and others feeding in the deserted court-yard ran cackling into the huts for shelter. In one bustee‡ I saw two men and a woman with a child; they all seemed to be starving; they occupied two or three miserable huts, and told me that the inhabitants had mostly all fled, about three months ago, at the approach of the Bootanese soldiers who had come to levy some extraordinary tax in kind. The people fled with their goods and chattels; some were seized and decapitated, others impressed as coolies or labourers and taken away to the hills, and the rest escaped as they best could into the jungles. The two men who told me of all this said they had been spared in consequence of their extreme poverty, and they had moreover been ordered to remain in the deserted village to guard a clump of a few betel-nut trees about a quarter of a mile distant. These poor people were picking the stray grains of rice out of a heap of husks when I rode up to them (about 2 P. M.); they had been at this work since the morning, and had each collected about a handful. I asked them if they had nothing else; they said 'no;' they supported themselves by collecting alms from the market people at a hât some five miles away, which was held every third day; but even this resource had failed them, as the hât had been for some cause or other interrupted. I gave them a trifle and went away.

"I observed that the people on the Bootan side of the border, as far as I penetrated into the interior, were all Bengallees; there were both Hindoos and Mahomedans; the former divided into various castes, the lowest of which was the *Mech*; but they were all in every respect totally distinct from the Bootanese, and assimilated closely to, if they were not indeed identical with, the various castes on our side and in Cooch Behar. The language they spoke was Bengallee, the idiom being even the same as that prevalent in the neighbourhood of Julpigooree, Patgong, &c. I must in this, however, except the *Mech* caste, who speak a rough coarse sort of Bengallee peculiar to themselves.

"The soil is said to be very productive, but there is not a thousandth part of the land under cultivation: it is overrun with jungle. Vast tracts are covered with wild cardamum, growing dense and high, so high as to overtop me standing in the howdah; these tracts are the haunts of the rhinoceros, of which there must have been hundreds, as indicated by the numerous fresh footprints of these beasts in the rich, dark, loamy soil. There were numerous streams meandering silently through these enormous tracts of luxuriant jungle. Here and there fire had passed through it and cleared it thoroughly of everything; there

was

° Letter No. 38, dated 14 March 1862, paragraphs 3, 4 and 5.

† Roofs.

‡ Village.

was hardly a bird to be seen, and for the time it was the very picture of desolation; its tenants, the wild beasts (rhinoceros, tigers, hogs, deer, bears, &c.), had all taken flight. This shows how easily the land might be cleared and reclaimed. There were also some tracts of forest jungle with an undergrowth of long grass, which only required a little fire to disclose the rich soil it had usurped. What splendid cotton land might not be found in all that deserted waste! A few thousand ploughmen would very soon reclaim every culturable acre of it." The Deputy Magistrate gives the following brief statement of the result of his negotiations with the Soubah* :—"The Soubah has by his own showing four British subjects in confinement, whom he accuses of having made war against him. He offered to hand over these men to me, with proofs of their guilt, if I would grant him an interview. I proceeded to the border and granted him the interview, but he neither delivered up the men, nor did he furnish a tittle of evidence against them; on the contrary, he requested me to seize a lot of other men, on a similar accusation, against whom there was no evidence, and he now reiterates that request, and wishes me, moreover, to punish them in anticipation of his furnishing evidence of their guilt. The men he has in confinement may or may not be guilty of the offence imputed to them, and I fear that I was invited to the interview by the Soubah under the chance of my being prevailed upon to seize and summarily punish, under his bare accusation (or that of his Mookee), all the other men named in the list, and that he had in reality no intention of delivering up his prisoners. These four unfortunates, if they have not been already put to death, are, I fear, doomed. I do not believe the Soubah ever dreamt of giving them up, as he never alludes to them now, although, in every letter I have written to him, I have demanded them of him, and assured him of my desire to have them punished severely in the event of their guilt being established. I have done all I could in the way of persuasion without avail. I have exhausted every effort to induce the Soubah to listen to reason; but I find that he is not a whit better than his predecessors, and, under the evil influence of his Mookee, I am led to expect that he will prove a very troublesome neighbour. I do not fear that he will attempt to invade our territory, but I fear cattle and elephant stealing and dacoities will increase on our side of the border. I await further instructions."

22. At the very time that these outrages were almost daily being committed on the frontier, an officer of some rank was deputed by the Deb Raja to receive the rent of the Assam Dooars. This man, who had on several occasions been sent to Gowhatty by the Bootanese without any satisfactory result, was the bearer of letters saying that the 10,000 rupees paid as composition money was insufficient to cover the cost of the religious ceremonies to which it was devoted, and a further sum of 2,000 or 3,000 rupees was therefore asked for; the Deb added, "our people have never given you such troubles as I hear the Abors and other Hill tribes have given, and for the future peaceful conduct of our men, if you want an agreement from us, the Durpun Raja, being my deputy, shall execute that business for me." The Bootanese Envoy had the effrontery to declare that our complaints had never reached the Deb and Dhurma Rajas, but that what went on on the frontiers was concealed from the Rajas, though he does not appear to have gone so far as to declare the replies sent by the Rajas to be forgeries. The agent communicated to him the intention of Government to depute an Envoy to Bootan, and "he seemed to like the idea, and volunteered to make the mission comfortable if they came; that he would come and meet them, bringing all sorts of provisions with him, and treat them as well as we had treated him." The agent, having been directed to report what arrangements would be necessary for the proposed mission, suggested that the intention of Government should be formally announced, that it should be ready to leave Assam by the 15th of November, and that the escort should consist of 30 to 50 men.

Deputation of
Bootan officers to
Gowhatty.

23. In July 1862 a messenger, named Mokundo Sing, was despatched from Assam to the Court of the Rajas of Bootan, with letters announcing the intention of the Governor General to send an Envoy "to confer with them regarding such matters as require explanation and settlement" between the Government of India and themselves, asking them to say by what route the mission should enter the country, and requesting them to issue the necessary orders for the proper reception of the Envoy on his way to their Court, and to depute officers of proper rank to accompany him and see that his wants were attended to. On the 11th October 1862 the Lieutenant Governor, in consequence of the delay in the return of the messenger, suggested to the Government of India that "the mission should be organised on a scale calculated to impress the Court with the importance which the British Government attaches to the establishment of clear and decisive relations with the Government of Bootan, and the adoption of some means whereby the present unsatisfactory state of affairs on the frontier may be put a stop to, and that the mutual rendition of persons charged with the commission of heinous crimes may be secured."* "The mission should, in the Lieutenant Governor's opinion, proceed from Darjeeling across the Teesta into Bootan, and march direct by the best and shortest route to Tassisudon, or to Panukka, if the Court has not left its winter quarters by the time that the mission arrives there. There are political considerations which make this route preferable to the one followed by either Turner or Pemberton, and the mission, by organising its own means of transport on the Hills, would be entirely independent of the Bootanese

Messenger dis-
patched to the
Darbar.

* Letter No. 46, dated 24 March 1862, paragraph 3.

† Letter No. 2104, dated 11 October 1862, paragraphs 6 and 7.

Bootanese authorities. Previous missions have been exposed to great delay from the difficulties of obtaining carriage-transport thrown in their way by the frontier officers of Bootan. In returning, the mission might take either the same road or any other that may appear preferable. A special messenger should, as soon as possible, be dispatched from Darjeeling bearing letters to the Deb and Dhurm Rajas from the Viceroy and Governor General as in 1837, announcing the appointment of the Envoy by name, and mentioning the route by which he will go, and the probable date of departure from Darjeeling, which should not be later than the 25th December. The Envoy should, of course, be furnished with formal credentials, and should take with him handsome and suitable presents for the Deb and Dhurm Rajas and the principal Officers of the Court." The Government of India were, however, of opinion, that the selection of a route having been left to the Bootanese, some inconvenience might arise if their reply was anticipated, and a route chosen of which they might not approve, and it was therefore thought better to await the return of the messenger.

24. On the 26th November the Lieutenant Governor again addressed the Government of India, pointing out that though a messenger had been dispatched with letters five months before, nothing had been heard of him since he left Cherrung, and it appeared to his Honor that the time had arrived for further action. The Lieutenant Governor had received an undertaking from Cheboo Lama to send a letter to Poonakh and procure a reply in 24 days, and he thought that the offer should be accepted. His Honor considered* that it was a "mistake to address a Government constituted like that of Bootan in hesitating and uncertain terms. His Honor would leave to that Government nothing beyond the choice of receiving or refusing to receive the mission. The point from which the country is to be entered, and the route which it should take, should be decided by the Government of India with reference to its own convenience." It was added:—

"For the reasons stated in my letter, No. 2104, dated the 11th October last, and because the Lieutenant Governor is satisfied that, judging from the past, the only chance of success which the mission will have is in its absolute independence of the Bootan authorities for the supply of carriage, his Honor thinks the route *viâ* Darjeeling and Dalinkote should be determined on.

"As the cold season is advancing, and as it is desirable that the mission should return before the setting in of the rainy season, no time should, I am to observe, be lost in dispatching the second letter to the Bootan Government, if that course should be approved by the Governor General in Council; and pending the receipt of a reply, all preparations for the expedition should be made, so that the mission may start as soon as a reply is received." In the beginning of December, Mokundo Sing returned; he had been delayed on his journey by the frontier officers. He seems to have reached Poonakh from Cherrung in seven marches; all his wants were supplied whilst at Poonakh, but otherwise his reception was not very friendly. Mokundo Sing brought back a letter from the Deb Raja which was as usual evasive and contradictory. In the first part of the letter he said, "You ask for interview, that is good; I want to speak to you about the Dooars;" but further on he said, after acknowledging that he had received constant complaints from us of the misconduct of the Booteahs on the border, that, "With regard to the quarrels of the frontier authorities, they are not important enough to be heard by the Dhurma Raja, and if your sahibs do the same, the East India Company also should not listen to them either," which shows how little the higher authorities in Bootan care for the breaches of treaty committed by their subordinates. The Deb Raja concluded by saying, "You want an interview, but now it would be attended with much trouble, owing to the cold, and bad state of the roads; moreover, the Dhurm Raja does not wish such an interview; if you want to come for the settlement of any quarrel, I have not informed the Dhurm that such is the case. I had minded to send zinkaffs to you, with your men, for the adjustment of quarrel, but on account of the heat I cannot do so now; afterwards, in the month of Magh, I shall send over two or three zinkaffs to you, who will settle disputes according to our order." The Lieutenant Governor strongly recommended that, instead of waiting for the zinkaffs, the mission should be dispatched as proposed, as being the only way in which the disputes between the two Governments could be satisfactorily settled, or their future relations adjusted. The Government of India, however, thought that, considering the advanced state of the cold season, and the fact of the Bootan Government having been asked to select a route for the mission, it was better to wait and hear what the promised zinkaffs had to say; no zinkaffs ever came, however, and officers of the usual rank even were not sent for the Assam Dooar compensation money, or with letters from the Deb and Dhurma Rajas; mere zinkaffs, or common messengers, came from the Tongso Penlow. The conduct of the Bootanese in sending a most evasive reply to the letter of the Agent to the Governor General, and in not sending the promised messengers, warranted the British Government, in the opinion of His Excellency the Governor General, in taking such measures as it might deem necessary for putting its relations with Bootan on a more satisfactory footing, and in dispatching a mission by the most convenient route. His Excellency was accordingly pleased to select me as Envoy. I was directed to hold myself in readiness to proceed to the Court of the Deb and Dhurma Rajas in the ensuing cold season, and the Bengal Government was instructed to make arrangements for the dispatch of letters, in the name of the Lieutenant Governor, to the Deb and Dhurma Rajas

Reply of Bootan
Government.

Appointment of
Envoy.

* Letter No. 2607, dated 26 November 1862, paragraphs 5, 6, and 7.

Rajas by the earliest opportunity, to prepare them for the reception of an Envoy from His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General. The instructions of the Governor General were communicated to me in Colonel Durand's letter, No. 493, dated the 11th August 1863, and it will perhaps be convenient to transcribe them here at length :—

Instructions.

“ Outrages, extending over a series of years, which have been committed by subjects of the Bootan Government, within British territory and the territories of the Rajahs of Cooch Behar and Sikhim, have rendered it necessary that measures should be taken to revise and improve the relations existing between the British Government and Bootan; for this purpose, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General has determined, in the ensuing cold weather, to send a special mission to the Bootan Court, and has appointed you to conduct the mission. Credentials and suitable presents for the Deb and Dhurma Rajas will be furnished when the arrangements for the organization of the mission are further advanced; in the meantime, you will receive from the Bengal Government copies of all the correspondence regarding the outrages committed by the Booteahs, with which you will make yourself familiar. The Bengal Government will also furnish you with all information in their possession regarding the country of Bootan, and of a general kind, which may be useful to you in the prosecution of the mission. In your negotiations for accomplishing the special objects of the mission, you will be guided by the following general instructions, full discretion being left to you in matters of detail :—

“ 2. Your first duty will be to explain clearly and distinctly, but in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, to the Bootan Government the circumstances which rendered it necessary for the British Government to occupy Ambaree Fallacottah and to withhold its revenues. You will explain that the Government has no intention of occupying that territory longer than the Bootan Government, by refusing compliance with its just demands, renders such occupation necessary. This explanation will be accompanied by a demand for the surrender of all captives, and the restoration of all property carried off from British territory or the territories of the Rajas of Sikhim and Cooch Behar, and now detained in Bootan, of which, in communication with the Bengal Government, you will make as accurate a list as possible.

“ 3. Unless these demands be fully complied with, the British Government will not relinquish possession of Ambaree Fallacottah. But if the Bootan Government manifest a desire to do substantial justice, you will inform the Deb and Dhurm Rajas that, while retaining the management of the district, the British Government will pay an annual sum of 2,000 rupees, or such sum as may be equal to one-third of the net revenues, in the same manner as is done with the Assam Dooars, on condition of the Bootan Government restraining its subjects from future aggressions on British territory, or States under the protection of the British Government, and of their giving prompt redress for injuries which may be inflicted on the British Government in defiance of their commands.

“ 4. From the correspondence which will be furnished to you by the Bengal Government, you will perceive that the Bootanese authorities complain of aggressions on the part of British subjects and the inhabitants of Cooch Behar. You will request the Deb and Dhurm Rajas to furnish you with details of the specific acts of aggression complained of, and with reasonable proof of their commission, and you will offer to inquire into these cases if the Bootan Government wish it, and to give such redress as the circumstances of the case may call for.

“ 5. You will next proceed to endeavour to effect some satisfactory arrangement for the rendition of criminals by the British and Bootan Governments respectively, who may hereafter be guilty of crimes within the territories of either Government. On this point, your negotiations will have to be conducted with the greatest care. You must bear in mind that, from the inequality of the state of civilisation and the administration of justice in the British possessions and in Bootan, there can be no system of strict reciprocity between the two Governments. There are no securities for fair and impartial trial in Bootan, such as exist under British laws. Moreover, while the procedure of the British Government in the rendition of criminals is limited and defined by Act VII. of 1854, the laws of Bootan probably impose no restrictions upon the executive authority in that country.

“ 6. The crimes for which it will be proper to arrange for the surrender of offenders are those specified in Act VII. of 1854. The British Government will be quite prepared to surrender, under the provisions of that Act, Bootanese subjects who may take refuge in the British dominions, provided the Bootan Government will surrender British refugee criminals on the submission to the Bootan Government of such evidence of their guilt as may be satisfactory to the local courts of the district in which the offence was committed. It would be well, also, if you could prevail on the Bootan Government to surrender, for trial by British courts, any of their subjects who may commit within British territories any of the heinous offences specified in Act VII. of 1854. On this point, you may meet with much difficulty and opposition. But the Viceroy and Governor General is not without hope that, by judicious negotiation and explanation of the just and impartial principles which regulate the proceedings of British courts, objections to the surrender of such offenders may be overcome. The British Government will have reason to congratulate you if such a provision can be secured.

“ 7. With regard to the Raja of Sikhim, you will perceive that by Article XVII. of the Treaty of 1861, of which a copy is herewith forwarded to you, the Raja engages to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against any of the neighbouring States which are allies of the British Government, and to refer all disputes or questions with

such

such States to the arbitration of the British Government. The Rajah of Cooch Behar is by his engagement subject to the British Government, and as such is restrained from acts of aggression or retaliation without the consent of the British Government. You will fully explain to the Bootan Government the position in which these two protected and dependent States are placed; that any aggressions on these States will be considered by the British Government as unfriendly acts on the part of the Bootanese; and that it will be proper for the Bootan Government to refer to the British Government any questions or disputes with these States, which the British Government will always settle in such manner as justice may require.

"8. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General has doubts of the propriety of placing an agent, more especially a native agent, of the British Government in Bootan. This question can best be decided after the result of the mission is known. But you will arrange with the Bootan Government for permission to the British Government to appoint an agent hereafter, if it should see fit, and also to depute from time to time a mission to the Bootan Government to deal with that Government directly regarding any question that may be pending.

"9. You will further endeavour to secure free commerce between the subjects of the British and Bootan Governments, and protection to travellers and merchants. But negotiations on this subject must be kept in entire subordination to the main political objects of the mission as above described, and you will abstain from pressing them if you find that they will interfere with, or hinder you from securing, the main objects for which you are deputed to the Bootan Court.

"10. It will be the duty of the mission to obtain all the information available respecting the nature, population, and resources of the country which it will traverse. To assist you in this, one or more officers with special scientific attainments, or otherwise duly qualified, will be attached to the mission in subordination to you. Full instructions regarding the constitution of the mission and its escort have been transmitted to the Bengal Government. Your reports and any letters which you may have occasion to write after the mission has started, will be addressed direct to the Secretary to the Government of India with his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General.

"11. You will endeavour to secure the record of the results of your mission in the form of a treaty. A draft of such a treaty as his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General would desire you to negotiate is enclosed. In the main principles you will be limited by the instructions contained in this letter, but in all minor matters of detail you will be guided by your own discretion and judgment, and a regard for the interests of the British Government. On the success with which you may conduct these negotiations to a conclusion will depend the credit which will attach to you, and the degree in which your services on this mission will be appreciated by the British Government."

Draft treaty.

A copy of the draft treaty will be found in the Appendix to this Report.

Further instructions were conveyed to me in Colonel Durand's letter, No. 643, dated the 25th September, viz. :—

Constitution of the mission.

"In continuation of my letter No. 493, dated 11th August, I am directed by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General to communicate to you the following additional instructions for your guidance, on the mission in which you are to be deputed to Bootan.

"The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has been requested to make the necessary arrangements for an escort for the mission, and on all matters relating to the escort you should communicate with him. It will be the duty of the officer who commands the escort, and who will be selected hereafter by his Excellency the Viceroy, in addition to his duties as commandant, to make rough sketches and surveys of the route which the mission will follow, to report on its practicability for troops, and to take notes of any fortified posts which the mission may pass.

"His Excellency has selected Dr. Simpson to be the medical officer attached to the mission. It will be his duty, besides giving medical advice to yourself and the escort, to assist you in obtaining information as to the nature, population, and resources of the country, and he will report generally on its natural productions, and on matters of scientific interest.

"A sum of 10,000 rupees will be placed at your disposal, for the purchase of such presents for the Deb and Dhurm Rajas, and the officials of the Bootan Court, as you may deem to be most suitable. You will, however, furnish to this office a list of the articles which you may purchase for presentation. On arrival at the Court of Bootan, you will present to the Deb and Dhurm Rajas the credentials with which you have already been furnished, and deliver the accompanying letters, together with the gifts on the part of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, after which you will proceed to endeavour to carry out the important political measures for the accomplishment of which you are deputed.

"The demands of the British Government, as contained in the draft treaty and the letter of instructions of the 11th August with which you have been furnished, are so just and moderate, that his Excellency is unwilling to suppose that, with the wide discretion in minor matters which has been left to you, you will have much difficulty in obtaining the assent of the Bootan Government to them. But in the event of the Bootan Government refusing to do substantial justice, and to accede to the main principles of what you have been instructed to stipulate, you will withdraw from Bootan, and inform the Bootan Government

government

vernment that it must not be surprised if, on learning the failure of its mission to obtain reasonable satisfaction, the British Government decide that Ambaree Fallacottah shall be permanently annexed to the British dominions, and that in the event of future aggressions, either within British territories or the territories of the Rajas of Sikhim and Cooch Behar, the British Government will adopt such measures as under the circumstances may be deemed necessary for the protection of its own subjects and territory, and the subjects and territory of its subordinate allies. In such event also, you will decline to accept any return presents which the Bootan Government may offer for the acceptance of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General."

25. On the 10th September letters were addressed by the Lieutenant Governor to the Deb and Dhurma Rajas respectively, announcing the intention of the Governor General to send an Envoy to their Court after the close of the rainy season, with letters and presents from the Governor General, for the purpose of adjusting certain matters in dispute between the two Governments, and of communicating to their Highnesses the sincere wish of the Government of India to maintain friendship between the two Governments. The Rajas were requested to depute some officer of high rank to meet the mission on the banks of the Teesta, and to conduct them to their presence.

Durbar told of the intended dispatch of the mission.

PART II.

26. IN the beginning of November, I arrived at Darjeeling and commenced to organize the establishment and carriage of the mission. No reply having been received from the Deb and Dhurma Rajas, I again addressed them on the 10th of November, intimating my appointment and announcing my arrival at Darjeeling, and requesting that the Soubah of Darlingcote might be directed to meet me on the frontier, or be directed to send suitable persons to do so, and that he might also be ordered to have some coolies ready to carry on the baggage of the camp. I added that if they did not do this I should be compelled to report to my Government that no arrangements had been made, and that their neglect would be considered a breach of friendship. Shortly after dispatching this letter it came to my knowledge that, in point of fact, there was then no recognised Government in Bootan. The whole country was in a state of anarchy and confusion owing to a rebellion which had broken out some months previously. The Governor of the castle of Poonakh, the winter residence of the Government, had obtained from the Deb Raja the promise that if he assisted him in an impending crisis he should be rewarded by the appointment of his brother to the office of Jungpen, or Governor, of the Fort of Angdu Forung, a much coveted situation. The crisis having been tided over, the Deb forgot his promise and appointed a follower of his own to the office. This gave the Jungpen of Poonakh great offence, and when the Court, in the usual course, went to the Poonakh Castle for the summer, the Governor admitted all the Lama's and the Deb's retinue, but closed the gates against the Deb himself. The Jungpen put forward some nominee of his own to the office of Deb; the cause of the deposed Deb was taken up by the Paro Penlow, or Governor of West Bootan, and the rebels were compelled to call in the Tongso Penlow, or Governor of East Bootan, to their assistance. The ex-Deb fled to Tassisjung, the winter palace of the Court, where he was besieged by the Tongso Penlow, and all the Amla except the Paro Penlow and a few of his subordinate chiefs. The besiegers managed to cut off the supply of water from the fort, and hit upon the happy expedient of obtaining all the money of the besieged by allowing them to take water unmolested three times a week on payment of a sum of 300 rupees on each occasion. The funds of the garrison were soon exhausted, and they were compelled by thirst to surrender; the Deb was allowed to retire into obscurity in the monastery of Sintoka, where we still found him on passing that place. Whilst this rebellion was raging at head-quarters a lesser fight was going on in the immediate neighbourhood of our frontier. The Jungpen or Soubah of Darlingcote had originally been a follower of one of the Amla who was a leading character in the rebellion, but officially he was subordinate to the Paro Penlow; the latter officer was determined to supersede his disloyal subordinate, and sent another official to take his place. The Jungpen refused to obey the order, or surrender the fort. A force was sent to compel him, and the fort was besieged for several months, but without success, and the besiegers only withdrew on our intention to visit Darlingcote becoming known. I reported these complications to Government in my letter of the 10th November, and expressed apprehension lest they should impede the progress of the mission. I at the same time expressed my willingness to proceed, provided that the nominal head of the Government was disposed to receive me. The Jungpen of Darlingcote sent me several messengers on different occasions, assuring me that the delay of the Bootan Government to make arrangements for my reception, or to reply to the letters of the Governor General, was attributable simply to the disorganised state of the country, and not to any unwillingness to receive a representative of the British Government; he entreated me to remain patiently for a reply, and assured me that he would give me every assistance in his power. Towards the end of November he sent to say that he wished to have an interview with Cheboo Lama on the frontier, and explain to him exactly how matters stood at the Durbar. I sent the Lama to meet him at the Teesta, and they had a conference which lasted some days. He evidently wished us to enter into negotiations with him; he was very friendly, asked me to delay my advance for a short time longer, in hopes that an answer would be received from the Durbar, but at the same time hinted that if the reply did not come

Arrive at Darjeeling.

Darlingcote Jungpen visits Cheboo Lama.

soon he would, if he received a present, aid us in entering the country, even if by so doing he should incur the displeasure of his Government, and would answer for it that so long as we were in his jurisdiction we should not be molested. On my position being reported to the Government of India, I was informed that the Governor General was of opinion that as the rebellion had been successful, and a substantive Government had apparently been re-established, and, as the Soubah of Darlingcote had promised to assist us, there was no reason why our advance should be any longer postponed, and it appeared to Government that the new Deb Raja might be desirous of cultivating a good understanding with the British Government in order to strengthen himself in his position. On the receipt of these orders I made immediate preparations to advance, and wrote to the Darlingcote Soubah that I was about to start, and requested him to send men to meet me at the Teesta.

Start from Darjeeling.

27. I had some difficulty in collecting coolies, as without more direct encouragement from the Bootanese they were very unwilling to venture into Bootan, the people of which country are looked upon with hatred by all the other residents in these hills, as being a cruel and treacherous race. By the assistance of Cheboo Lama, the Dewan of Sikhim, who had been selected to accompany us, we managed to collect coolies and to start them off to the frontier on the 1st of January. On the 4th we left Darjeeling and overtook the camp just as they arrived at the Teesta, 30 miles from Darjeeling, and here our troubles commenced, for the coolies were afraid to venture across the frontier, and left us in considerable numbers. The Lama, however, managed to procure us assistance from his own ryots. We had much difficulty in crossing the river, which is very deep and rapid, and full of enormous boulders; we had to cross the coolies and baggage over in rafts, which were constructed according to the usual plan of the country, a series of triangular platforms of bamboos being placed one above the other: the apex of the triangle is kept up-stream, and the raft is pulled backwards and forwards by gangs of men, the common cane being used instead of rope. The work of crossing was difficult and very tedious; the river was nearly 90 yards wide, and runs at a rate of about 10 miles an hour; the elevation at the ferry is 1,122 feet above the level of the sea. The whole of the camp was not across till the 7th; we went up from the Teesta on the 9th, by a gradual slope, through some cultivated villages to Kalimpoong, height 3,733 feet. We were obliged to halt one day here, to muster the coolies and re-arrange the baggage, which had got into confusion in consequence of frequent desertions. Whilst here we visited a number of villages. The inhabitants seemed delighted to see us, and made us presents of eggs, fowls, oranges, and vegetables. This part of the country is very fairly cultivated, and has a number of inhabitants; it is so close to our frontier that the villages set their chiefs at defiance, and are the only people under the Bootan Government who are able to carry on any sort of trade. They were vehement in their abuse of their own Government, and loud in their praise of our administration in Darjeeling; their only wish seemed to be that they should come under our rule. Nearly every household had some members resident in our territory. We visited a monastery in the neighbourhood. The Lamas were absent, but we were shown over it by two nuns, who pointed with pride to an English vessel which was placed on the altar as a receptacle for holy water, but which in other countries is used for a very different purpose. There were fine orange groves in the neighbourhood of the monastery, but the people dared not sell the oranges for fear of the Lamas, for whom they had been reserved. At the unaccustomed sight of money, however, their fear of the priests vanished, and they not only sold, but afterwards gave us large quantities of oranges. We were met here by a very surly old official, the ex-Nieboo or Darogah of Dumsong—for here, as everywhere else, there were two officers in the appointment, one in power and one out of power. The Nieboo was very uncommunicative; he at first requested us not to move into the country, but ultimately he gave us guides to show us the road to Darlingcote. He had evidently received no instructions as to the course he was to adopt towards us, and had not even heard of our intention to enter the country until we had arrived in the neighbourhood of his own villages. He was equally afraid of offending us and his own superiors. On the 9th we marched to Paigong, a long march. The road was tolerably level, though narrow. A great number of coolies deserted us on the road, throwing down their loads. We had to store a quantity of baggage in the village, and went on only a few miles the next day, by a good road, to Paiengong. Amongst the baggage left behind was a box of arsenical soap. This was never sent after us; the authorities denied that it could have been stolen; but, on our return, it was good-humouredly admitted that the box had been carried off, the soap was taken to be some particular food for horses, that cattle had been fed on it, and seven had died. We went off the road a few miles, to visit the little fort of Dumsong. The fort is a small quadrangular building, hollow in the centre, built of stones and mud, situated on a bluff jutting down into the Valley of the Teesta, between Sikhim and Bootan. The view from this place was magnificent; the snows of the Choolah, Nitaï, and Yaklah Passes were all quite close; on three sides of us were the different snowy ranges of Bootan, Sikhim, and Nepal. We could see, within a space of 16 miles, the four countries of Thibet, Sikhim, Bootan, and British Sikhim. The view was very extended; Darjeeling was plainly visible, and below was the beautiful and fertile Valley of Rhinok, in Sikhim. We could see for many miles the road from the Thibet Passes to the Rungeet River, on the Darjeeling frontier, the route followed by the Thibetan traders who annually visit Darjeeling. The land around Dumsong is a gentle slope, and just behind the fort is a flat spur. The elevation of Dumsong is probably about 5,000 feet.

Cross Teesta.

The

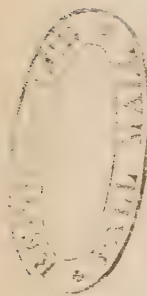
The place would make a magnificent sanatorium. We asked the officer in charge of the fort, a dirty-looking man, little better than a coolie, to allow us to look inside the fort. He insolently refused, and closed all the doors. To the south-west of the fort was a little outpost. On visiting it, we found it surrounded in every direction with sharp spikes formed of the male fern: these are stuck into the ground in time of war, and are supposed to be effective against night attacks. The fort was, as usual in Bootan, completely commanded by its own outposts. On the 11th we marched to the top of the mountain of Labah, in height 6,620 feet, distance 11 miles. There was a great scarcity of water on the road, and even at the encamping ground. The only place worthy of note that we passed was the monastery of Rhisheshoo, which was perched up on the top of the most western spur of Labah. From Labah we the next day descended a very steep and difficult road to one of the branches of the River Durlah, where we were met by ponies, mules, and musicians, sent by the Jungpen of Darlingcote. Out of compliment to the Jungpen, and in accordance with the custom of the country, some of the gentlemen of the Mission mounted the animals sent for us, and had a very uncomfortable ride, on high Tartar saddles, on very fidgetty and vicious mules. We were preceded by the musicians, who continued to play a most monotonous and noisy tune, till we arrived at our encamping ground at Ambioik, a plain about 2,922 feet high, immediately below the Fort of Darling. The instruments in use were silver flageolets and brass cymbals. The Jungpen kept up a constant fire of matchlocks from the fort throughout the day. After leaving the vicinity of our own frontier, we saw no trace of a village, and for two days before reaching Darling we had not seen a single house, with the exception of a monastery. At Darling there were, with the exception of the fort, only some six or seven little huts, and it was clear that we could not look for supplies from the villages; indeed, if there had been villages able to supply us, we should have been in equal difficulty, for they were all warned by the Jungpen that every man found selling us provisions was to be fined. The object of this order was to preserve the Jungpen's trade, monopoly. It is his practice, and that of all the frontier officials, to prohibit any trade with the plains; they themselves either buy rice very cheaply, or extort it from their tenants in the Dooars, and store and sell it out at exorbitant price to their followers and ryots, and to people in the interior of the country.

Arrival at Darling.

The Jungpen had promised to store supplies for my camp, to await my arrival at Darling. On my sending a requisition for rice for the coolies, he sent me some, insisting upon being paid beforehand seven rupees per maund, though, to my knowledge, the price of rice at the place whence he draws his supplies was only 8 to 10 annas per maund, and all his supplies were delivered free at his fort by his unfortunate Meechi ryots, who have to keep up large herds of pack cattle for this sole duty. On the 14th of January the Jungpen came to see me. He was accompanied by a large and disorderly following: standard-bearers carrying a flat piece of wood like a broad oar, printed with inscriptions; musicians, a number of led ponies and mules, sepoy with matchlocks and knives, probably about 200 men in all. As they approached our camp, the whole party halted every 20 yards, and gave loud shouts, apparently in imitation of a pack of jackals. Whilst the screaming was going on, the Jungpen put down his head and shook himself in his saddle. The same practice was observed on other occasions, but I could obtain no explanation of it, except that it was an old custom. The same cry is used in advancing to fight. The Jungpen, on arriving at my tent, was seized by the legs by some of his followers, and, after being twirled round in the air twice, was carried to the tent, as it was thought below his dignity to walk. The ceremony was, however, very far from dignified, for the Jungpen attempted to get down, and was brought to my tent, kicking violently and abusing his men; he was a fat, uncouth, boorish, ignorant man; he assumed airs of great dignity for a time, but was unable to resist asking for some brandy; on receiving this he became very talkative; his chief topic, however, was the quantity of spirits he could drink; he repeatedly called for more brandy; and, finding that it was taking effect upon him, I gave him leave to go; nothing, however, would induce him to leave; he staid for four or five hours, and at length was taken away forcibly by his servants, who saw that I was annoyed; but even then he could not be persuaded to return to the fort, but went to the tent of Cheboo Lama, and sat there drinking; later in the day he left the camp, but, whilst going through it he saw some of our coolies, who, after receiving large advances of pay had deserted us and had been brought back, being flogged; he insisted upon their being released. Captain Lance and Dr. Simpson, who were present, said they could not do so without my orders; he then half drew his knife and rushed into the ring with his followers, threatening to cut down the Commissariat serjeant who was in attendance, and behaving with great violence. The men of the escort ran to their arms, and fell in, and the bullying and violence of the Jungpen and his followers was immediately changed to abject fear. Seeing me approaching, he ran to meet me trembling with fear, and begged for forgiveness. I ordered him out of camp, and the whole party ran off to the fort in a most undignified manner. I declined to receive any further visits from him until he sent me a written apology for his conduct, and this he did the next day. Finding that it would be impossible to obtain supplies for our large camp from the villages, I sent Captain Austen down to Julpigooree to buy rice, and to examine the road between that place and Darlingcote; the distance is about 40 to 50 miles. The road is excellent; there is a gentle slope the whole way from Darling to Domohoni, a small stockade opposite Julpigooree; heavily laden bullocks and elephants pass backwards and forwards every day, and till within three miles of Darling the road is as good as any in the plains. The country through which it passes is a rich, black, vegetable mould, at present covered, as regards the higher portion of it, with very

Interview with Jungpen.

The Mechis of the
Dooars.



fine forest trees, and on the lower portion with long grass. It is very sparsely inhabited, but there are some large Mechi villages near our frontier. Under any other government the whole tract would be one vast rice field, for it is not unhealthy like our Terai, and the surplus population of Cooch Behar and Rungpore would readily migrate into this rich tract. It abounds with herds of elephants and with rhinoceros, but tigers seem to be rare; at least they do not interfere much with the people, who are constantly passing to and fro on the road with pack cattle. I, on one occasion, went some 16 miles down the road; we met a number of Mechis and other plainsmen on the road who complained bitterly of the oppressions of the Booteahs, for whom they evidently entertained feelings of deep hatred. They were kept constantly employed in carrying up rice to the fort, and received no sort of remuneration for their services; they are absolutely nothing better than slaves to the Bootanese, and their only hope appeared to be that we might be goaded by the misconduct of their rulers to annex their villages to British territory. The Mechis are a quiet, inoffensive, weak race; they are precisely the same class as the men inhabiting our own Terai; like them they appear to enjoy perfect immunity from the ill effects of malaria. They are, however, a finer and less sickly and sallow-looking set than the Mechis of the Darjeeling Terai, probably because the Bootan Terai is more healthy and drier than ours. They welcomed us to their villages with unmistakable delight, and seemed to take it for granted that having once heard their grievances we should immediately take them under our protection. They seemed to be good cultivators; cotton was one of their principal crops, but the description of cotton was the poorest I ever saw; it had scarcely any staple, and it is difficult to understand how they ever separated the fibre from the seed. I imagine that finer soil for the production of cotton does not exist in India. The Mechis seem to change their cultivation constantly, as would naturally be the case with so much virgin land at their disposal. They do not cultivate more than is necessary to supply their own wants and to enable them to comply with the demands of their rulers, for any surplus which they produced would merely form an additional temptation to plunder on the part of their Booteah task-masters. They know they can never be rich nor ever improve their position, and they do not therefore attempt it. With magnificent timber all around them, with rivers running direct down to the plains, with a full knowledge that a certain market for their timber is to be found where these rivers join the Teesta and Berhampooter on our frontier, they dare not even cut a single tree for sale.

28. It was impossible to avoid contrasting the present state of this portion of the country with what it would be under our rule. Our camp at Amblok was a perfectly level plain; on two sides of it were high mountains with fine sloping sides, and a walk of two or three hours would take one up to an elevation of 6,000 and 7,000 feet. On one side was a precipitous ascent of 1,000 feet to the fort, which jutted out on a ridge running down towards the plain. On either side of the table-land were two branches of the River Durlah. Running to the plains was a natural road which might be made available for carts from the plains at a cost of probably not more than 10,000 rupees. In the immediate neighbourhood was a magnificent plain of 30 miles broad and 150 miles long, of the very finest soil, and intersected by a series of rivers running down into the Teesta and Berhampooter. All this was within a few miles of the district which, after Chota Nagpore, is the best labour market in Bengal, and from which the people would have flocked into Bootan if they dared. The place was so situated in regard to the hills and the plains that it seemed a sort of natural exchange for the trade of Thibet with that of Bengal; yet, with all these advantages, not a village was to be seen within 16 miles of the place: where under a good government, there would have been a large standing bazar; where there would have been cotton fields, and tea fields, and timber depôts, and countless acres of rice; not a human habitation was to be seen; there was not one single cultivated acre of land within sight of Darling. The place in which our camp was situated had once, apparently, been a rich well-kept garden; it contained several mangoe, jack, and other imported trees, and the remains of stone walls were visible in all directions. I believe, however, that the garden existed only many years ago when Darlingcote belonged to the Sikhimese.

I received a letter from the Deb Raja after I had been a few days at Darling; it was as usual evasive and undecided. I was simply told that I should tell the Jungpen of Darling what I had come for, and that he would then arrange for my seeing the Deb. I explained fully to the Jungpen what the object of our Government was; he was exceedingly friendly in his professions, and was, I think, really anxious to forward our views, for we had no complaints against him personally; and the attached estate of Fallacottah being under his charge, he had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the acceptance of the terms offered by the Governor General. He had, moreover, lived for some years on the frontier, and knew our power to enforce our terms if they were not complied with in a friendly spirit; at the same time, he was averse to my going on until he had distinct orders to send me on, and the Deb Raja's letter was evidently written under the impression that I was still within British territory. I wrote, in reply to the Deb, stating very clearly our claims against his Government, and requesting a positive and definite reply as to whether he would receive me or not. I explained that our demands would have to be enforced in some other way if he did not consent to discuss them amicably, that I should proceed as soon as I could arrange to do so, but that if he did not wish to receive me or treat with me, all he had to do was to say so in distinct terms, and that I would then at once return and report to the Governor General. The Darlingcote Jungpen complained much of his government; he proved to me that he had written letter after letter entreating them to send him orders as to my reception and treatment, and that they had only

only replied in evasive terms, the object of which was to throw all blame on him for what might occur, either in the event of our going back or coming on. They told him that the Government did not understand the object of the Governor General, and that as it was evidently some complaint against him, he must settle the matter and see that I was not offended by anything that might be said or done. It was impossible for me to move on without the help of the Darlincote authorities, for the Nepaulese and Sikhim coolies, seeing the very questionable manner in which we were received, had run away in great numbers, and we had not enough left to carry on even our necessary baggage, though reduced to the smallest limits, and in addition to this we had now to carry on rice for the coolies themselves. I had built a large godown at Ambiok, and intended to leave a considerable store of rice there, to be sent on to us from time to time, but still each cooly required for the march nearly a maund of rice, or another cooly's load. My only hope was in obtaining people of the country, who could feed themselves at their own villages, and could carry some extra rice for our own men. The Jungpen made the greatest difficulty about procuring these men, and certainly he had been placed by his own Government in an awkward position.

Captain Austen having purchased a sufficient stock of rice, and having dispatched the greater portion of it, I told the Jungpen that he must now make up his mind either to help me on or bear the responsibility of my turning back. He then promised to help me in going on, but at the same time he really did nothing to assist me. His immediate superior is the Paro Penlow, and against his authority the Jungpen was in revolt; he said that as regarded the Durbar he felt less hesitation, but he did not feel at all sure what the Penlow might do; he would possibly think that we had been invited into the country by the Jungpen to aid him, and would in consequence offer us violence, as he cared little for the Durbar or any of the other Amla. I agreed to risk the Penlow's opposition, provided the Jungpen would give me the assistance I required, would undertake to take charge of my stores, and of the men, tents and baggage I left behind, and would keep open our communication with the plains. I promised to pay him for his assistance, and he at length consented. On the 26th the Jungpen called on me, and promised to make over to me two elephants and four mahouts carried off from British territory by one of his subordinates when temporarily acting as Katmah or Darogah of Moinagooree. The Jungpen's real object was clearly to keep me at Darlincote; he would not hear of my returning, but with the usual Booteah indifference to delay he hoped to induce me to remain at Darling for a month or two corresponding with the Durbar, and he then apparently hoped that negotiations would be made with him and not with the Durbar. The promised coolies never appeared until I actually made preparations to return to Darjeeling, and they were then produced. I was obliged to leave all our tents, except some small pals, and most of our baggage and stores, in the depôt at Darling, for it was impossible to obtain coolies enough to carry them all on, and also to carry food for themselves. I was also compelled to leave nearly half my escort behind here for want of carriage; I took on fifty Sikhs, and a few sappers, leaving the rest of the sappers at Darling under the Soubadar. On the 29th Captain Austen returned, and we moved on. On passing the fort I called on the Jungpen; his manner was very different to what it had been when we first arrived; he entirely dropped his insolent assumption of superiority and his coarse swaggering manner; he stood up and refused to sit in my presence when invited to do so, brought refreshments, and waited on us himself, and behaved generally in a respectful and civil way. We looked over the fort, and were taken into a little Bhuddist temple adjoining the Jungpen's residence, in which a number of Lamas were chanting prayers to Mahakul for our safe journey.

Leave Darling.

29. The fort is a miserable building; it consists of a large wall built of mud and stones; it has one large gateway to the north-east, in which the Jungpen resides; inside the wall are a number of houses and a garden; one house is assigned to the ryots of the Dooars when they come up with their tribute, another is a monastery; there was a barrack, stables, store-houses, and a residence for the women. The Jungpen had two wives; one of them, with her child, he had taken over with the other furniture and equipments of the fort from his predecessor in office, now one of the chief Amla of the Durbar. The practice of making over their wives to their subordinates seems to be very common; indeed there is hardly such a thing as marriage in the country. A man takes a woman and keeps her as long as he likes, and when they tire of one another she either transfers herself or he transfers her to a dependent. In theory, celibacy is supposed to be observed by all the officials in Bootan, the origin of the rule being that formerly only Lamas were eligible for office. In the large forts the wives of the officials are not recognized; they live in buildings at the gateways or outside the walls; even at Darling the Jungpen's wives were not allowed to remain under the same roof with him, or to eat with him. The consequence of this state of things is that the women of Bootan have sunk to even a more degraded social position than the women of the rest of India; they are treated like servants, and live entirely with the lowest menials of the forts, and are pushed, hustled and abused by all the followers and hangers-on of the officials. The wives of the Jungpen used to be constantly in our camp, joking and laughing with our sepoy and coolies, and begging from us, for glasses, cloth, scissors, and other articles of English manufacture. The fort of Darling is 1,000 feet higher than the plain on which we were encamped at Ambiok, and is 1,000 yards distant from the spot on which our tents were placed; shells might have been thrown into it with the greatest ease, and as the roof is made of mats it would be destroyed in a few rounds. This fort was taken with great ease by Captain

Darling Fort.

Jones and a few men in 1774. The people of the place however did not seem to be aware that we had ever sent a force there. The approach to the fort from Ambioik is very difficult and precipitous, and could only be made under the cover of a fire from the plain, or in conjunction with an advance from some other direction. The fort is situated on a spur; it might be approached from the south by ascending the spur where the river crosses the road about three miles below Darling, but the assistance of sappers would be required. Again it might be approached from the Sukyamchoo river (Chikam on the maps); this would have to be done by detaching a party to follow the river, which branches off to the right on the road from Julpigooree about eight miles below Darling; for this a good guide would be required, as the force would have to march up the bed of a stony river and turn off through a narrow path to the fort. With the main body advancing to Ambioik along the road, the detachment *viâ* Sukyamchoo could get on to the top of the spur, four miles from Darling fort, and would advance by a very fair road to within 200 yards of the fort. Once there the fort would be in their hands, or they would at all events cover the ascent of the party from Ambioik. There is no water in the fort; the spring generally used is a long way from the fort to the north along the road leading to Sukyamchoo: another small spring is some way along the spur on the east of the fort. The garrison is nominally 200 men, but in point of fact they could not muster more than 70 fighting men, of whom about 30 might be armed with old matchlocks. There is not a single wall-piece in this or any other of the forts in the country. When we reached Darling a siege of three months had just been raised. The Paro Penlow having taken the side of the ex-Deb during the late rebellion, and the Darling Jungpen having taken the side of the rebels, the Penlow had superseded him. The Darling Jungpen, however, refused to make over the fort to his successor; a force was sent to compel him; several fights took place; the Jungpen retreated into his fort, and the attacking force encamped about 200 yards off, and remained there for three months, the opposing forces doing nothing more than throwing stones at one another with slings and catapults. We measured the range of the catapults, and found that it was about 100 yards; large heaps of stones showed where the stones from the respective catapults had fallen, and a more harmless kind of warfare could not well be devised. The mortality was described as having been greater than in any previous internal war, and one of the sepoys sent with us as a guide deposed to having killed 100 of the enemy with his own hand. Close examination, however, proved to us that only nine men had been killed, and this was in an ambush laid to entrap them while escorting provisions. On leaving the fort we marched along a road with a slight descent for about four miles, and then descended abruptly to the River Sukyamchoo; it is a narrow shallow river which runs round the spur on which the fort of Darling is situated; and joins the Durlah; we were compelled to halt here as no clear and healthy place was in reach. We were quite in the Terai, the elevation being only about 1,500 feet, the place was a malarious, unhealthy looking spot, and was the feeding-ground of wild elephants; and, as we had often occasion to notice, the places frequented by these animals have a smell about them which is almost intolerable. The next day we marched on through heavy forests, crossed a large river, the Nurchoo, and encamped on the Mochoo, about 12 miles from Sukyamchoo. Not a sign of a human habitation was seen the whole day. The Mochoo is a small river abounding with fish; its banks apparently swarmed with wild animals of every sort. Our next march was through very fine, dry, clear forest; the soil was rich, high and well drained, and being well ventilated our march was less oppressive than our previous ones had been. We had to cross a deep, swift river before reaching our halting-place at Sipchoo. We were obliged to make a bridge, which took us some hours; the bed of the river was of considerable width, and in the rains it must be quite impassable. Sipchoo was the residence of a Jungpen, but all the inhabitants having fled on account of that official's oppression and cruelty, the place is now in charge of an officer of lower rank, a Nieboo, who lives during the winter at Sipchoo and during the summer at Jonksa, about six miles distant. We were told that there was a large fort here; we had to go up a very steep ascent of about 500 yards from the river, and were then met by Booteah officials who entreated us not to encamp within a mile of the fort, as it was full of soldiers, who might under the influence of drink come out and attack us, and it was not the wish of the official in charge that we should suffer any harm. These messengers were exceedingly insolent, and, as was usually the case with all Booteah officials, perfectly intoxicated. Having by this time acquired sufficient experience of the character of the people to warrant our coming to the conclusion that there was not a word of truth in the statement of these men, we insisted upon going forward with four sepoys, and judging for ourselves where we should encamp. On arriving at the place we found that the fort and the soldiers were equally imaginary. There were two grass huts and three or four cattle sheds, some few men and a few women, and this constituted the whole garrison and town of Sipchoo. The Booteahs were not in the least embarrassed at their falsehood being detected, treated the whole matter as a joke, and declared that the only object of their attempt at deceit was to give us a good encamping ground in the neighbourhood of the river. One of the first persons who came forward to greet us was Mimba Kazee. This man's history is a curious one: he was for many years in our service, and was on receipt of—for a Booteah—a large salary as translator of the Darjeeling Court. He was Dr. Campbell's right-hand man for years, was with that gentleman and Dr. Hooker when they were imprisoned by the Sikhim Rajah in 1851, and is specially mentioned under the name of Nimbo in Dr. Hooker's Journal (page 233) as having "broken away from captivity and found his way into

Reach Sipchoo.

into Darjeeling, swimming the Teesta with a large iron ring on each leg, and a link of several pounds' weight attached to one." When Dr. Campbell, at the end of 1860, entered Sikhim this man was with him and behaved well, receiving several rewards for bravery. In 1861, when I relieved Dr. Campbell of the charge of our relations with Sikhim, Mimba was made over to me as a trustworthy guide and spy; he had not been with me more than a week before I had reason to suspect him of intriguing with the enemy. He found out that I was watching him, and the day we crossed the frontier he fled into Bootan, taking with him some 60 or 70 of his ryots, his cattle, and all the property he could remove. I afterwards found that he had been endeavouring to induce the Bootanese to join the Sikhinese against us. He had a valuable estate in Darjeeling now, called the "Mimba Kazee Tea Plantation," in the hands of a European Company: this was of course forfeited to the State. He seems to have offered the Paro Penlow 2,000 rupees to make him Jungpen of Darlingcote; the Penlow led him on till he got all his money from him, and then refused to give him any higher employment than that of a private soldier. He came up to me at Sipchoo, smiling as if nothing had happened: he entreated to be taken into our employ, and his great wish was evidently to be allowed to return to Darjeeling. He joined our camp, and was on the whole useful, though I was not able to trust him to any great extent.

30. The coolies supplied to us by the Darlingcote Jungpen had only engaged to come as far as Sipchoo. They were to be relieved here by men of the place, which was described to us, with the usual misrepresentation, to be thickly populated. I found, however, that there was not a single cooly to be had here, and that there were only five houses left in the whole of the Sipchoo district. As the Nieboo informed us, the people had all been driven out of the country, except a few Mechis in the Terai; and this was clearly the case, for, on our return, we came through a great portion of the district without seeing a single hut, though there were traces of old terracing and clearings which showed that it had once been well inhabited. The country round Sipchoo and Jonksa abounds in perfectly level plots of table ground of great extent, and in height varying from 2,000 to 3,500 feet. The day after my arrival the Nieboo visited me, and declared his inability to give me any sort of assistance. He said that it was out of the question, my going on without the aid of the Durbar; that he had received no communication whatever regarding me; that if I stayed three weeks at Sipchoo, possibly orders might come, and coolies might be sent to take on the camp. He treated the whole matter with the greatest indifference, and clearly did not intend to take any trouble whatever about us, one way or the other. To remain at Sipchoo for weeks, after the detention which we had already experienced at Darlingcote, on the mere chance that the Durbar would make arrangements for our advance, after having neglected us for so long, was out of the question. There were two courses open, either to return at once to British territory, or to go on, leaving behind nearly all the baggage, and the chief part of the small escort I had brought on with me. I had received no such indication of a hostile feeling on the part of the rulers or the people of the country as to warrant my turning back. I had been treated with boorish incivility and great indifference on the part of the authorities; but they had always most forcibly expressed their desire to cultivate friendship with our Government, although the friendship was confined entirely to mere professions. The villagers had, wherever we met them, given us a hearty welcome, though they warned us not to trust their government, and entreated us to take the country, and not to attempt to establish friendly relations with men of whose good faith they seemed to have the very worst opinion. The Mission of 1837 had been treated with neglect almost as great, and yet had reached the Durbar and returned, though unsuccessful, yet without any attempt at violence being shown them; and I felt that, if I turned back under such circumstances, the Booteah Durbar would make capital out of the position, and declare that they had made arrangements for my reception at Poonakh, and had been prepared to discuss in a friendly spirit the demands of our Government, but that their good intentions had been frustrated by my return. I also felt that if I turned back, I should have been accused of having been disheartened and discouraged at the first trifling difficulties which presented themselves. Further, as Government had seen no reason why I should have delayed crossing the frontier on account of the failure of the Bootanese to make any arrangements for my reception, it did not seem to me that they could approve of my turning back now, when no greater hostility had been shown than was shown then. Taking all this into consideration, therefore, I came to the conclusion that, though I had not been received by the Government of Bootan as I should have been, yet that I had not been treated in a manner which would render it imperative on me to turn back, knowing that my so doing would necessitate an enforcement of our demands by other means. I was willing to attribute much of the neglect with which I had been treated to the disorganised state of the Government, and the natural *insouciance* of the Booteahs. The local officers whom I met assured me that this was the case, and that if I once reached the Durbar, I should be received in a hospitable and friendly manner; and, though they were somewhat suspicious of my intentions, these suspicions were likely to be allayed rather than the reverse, by my coming on without any force. With the precedents of the three previous Missions before me, it seemed to me that, though there was doubtless some risk in going on without a strong escort, yet that the Durbar would never have the folly to treat me with violence or open insult; and it further occurred to me that, if they were really hostile, I should be in no better position with 50 men than with 15, at so great a distance from our frontier, without any organised communication, and with constantly deserting coolies; indeed, I could not have

Leave Sipchoo.

gone on a day's march with more than 15 men; and therefore, as I have said before, I had no option except to go on without the escort, or to return. I therefore determined to push on as lightly as possible. We left behind all our heavy baggage and stores, all the escort except 15 Seikhs; and I was obliged also to leave my uncovenanted assistant, Mr. Power, the commissariat sergeant, my moonshee, the native doctor, and every camp follower whom we could spare. I took on 10 sebundies to clear the road; the rest of the camp I left at Sipchoo, intending to order them on after me, if on arriving at the next Booteah fort, I could make arrangements for carriage. I ordered a place to be cleared for their camp, and huts built for the men, and left written instructions for the guidance of Mr. Power and Sergeant Sadleir, in the event of any difficulty arising; and, on the 2d of February, we advanced to Saigon, a fine open plain, at an elevation of 5,756 feet, just below the Tulé-lah Pass. Here we were again harassed by the desertion of coolies, and I had to send back to Sipchoo for some of the coolies I had left behind there. The men were panic-stricken at the idea of advancing into a country the people of which they look upon as a race of murderers and robbers, and who had shown so little disposition to receive us in a friendly manner; in addition to this, the people we met on the road told most alarming stories of the depth of the snow in some of the passes. I was surprised to see the marks of wild elephants up at this great elevation; they seem to come up here in the rainy season.

The Am-Mochoo.

31. On the 3d of February we continued the ascent of the Pass, and early in the day came to snow, and had to march till dark through snow of from one and a-half to two feet deep. At night we halted in a miserable place called H'Lonchoo (8,198 feet). The snow was deep, and a more wretched place for a bivouac in the open air could scarcely be conceived. The men, however, managed to get up large fires, and did not suffer from the cold. On the 4th we crossed the Pass, about 10,000 feet high, and descended with much difficulty through the snow to Dongachachoo (8,595 feet). The snow here was not very deep, but the men were all thoroughly exhausted and despondent, and nothing but the fear of again crossing the snow prevented the great majority of our coolies running off and leaving us alone in the jungle. The next day, therefore, I determined to give them a rest, and went only a few miles down to the bottom of the valley, and encamped on the banks of the River Am-Mochoo (3,849 feet); the sun here was really hot, and the men's spirits rose proportionately. The Mochoo is a very beautiful river, deep, very rapid, and broad; it is full of enormous boulders, which make the river one continuous line of white sparkling foam. It was spanned by a curious and ingenious bridge. Advantage had been taken of a great rock to throw across from one bank some eight or ten large beams, the ends of which were weighed down by heaps of large stones and earth, supported by a revetment. Across these beams were placed a row of thick logs, then another set of beams, projecting far beyond the first layer, and similarly weighted down with stones and earth, then some logs, and so on, till a sufficient length of beam was projected across the river to support a platform thrown from these beams to other small beams built into the rock in the river. On the other side the span was much greater, and, in addition to the beams thrown out from the bank and from the rock, the platform was supported by canes and strong creepers; it was, in fact, a compound of a suspension and a pier bridge. It was neatly boarded throughout, and was some four or five feet broad. The height from the centre span to the water was 30 feet, and the breadth of the span 90 feet. The Mochoo comes through Phari in Thibet, and passes close under the Sikhim Rajah's Thibet palace at Chombi, and runs through Bootan into the Berhampooter. If the country had been in any hands but those of the Booteahs a road into Thibet would have been taken up this valley, and would have opened communication with the plains, avoiding all snowy passes. We had, in crossing the Tulé-lah, passed the water-shed of one branch of the great Thibet Passes seen from Darjeeling, viz., the Choolah, Yaklah, and Nitai, for this river runs down on the north-east side of these Passes. On the 6th we went on to Sangbé; the ascent at first was very steep, but after going a few miles we got into a perfectly level road, well wooded and watered; the valley of the Mochoo was level, and there were several villages, to be seen, the first hill villages, indeed we had met with since the second day after leaving our own frontier, though we had marched probably some 90 or 100 miles through what was naturally a singularly rich tract. After continuing along a level path for some eight miles we had to make a precipitous descent to cross a small stream, and then to ascend again to the village and Fort of Sangbé (6,143 feet). On the road we passed a flour-mill, worked by a water-wheel. The old man in charge of it had a fearful tumour on his lip, which entirely concealed his mouth and the lower part of his face; he told us that he had great difficulty in eating. Dr. Simpson told him that if he would come to our camp he would remove the tumour. Sangbé is a very pretty little hamlet of some four or five houses; and scattered about the neighbourhood were several other villages and a few small monasteries. The villagers were very friendly, and most anxious to come under British rule; they entreated us to help them to escape to Darjeeling when we returned, if we were unwilling to take their country. They flocked round the camp with presents of eggs, fowls, milk, &c. The villages were neatly cultivated, the fields were fenced with loose stone walls, and the land was tilled with the plough instead of by the hand, as in Darjeeling. The chief crops were barley, buck-wheat, millet, and turnips. On the 7th I sent for the Jungpen of Sangbé, and, after much hesitation, he came with the usual noise and attempt at display. He was a miserable, sickly-looking man; it struck us at once that he was not a Booteah, and we afterwards found that he was the son of a Bengalee slave who had distinguished himself as a soldier,

Sangbé.

had

had been freed and appointed eventually to the office, and had managed to get his son into the public service in the same way. This Jungpen was the man who had been nominated by the Paro Penlow to Darlingcote, and had made an unsuccessful attempt to oust the present Jungpen of that place. Having failed there he was sent to Sangbê, and there were two Jungpens then at the place, the one in office and the one whom he had superseded. The Jungpen informed me that he could give me no assistance; that he had received no orders of any sort regarding me, and that it was not customary to allow persons to pass the Forts without orders; that he would not stop me as he had not men enough to do it, and that if I chose I could go on; but he could not commit himself by giving me a single cooly, and he could not allow the villagers to help me. When I asked him if he would take upon himself the responsibility of saying that the Deb Raja declined to let me go on to Poonakh, he declined, and said that he had no orders or authority to say anything of the sort; that he had no doubt that if I went on I should be well received, but that it would be better if I was to stay where I was till he could refer to the Durbar, which would only involve a delay of perhaps 20 days. I pointed out that I had communicated to the Deb my intention of going to Poonakh four months before; that I had been five weeks in the country, and that he had plenty of time to send instructions to all his subordinates; that he might write this to his employers, and say that I considered their conduct most dilatory and unfriendly, but that, knowing how serious the consequences would be to the Bootan Government, I did not wish to turn back unless the Deb declined to receive me, and he had only to tell me this in distinct terms and I would at once leave the country. On examining our coolies it was found that nearly all the Nepalese men had been more or less frost-bitten in crossing the last Pass, some of them very badly. We therefore purchased a number of hides and pieces of woollen cloth, and compelled them all to make boots for themselves according to the fashion of the country. Seeing that it was now quite out of the question to think of bringing on that portion of the party which had been left at Sipchoo, I sent orders to Mr. Power to return to Darjeeling as soon as he could, taking with him all our extra stores and baggage, together with the Sikhs and the party of sappers left at Darlingcote, leaving under the charge of the Nieboo of Sipchoo a good store of rice and attah for our return, and all the Governor General's presents, which I had been obliged also to leave behind through the refusal of the Bootan officials to supply me with carriage. I also told him to leave a guard of five sebundies at the depôt at Darlingcote, placing our supplies there under the charge of the Jungpen. I arranged with the Jungpen of Sangbê and the Sipchoo Nieboo to keep our communication open by a line of Dâk runners, and to give protection to all our people passing backwards and forwards; and this they agreed to do, after receiving a present each, with a promise of more if they fulfilled their engagement. Whilst here the old miller, to whom I have made allusion before, came up to have his tumour removed; this was successfully done under chloroform by Dr. Simpson, to the great astonishment of a number of spectators; the operation seemed to have attracted the attention of the Bootanese in a very singular manner, for at every village through which we passed, and on our arrival at the Durbar, one of the first questions asked was, 'which was the doctor who had removed the tumour?' The Bootanese were by no means slow to avail themselves of Dr. Simpson's advice; their chief diseases are precisely what one might expect from a people at once so filthy and so immoral, and there seemed to be scarcely a person in the country, male or female, who was not suffering more or less in this respect. Their great test of a physician's skill seemed to be that he should be able to tell from looking at the face the disease under which a patient was suffering. After a few days' experience Dr. Simpson was able to acquire a great reputation by invariably naming the cause of sickness, which was always the same in every case. They had implicit faith in his medicines, and expected a chance dose given on the line of march to cure diseases of many years' standing.

32. On the 9th of February we left Sangbê, and found a very fair road for some distance; we passed the fort, a wretched little building of rubble stone, with a wooden roof, situated in a most lovely position. Outside the fort was a praying cylinder worked by water, containing the six-syllable mystic sentence, "Om Mani Padme Hom," written many thousand times; the paper or cloth on which it was written would probably have extended a quarter of a mile or more, if unfolded. At a monastery near the fort, we were hospitably entertained, and saw some fine specimens of the *Cupressus funebris*, a tree of singular beauty, which grows in Bootan, and which seems to have forced itself on the admiration even of such indifferent careless observers as the Bootan priests, for we found it carefully planted near most of the monasteries. After passing the fort we came to a long whitewashed stone mendong, or a stone wall about 10 feet high. In the centre of these religious monuments is generally a well-carved and often gilt representation of the sacred figure of Sakyamani or Padmapani. It was amusing to see how careful the more superstitious of the coolies and Bhuddist servants were, even with their heavy loads, to pass always on the same side of every mendong to which we came, the rule being to follow the writing of the inscription carved on the great slabs of the wall, instead of walking the opposite way of the character. The origin of the custom is, that pious travellers may read each sentence as they pass; but as the sentence is usually the everlasting "Om Mani Padme Hom," which is scarcely ever out of the lips of every Bhuddist not too much occupied in other matters to make him discontinue the trick of repeating these four words, the inscriptions are never really looked at. After going a few miles from Sangbê, we made a rather steep descent to the little River Suchoo; we passed several villages on the road, and a certain amount of desultory cultivation of buck wheat and millet. The Suchoo

"Om Mani Padme Hom."

Saybee.

was crossed by a good wooden bridge, and we then had to ascend the opposite side of the valley by a steep zig-zag, evidently made many years ago at a considerable expense. We passed a very beautiful waterfall; the supply of water was not great, but it fell from a great height, and was scattered like rain. On reaching the top of the ascent, we found a number of villagers collected to meet us. They paid us the compliment usual in the case of any person of distinction travelling through the country, of setting fire to little heaps of wormwood as we passed. They seemed to take it for granted that we had come to take possession of the country, and abused their own government in a most undisguised manner. On arriving at our halting-place, Saybee, a very fine little village with some cultivation and good houses (6,143 feet), we found that zinkaffs had arrived from the Durbar, and had given out that they had orders to stop me and turn me back. I sent for the men, hearing that they had said they had letters for me. They would not come, making one excuse after another for delay. At last I threatened to have them punished, and they came. It turned out that they had no letters for me; they said they had letters to the Darlingcote Jungpen, instructing him to turn me back. I replied, that as they had nothing for me they might go. They told me that if I went on I might be opposed. I pointed out to them that I could not act upon the information of petty messengers like themselves, and unless they could show written authority from the Deb to forbid my coming on, I would have nothing to say to them. They then gave me the letters to the Darlingcote Jungpen, and told me to read them, as they were intended to have reached him whilst I was there, and were instructions regarding me. I opened the cover and found two letters, according to the Booteah custom, one full of professions of friendship for the British Government, and instructing him to do every thing he could to satisfy me, and settle any dispute I might have with him regarding the frontier, but not a word about my going on or back. This letter was evidently intended to be shown to me. The second was a most violent and intemperate production, threatening the Jungpen with forfeiture of life for having allowed me to cross the frontier; ordering him to pay a fine of 70 rupees to each of the messengers sent to him, and abusing him in the grossest terms, at the same time telling him on no account to allow me to go away angry, but to try and entice me across the frontier again, adding, however, that if he could not get rid of me without offending me, he should send me on to the Durbar by the Sumchee and Dhone road, and should see that proper arrangements were made for furnishing supplies. The zinkaffs, after reading the letters, said that it was clear that I should go back and enter the country by the Sumchee road. I pointed out that two more marches would bring me into the Sumchee road, and that to go back would take me 15 days. They said that the Amla had shown such folly in not having given proper orders for my reception, that they should not trouble themselves in the matter, and that I might go which way I liked. I asked one of them to return with me; he agreed at first, but then said he must go to Darling to get his share of the fine; but they gave me guides from the village, and supplied us with fodder, &c. for the horses. The headmen and villagers of Saybee came to us and entreated us to take them back with us to Darjeeling. I told them that we excluded no one from our territory, and that they would any of them be allowed to settle there; they replied, that the difficulty which they wanted to overcome was the escape from their own country; that they were so watched that they could not escape without leaving their families behind them, and the lives of the families of all runaways were considered forfeit. They then told us, what we had heard some marches back in villages through which we had passed, that a great sign of freedom had been shown to them, that three European children had been born in the village, and that it had been construed to mean that the country would pass into our hands; they had been expecting a fulfilment of this omen for a long time past, and that now we had come to their village they felt that it was true. We asked to see these children, and three miserable little blear-eyed Albinos were brought out to us. We explained to the parents what their children were, but they could not be made to understand that there was not something mysterious in their birth, and that it was not connected with our visit to the country; they had never heard of any other Albino being born in the country. On the 10th of February we left Saybee; we first had to make a slight descent to the little river Saychoo, and then to ascend up a very steep zig-zag, the commencement of the Taigonlah mountain, over which we had to pass. About the middle of the day we reached Bhokur, a pretty open grassy plain (9,256 feet); there was very little snow here, and we found a magnificent herd of yaks, or chowree cattle, driven down from the higher pass by the heavy snow. Finding that there was deep snow a little way ahead, and a doubt about a supply of water sufficient for so large a camp, we halted, hoping to be able to clear the Pass the next day. As we advanced, however, the following morning, the snow became very deep, the ascent was steep, and the men and horses made their way on with difficulty. The whole aspect of the country had now changed; instead of the usual forest of rhododendron, magnolia, oak, chesnut, &c., we had suddenly passed into an entirely new vegetation; nothing was to be seen but pines of various descriptions, chiefly the *Pinus excelsa*; the change was so sudden and marked that a chain pulled across the mountain side would have divided one class from the other. The pine forest was very much pleasanter to travel through than that through which we had hitherto been passing; it was thin, and clear from undergrowth, and beautiful grassy glades were of frequent occurrence; the effect of the snow and icicles on the leaves of the pines was very magnificent. Towards evening we passed a stone rest-house, erected by some public-spirited Booteah for the shelter of travellers overtaken in the snow; these rest-houses on the Passes are the only form in which public charity shows itself

Taigonlah.

itself in Bootan. In the evening we halted at Shafobjhee; the snow was deep, but the men made themselves and us tolerably comfortable by collecting large quantities of juniper and laying it over the snow, and the juniper and pine-boughs made splendid fires which they kept up all night. The height of the camp was 11,800 feet; the thermometer registered 13°, yet with some 200 persons, some Sikhs, others Bengallees, not a man suffered from the cold. We unfortunately had no view here on account of the heavy mist which we had here for the first time since crossing the Tulé-lah Pass. Captain Austen was in consequence unable to take observations from the snows, and being very desirous of filling in his map and ascertaining his position from such a very commanding position, he determined to remain behind and catch us up two marches on; he remained in a little rest-house close to the Pass, made partly out of the natural face of the rock, and partly built of stones. Near the Pass there was no vegetation; it was a bleak, dreary, open plain, swept by the most bitter piercing wind I ever felt. At the apex of the Pass, which was 12,150 feet, was the usual lapcha, or cairn of stones, supporting little poles with Bhuddist flags, to which passing travellers had attached small stripes of coloured rag or cotton to secure a prosperous journey. Great importance was attached by our coolies to the deposit by Cheboo Lama of his contribution in the shape of yellow and red coloured chintz, and no one would cross until this had been done. The descent from the Pass is very steep, and the snow seemed to get deeper instead of lighter as we came down. The road was along the side of a pretty little stream which we had to cross backwards and forwards 10 times by little wooden bridges; the men had some difficulty in making a road through the snow, and in places where there had been water-courses there were large sheets of ice, very trying for men with a maund weight on their backs; in several places little water-falls had frozen, and there were large icicles 20 feet high. Some hours' marching brought us down into the Hah Valley, through some very lovely park-like scenery, and we encamped for the night on the banks of the beautiful river Hahchoo, at a place called Dorikha, a small plain with a commanding view up both sides of the valley; a few miles from our halting-place we had joined the Sumchee and Dhona road, the route usually taken to the plains from Paro and Western Bootan. The road appeared to be a good deal used, and was in fair repair; we met numbers of people going down to Sumchee, to which place the inhabitants of the Hah and Paro valleys seem to migrate with their flocks and herds in the winter, and from whence a large number of them are constantly employed in carrying up contributions of butter and other produce to the Hill Forts, a duty which occupies some 14 or 15 days going and returning, and for which they receive no sort of remuneration. On the 12th we left Dorikha, crossed the Hahchoo by a strong wooden bridge, and marched up a very lovely valley along the banks of the river; the road was very good and perfectly level. We passed some fine villages; the houses were good, strong, three-storied buildings, but many of them were in ruins, having been burnt in some of the internal broils by which the country is unceasingly disturbed, others again had been abandoned, the owners having fled the country to escape oppression, and the rest were empty, the people having gone down to winter at Sumchee. These deserted villages had a most singular appearance; there were ricks of straw, fir-leaves piled up for manure, large stacks of pine-logs cut for fuel, and immense flocks of pigeons, but beyond these birds there was not a sign of life for many miles of the road. A Booteah, thanks to the cupidity of those under whom he lives, has no property except his homestead and a few cattle, and he can therefore afford to go about where he likes, and leave his home without fear of robbery. The scenery, as we advanced, became magnificent; on all sides of us were snowy peaks, immediately facing us were the high peaks of the Thibet frontier, the sides of the valley were covered with grass dotted with groups of pines, the bed of the valley for about a quarter of a mile was perfectly flat, and in the centre of this little plain was the River Hahchoo, a very clear stream about 60 yards broad, creeping sluggishly along, and having a very different appearance to the boisterous roaring torrents we had hitherto crossed. The fields on both sides of the river were neatly fenced with stone walls, water was conducted over them by a system of small channels, the land was terraced and riveted with stones, each village had a good bridge across the river; and as we neared Hah Tampien, the residence of a jungpen, the villages were inhabited and we saw large flocks of black sheep, yaks and cattle grazing below the snow line. The weather looked so threatening that I sent up to Captain Austen to tell him to come off the Pass at once, as I feared that he would be snowed up. We reached Hah Tampien early in the day, and were received by a large crowd of inhabitants of the neighbouring villages; they were very unprepossessing, as indeed were all the people in pine-forest tracts, for they keep up large fires night and day, and have no chimneys in their houses, and as they never wash their faces and bodies, have a thick deposit of pine soot on them, which makes the features hard to distinguish. The Jungpen sent us down firewood, fodder, and some buck-wheat flour. The next day he came to call upon me; he was a very fine and well-mannered old man; he gave us a hearty welcome, and brought with him his family; his wife is a daughter of the Paro Penlow; they stayed a long time in our camp, looking at such curiosities as we had with us, and he entreated me so earnestly to stay one day that I could not refuse him, especially as I was anxious that Captain Austen should rejoin us here. The Paro Penlow's wife, who was on a visit to her daughter, called and assured me that we should be received in a very friendly manner by her husband. On the night of the 13th heavy snow fell the whole night, and in the morning there were two feet of snow all over the camp. At daybreak the Jungpen with his wife, children, and all his followers came down to see that we had not suffered from the cold; they brought straw and fir

Hah Tampien.

poles, and built huts for the sepoys and our servants, and took off all the coolies and camp-followers to the village. The snow continued to fall day and night on the 15th and 16th; we could not move a yard from our tents. I was much relieved by Captain Austen's return, as I had been very anxious about him. I sent men back several times with food for him, but I feared that the Pass might be closed that he could not get out, and that they could not reach him. Alarming rumours reached us through the villagers of some of the men with him having died of cold. It appears that he remained up for the first day of the snow, thinking that it was a local and temporary fall, and that it would clear up afterwards and enable him to continue his observations. Finding that it did not, he determined to come down; the snow was in many places breast-deep, and as it was snowing hard the party got separated, and on reaching Dorikha in the valley four men were missing. Captain Austen sent back to find these men; two of them were found dead on the top of the Pass, where they must have laid down to die shortly after starting; the other two had been picked up by the ex-Jungpen of Sangbe, who was passing along the road; he had robbed the dead coolies, and had broken open the boxes carried by the two men who were saved; we had much difficulty in getting the property back from him. The man himself lost several of his followers in the snow. On the 17th the weather cleared, but it was impossible to move in the deep snow, and the thermometer registered 11°. Close to our camp was a medicinal spring resorted to by people affected with rheumatism and skin diseases; the baths, as in Sikhim, were heated by throwing hot stones into the water. The fort was a very pretty little four-storied building, covered as usual by a small outpost higher than itself, about eighty yards distant. One of the Soubah's servants had not long before mutinied, and had taken possession of the outpost and held it for a long time against his master. About two miles above the fort is a very fine monastery, and in its immediate neighbourhood is a black temple dedicated to the tutelary deity of the poisoners, one of the chief favourites in the Bootan pantheon. Some distance up the valley are several very fine villages. The people of this valley are the richest in Bootan; they have the reputation of being very lawless, and great robbers; the miserable sepoys of the fort dare not in consequence plunder them as they do others. They are, moreover, only a few miles from the Thibet frontier, and if ill-treated run across the Pass and are safe. We found them more civil, obliging, and less given to falsehood than the people of the country generally. I heard that a deputation from the Durbar was coming across the next Pass to stop me or to delay me. I knew that if they reached Hah before I did I should probably be kept here nearly a month, corresponding with and referring to the Durbar, and I therefore determined to get across before they did, so that there should then be no excuse for stopping me short of Paro. Once there I could ensure supplies and could ascertain personally the temper of the Paro Penlow, one of the two *de facto* rulers of Bootan. I said nothing of my intention to the Hah Jungpen, but on the 19th, thinking that the two days of sun must have made some impression on the snow, I determined to start; the information which we had received of the Pass warranted our expecting that there would be very little more snow there than where we were. At daybreak Captain Austen and Dr. Simpson started with the Lama's servants and twenty strong men sent, some days before, by the Sikhim Raja to accompany us; they were to tread a path through the snow, and we were to follow later. The road to Paro was, we ascertained, only a few hours' journey, and making allowances for the delay caused by the snow, we thought we were quite safe in expecting to reach a village on the other side of the Pass by 3 o'clock. Some time after the advance guard had started I sent on the baggage and tents, and the Jungpen then perceived my intention and hurried down with all his men, and in a violent manner declared that I could not move, that he had orders to stop me until men arrived from the Durbar. I asked him to show me his orders; this he could not do. I then pointed out to him that half the camp had gone on; that Dr. Simpson was already half way to Paro; and that, under such circumstances, I would not delay a moment longer. He was very angry, but was so far mollified by a present as to send guides and sepoys to help us, on my promising not to mention his having given me assistance. The ascent of the Pass was very difficult; the men as usual after a halt were lazy and weak, and at 3 o'clock I overtook the advance party, whose progress was of course far more difficult than ours, had been, as we had followed in their path. The Pass was then apparently only half a mile distant; the snow where we were was three feet deep, and we were assured that once across the Pass we should arrive at a village where we could shelter the whole party for the night. We therefore determined to push on. The snow, however, became deeper and deeper, varying from three to six and even eight feet; the horses and mules were continually sinking over their backs, and delayed us much. At 6 o'clock we were on the top of the Pass, and thought that our difficulties were over. Dr. Simpson and Captain Austen went on with the advance guard. Captain Lance and I remained to see the rearguard over, as some of the coolies were trying to lie down and go to sleep; several of them indeed had to be carried. The Pass itself was nearly clear of snow, and the men started for the village in high spirits, thinking that there was no snow on the other side. But we speedily found out our mistake, for as we advanced the snow became deeper and deeper; men and horses were continually sinking up to the neck, and since we were obliged to march single file, as on one side of us was a steep bank and on the other a precipice, it was almost impossible for one man to pass another; every fallen horse or man therefore delayed the whole line, and our progress was scarcely perceptible. Evening began to draw on whilst we were still on the Pass, and the coolies became frightened and desponding, and many wanted to be allowed to lie down and die. A halt would

would have involved the death of every man in camp, for there was no going to the right or the left; we drove and encouraged the men on, but our progress was not more than a quarter of a mile an hour. Fortunately the weather was clear, and there was a bright moon. At about 11 o'clock at night we reached some forest, which afforded shelter from the wind, and the snow was less deep in places; the coolies were getting sick and faint, and I therefore gave them permission to bivouac in gangs of not less than twelve, with a Sirdar with each gang, who was to see that the men kept close together and that a fire was burning all night. I gave those who could do so permission to go on, leaving their loads piled under trees whence they could be fetched the next morning. They readily took advantage of the permission, and we went on with greatly reduced numbers; the horses and mules struggled through the snow in the most wonderful manner, sinking over their hocks at every step, constantly rolling on their backs and yet keeping up with us. The only accident was with one of my ponies, which, impatient of the delay, had left the road near the Pass and gone down the side of the mountain, where we were obliged to leave him with his load. The road was continually lost in the dark, and we were delayed sometimes for three-quarters of an hour whilst it was being traced. Midnight passed and still there was no trace of the village which we were told was just below the Pass. At one in the morning we heard the welcome sound of a Thibet watch-dog baying, and reached the village perfectly exhausted, not having tasted food since nine the previous morning, and having marched through deep snow continuously for fifteen hours. We soon procured shelter in some very good houses, and waited for daylight in much anxiety on account of the coolies who had remained behind. We found the village, on our arrival, occupied by the advance guard of the deputation sent from Paro to stop us. They had been up to try and force the Pass and reach us before we left Hah, but had given in and turned back; they went off with a great noise on our arrival, stealing what they could in the confusion, and amongst other things taking off a Sepoy's musket. When morning came all the missing coolies came in; not a man was sick, and not a single load lost. The indefatigable Dao Penjoo Kajee—the Interpreter of the Darjeeling Court—had even gone back to the Pass with a number of Sirdars, and by treading a circuitous path through deep snow had rescued my abandoned pony. The height of the Cheulah Pass over which we had come was 12,490 feet, and the village in which we were was 10,067 feet. We were told no less than five different names of the place, but I think we agreed that it was generally called Doonakha or Chaugnaugna. The snow was still some three feet deep here. Early in the morning the noise of the usual shrill clarionets and the shouts of Sepoys announced the approach of some one of importance. It turned out to be the deputation who were to have met us at Hah; they had been for seven days in a neighbouring monastery, thinking that we should be kept safely at Hah by the snow; they made themselves exceedingly offensive, ejecting many of our people from the shelter they had taken in the houses; their servants crowded round our baggage, and made a rush into the middle of it before the sentry had time to see what they were about, and carried off cooking utensils and everything they could find. On coming to me they delivered a letter from the Deb Raja, and told me that they were instructed to return with me to the frontier for the purpose of re-arranging the frontier boundaries, and of receiving charge again of the resumed Assam Dooars. After this our demands were to be inquired into, and if these zinkaffs considered it necessary, I was to be allowed to proceed to Poonakh and have an interview with the Deb and Dhurma Rajas. One of these men was exceedingly overbearing in his language and manner, especially in his demands regarding the surrender of the Assam Dooars; the others were more reasonable, and on my distinctly declaring that I would have nothing to do with any question of the re-adjustment of boundaries, that I would not return to the frontier for the purpose of holding any inquiry, and that I would not enter into negotiations of any description with inferior officers, but would either proceed to Poonakh and deliver the Governor General's letters to the Dhurma and Deb Rajas in accordance with my instructions, or return direct to Darjeeling, and report the unwillingness of the Government of Bootan to receive his Excellency's representative, they begged that I would proceed to Poonakh, and undertook to go forward and make proper arrangements for my reception. The letter from the Deb Raja, which they delivered, was of the usual negative and evasive character, saying, with reference to a previous threat of returning that I had held out, that I should not speak of going back to Darjeeling, as the Deb had never declined to receive me, but that it would be well to investigate complaints on the frontier, and that the surplus collections of the Assam Dooars and of Ambaree Fallacottah ought to be paid to the Bootan Government; there was no mention whatever of the zinkaffs who said they had been sent to treat with me, and there was nothing which could be construed into a refusal by the Durbar to allow me to proceed. It was clear to me that their policy was to compel me by passive resistance and by discouragement to return to our territory, and then to say that they had been perfectly ready to receive me and settle all disputes amicably, but that I had returned without any sufficient pretext. The messengers returned to communicate the result of their interview to the Durbar, and to make arrangements, as they said, for the proper reception of the representative of a powerful Government. We followed the next day, but were met on the road by zinkaffs requesting us to halt a few miles from Paro, as the Penlow was desirous of receiving me with great honour; we accordingly consented to halt for one day, and on the 22d of February we went into Paro. The arrangements for our reception were certainly not such as to have made our detention for a day necessary; no one was sent to receive us, or to show us where to

Paro.

encamp; every place in which we proposed to pitch our tents was objected to on the score of its being sacred to some wood sprite or river demon, or on some equally frivolous excuse, and we were kept standing on a sandy plain for more than two hours with a strong wind blowing up the valley. At length some officers came out of the fort, and pointed out for our camp one of the very places which had been before refused to us, and a few oranges and pieces of Thibetan bread were presented on the part of the Penlow, but none of the usual ceremonies of friendship were observed.

33. The following day the ex-Paro Penlow and his stepson, the present Penlow, sent for Cheboo Lama, and commenced by threatening him, and asking what he meant by daring to bring Englishmen into the country. After some conversation, however, they changed their tone, and said that they believed that much good would result from the mission, but that the Durbar had positively prohibited them from allowing us to proceed; but that if we could wait where we were pending a reference to the Durbar, which would take only four days, we should be made comfortable and should be treated with respect. They added that there was no object in our going on to Poonakh, that the Deb had no authority, and that the Penlow was the ruler of West Bootan, and was the proper officer to treat with. I declined to open any negotiations with any one but the supreme authority, whether real or nominal, but agreed to remain four days pending a reference. Whilst, however, professing friendship, the conduct of the two Penlows and their Amla was at first far from friendly. No notice was taken of us; we were stopped whenever we went out, and told that we must stay in camp till further orders, and were treated with insolence when we declined to do so; their sepoys crowded round us, stealing everything they could lay hands on, jeering our coolies and followers, calling them slaves, and drawing their knives on them on the slightest rejoinder being made. Our servants were fined for going about with their heads covered; fruitless attempts were made to make us dismount from our ponies whenever we came near the residence of the Police Darogah, and all villagers were punished who sold us provisions or had any communication with our camp. This discourtesy was at length carried to such an extremity as nearly to bring about an open rupture with the Penlow, especially as I found that the messengers from the Durbar, who had promised to go back and return with permission for me to proceed within four days from my arrival at Paro, had never even started. I sent to the Penlow and told him that I would no longer brook such treatment, and that, unless he chose to adopt a very different course of action towards me, I should either go on to Poonakh without waiting for any further communication, or return at once to Darjeeling, and that the responsibility of determining which course of action I should pursue must rest with him. This produced a change of conduct; the letter and messengers were forthwith dispatched to Poonakh, the Penlow asked for an interview, and stated that the unfriendly course adopted was attributable to his stepfather, the ex-Penlow, who, however, had no right to exercise any authority, having voluntarily abdicated, and that henceforth the ex-Penlow should not be allowed to interfere. Much of this was positively false, and was a mere subterfuge adopted for the purpose of getting out of a false position. The annoyances to which we had been exposed now materially decreased. After a few days the ex-Penlow asked us to go to see him, and we were received in a friendly manner. It was clear to us at once, however, that the ex-Penlow's abdication was a mere political expedient resorted to during the late disturbances, that all the power was still exercised by him, and that the reigning Penlow was a puppet. After the first interview the ex-Penlow was very attentive and civil, he asked to see some of us every day, and gave us much information regarding the Durbar; he explained to us that, though for the sake of appearance they had, during the period of our visit to the country, suspended hostilities, he did not admit the authority of the present Government; he explained that the ex-Deb had been forcibly dethroned by the Tongso Penlow, and that all authority had in fact been usurped by that officer; that the Deb and Dhurma Rajas were puppets, and that the Amla were none of them men of any ability or position, and were quite incapable of coping with the Tongso Penlow, who was filling up all the places about the Court with his own creatures. He further informed us that the Tongso Penlow's confidential adviser was a Hindustanee who represented himself to be a King, and had come after the mutiny with a number of papers purporting to bear the seals of the "Kings of Delhi, Lahore, and Nepaul" and others, and had proposed to the Bootanese to join a general war for the purpose of driving the English from India; but that his overtures had then been declined, chiefly owing to the advice of the Paro Penlow himself, who had pointed out the danger of staking all on the word of a single man of whom they knew nothing: he had subsequently joined the Darlingcote Soubah during his late rebellion against the Paro Penlow, had been taken prisoner and confined at Paro, but had lately escaped and had been received with great honour by the Tongso Penlow. He begged that we would bear in mind that, whatever might happen, he was in no way responsible for anything that the Durbar did, and added that he had himself refused to stop our progress by force, and that if the Government attempted to use violence towards us he would render us every assistance. He gave us permission to go about as we liked, but the first day we availed ourselves of this permission Dr. Simpson and I were waylaid by a local officer; our ponies were seized and an attempt was made to make us prisoners, and we were compelled to effect our release by force, as night was coming on and we were eight miles distant from Paro. On our complaining of this act we were merely told that the man was of a violent temper, and that he would not obey the Penlow's orders. The fort of Paro is a very striking building, and

and far surpassed the expectation we had formed from anything we had heard of Booteah architecture. It is a large, rectangular building surrounding a hollow square, in the centre of which is a high tower of some seven stories surmounted by a large copper cupola. The outer building has five stories, three of which are habitable; the two lower stories being used as granaries and stores are lighted with small loopholes, whilst the upper stories are lighted with large windows, opening in most cases into comfortable verandahs. The entrance to the fort is on the east side by a little bridge over a narrow ditch; the gateway is handsome, and the building above it is much higher than the rest of the outer square; it is ornamented and painted, and has a number of well-executed inscriptions engraved on stone and iron, some of them gilt. At the gateway are a row of cages in which are kept four enormous Thibetan mastiffs. These beautiful animals are very ferocious, they are never taken out of their cages; they are said, however, to be less dangerous than they otherwise would be, from their overlapping jaws, which prevent their using their teeth as freely as ordinary dogs. The first thing which catches the eye on entering the fort is a huge praying cylinder, some ten feet high, turned by a crank; a catch is so arranged that at each turn a bell is rung. The gate of the fort is lined with light iron plates. On entering the court you are surprised to find yourself at once on the third story, for the fort is built on a rock, which is overlapped by the lower stories and forms the ground-base of the courtyard and centre towers. It would be necessary to bear in mind, in the event of our having at any future time to attack the fort, that shot directed anywhere lower than the verandahs would not find its way into the court, but would go through the store-rooms and be stopped by the rock. After passing through a dark passage which turns first to the left and then to the right, a large well-paved and scrupulously clean courtyard is reached; the first set of rooms on the left is devoted nominally to the relatives of the ladies of the palace, in reality I believe to the ladies themselves, who however are constructively supposed to live outside the fort in accordance with the theory that all in authority are under obligations of perpetual chastity. Beyond these rooms is a second small gateway, and the first set of rooms on the left hand belong to the ex-Paro Penlow; they are reached by a very slippery and steep staircase, opening into a long open vestibule, in which his followers lounge; this leads into a large hall in which his sepoys mess, and in which one of his Amla is always in waiting. Beyond the hall is the Penlow's state room; it is somewhat low, but of great size and really very striking, for the Bootanese have derived from their intercourse with Thibet and China in old days very considerable taste in decoration. The beams are richly painted in blue, orange, and gold, the Chinese dragon being the most favourite device; the roof is supported by a series of carved arches, and all round the room and on the arches are suspended bows, quivers, polished iron helmets, swords, matchlocks, coats of mail, Chinese lanthorns, flags, and silk scarves consecrated by the Grand Lama of Thibet, arranged with the most perfect taste. The Penlow usually lounges away the day on a little platform built into the recess of a large bow-window, which commands a magnificent view down the valley. On the occasion of our visits a vase of burning scented wood was always placed before him on our first entry, 'the great ambition of the chieftains in all these Bhuddist countries being to keep up a sort of dreamy mysticism around them. But though the ex-Penlow managed that we should only have a silent and hazy interview in clouds of smoke, on our first visit, he was of a far too cordial and inquiring disposition to keep up these ceremonies longer than was necessary. On future occasions he dispensed with all ceremony, turned all his people out of the room, and talked in the most unreserved manner, refreshing himself the while with the most copious draughts of chong, a very fair substitute for whiskey, distilled from barley and rice mixed. The ex-Penlow must be now over 60, and is completely worn out physically with debauchery of every description. We found that after two o'clock in the day he was, like most of the men in authority in Bootan, seldom in a state to be seen; but he is by far the most intelligent man we met with in the country, and after the first misunderstanding he treated us with the greatest friendship and kindness. He was, to all intents and purposes, in rebellion against the existing Government, being a supporter of the ex-Deb, who had been dethroned by the Tongso Penlow. He described the unscrupulous character of the Amla, especially of the Tongso Penlow, with the greatest fidelity and unreserve. We saw quite enough of him, however, to see he would not allow any sense of right or wrong to stand in the way of his own interests, and he had the reputation of having done as much violence and wrong in his day as his neighbours. Though intelligent as compared with the rest of the Amla and chieftains, he was a singularly childish old man, and would amuse himself for hours with a mechanical toy or musical box. He was less importunate in his requests than the other chiefs, but he entreated us to give him a musical box, or anything else we had to give, before going to the Durbar, as he assured us that the Amla would, by guile or violence, obtain possession of everything we possessed. Like all his countrymen he was absolutely without shame, and his conversation was marked by an absence of modesty and an amount of indecency which would have disgraced the most uncivilised barbarian in the world. The ex-Penlow's favourite daughter, whom I have before alluded to as wife of the Jungpen of Hah, came to Paro shortly after our arrival, and was generally present at his interviews with us, and seemed to have considerable influence over him. This was the only instance we ever met of a woman being treated with the slightest respect or consideration in Bootan. The Penlow *de jure* was a very different stamp of man. He was the son of a previous Penlow of Paro, to whom the old ex-Penlow had been chief officer, and on whose death the old man had succeeded to the office, and had as usual succeeded to the wife also, and adopted the

the children. The young man was, through his real father, related to the Angdu Forung Jungpen, and other leading Amla, and when therefore the old Penlow was pressed hard during the late rebellion he endeavoured to save his position by nominally abdicating in favour of his stepson, trusting that the boy's connections would save Paro from attack. The real authority remained in the old man's hands, but all the dignity of the office was assumed by the young Penlow, and the state-rooms of the palace, the central tower in the middle of the quadrangle, were occupied by him. These rooms were reached by some four or five flights of steep, polished, dark stairs. The young Penlow always sat on a sort of platform in the window, surrounded by burning incense, Chinese scarves, &c., but his rooms were not to be compared with those of the old ex-Penlow. He neither has as many nor as good arms and accoutrements. He scarcely spoke in the presence of the Amla, and such remarks as he made were of the most childish nature; he generally ended by begging for everything we had, even to our clothes. Contrary to the usual practice of the dignitaries of the country, he used to go out occasionally for a walk; he was always preceded by clarionets, and went about half a mile from the fort, and sat down while a rough hut of fir boughs was built over him by his attendants; he always sent for us on these occasions to see what he could get out of us, and the interviews generally ended by his making demands for presents, and on our refusing them, walking off in a huff. He was hated by the Amla, and it is generally known that the moment the old man dies this youth will be removed from office by the chief officer, or zimpen, an intelligent, good sort of man, who, according to routine, should have been appointed to the office when the ex-Penlow abdicated. The walls of the fort are very thick, built of rubble stone, and gradually sloping from the base to the top. If the framework of the windows was knocked away, the building would quickly crumble to pieces. There are in the fort about 250 sepoy; the garrison nominally is 400; these men, however, are nothing more than villagers. Each village has to send a certain number of men, who are bound to serve seven years, and can only escape this servitude by purchasing their discharge for 70 rupees. In point of fact, they never wish for their discharge, for though they receive no pay, they have food and clothing for nothing, and a general license to plunder and extort from the rest of the inhabitants of the country. The whole of the cultivators of Bootan are employed in the support and maintenance of these bands of idle and insolent ruffians, and of the still more idle lamas. The insolence of the sepoys is, as a rule, beyond all conception; but there are some exceptions, and we had attached to our camp on several occasions two or three quiet, intelligent men who abused their employers in hearty terms, and gave us much information about the country, expressing a strong hope that we should take it. The ordinary arms of the sepoys are long knives in handsome scabbards; these belong to the State, and are made at Paro; their workmanship is really very creditable, many of them have silver scabbards, the hilt is generally covered with the skin of a large lizard which is brought from Tibet. These men have no knowledge of any drill even of the rudest description, very few of them know the use of their own firearms, and they would be called by us chupprassies rather than sepoys. They are employed in repairing and building the forts, embanking rivers, &c., and in this respect their work is really very creditable. Paro was the only place where there was any attempt at order and cleanliness, and some of the stone embankments of the river, especially the revetments of the bridge, were admirably executed. The bridge itself is a handsome structure, made of large pine beams built into either bank, and projected one over the other till a sufficiently narrow space is obtained to admit of a platform. The entrances to the bridge are paved with large slabs of stone; at each end is a large, strongly built stone tower in which a guard remains at night under the warder of the bridge. The bridge is very neatly boarded with deal planks, and about 15 yards is a wooden arch, handsomely painted, and covered with the mystic sentence; these arches support a wooden roof. The gates are lined with iron plates and studded with nails, and the thresholds are also neatly covered with iron; the road from the bridge to the fort is paved throughout, and about half way is a flag beyond which no one is allowed to go on horseback; no exception is made even in favour of the Penlow himself. The west side of the quadrangle is formed by the monastery, in which are about 70 monks; they seem to be treated with little respect, and to have little influence. The only use to which we saw them put was playing the band at the annual races of Paro. These men obtain food and clothing gratis, and do absolutely nothing but repeat the sacred sentence. Above the palace are six smaller forts, intended to act as outposts, but they really command the fort most completely. Any force in possession of these forts would have the palace completely at its mercy. One of them is a curious building formed of two semicircles, one large and the other small, built up one against the other for about five stories high. The Booteahs are so well aware that these forts command the palace, that they will not trust any of their own officers to live in them. It is said that the present ex-Penlow, some years ago, when zimpen or chief officer mutinied against the then Penlow, and taking possession of the round tower, stoned his master into compliance with his wishes. The name of the round tower is tahjung (upper fort); next to that is the donamojung (black fort); then tukchung (small pickaxe fort); then down again to the south is gyansalah jung (new monastery fort); the two upper ones, which aresome way up the hill-side, are soorjung (the side fort) and pheebeerjung, called after the hamlet of Pheebeer in which it is situated. Below the fort across the river lies what has once been a very pretty garden: it is now used as a playground for the sepoys and lamas; it is full of pear trees, and has one of the finest specimens of the *cupressus funebris* we met with. There was a good stone water-mill in the garden. Immediately opposite the garden is a little temple dedi-

cated to the tutelary deity of the poisoners. These temples are always painted dark blue. The palace is whitewashed, and has a broad band of red ochre, near the top of the wall, which has a very good effect.

34. About a quarter of a mile from the fort are the town and market-place. The town has about 30 good three-storied stone houses. The market-place is a large, open, stony square near the river. Every evening some two or three hundred people collect here, but, as far as we could see, they never had anything to sell except walnuts, pears, and radishes; in the centre of the square is a little ornamented building in which a police darogah or tompen sits at market time to prevent fights. No one is allowed to enter the market-place with the head covered or on horseback, and we had several misunderstandings with the darogah because we refused to dismount. Near the market-place, on the Phagri (Thibet) road, is a curious old gateway, the walls and ceiling of which are covered with very fair Chinese frescoes, evidently done many years ago, and the roof is covered with bells exactly like those on Burmese pagodas. The road to Phagri (Pharigong), a large commercial town in Thibet, is up the valley of the Pachoo to the north-east of the fort; it is a perfectly level, grassy road up to the pass below Choomalari. The distance occupies a laden porter two days, and the road is easy for pack cattle throughout. It was by this road that Turner entered Thibet. Paro, from its situation, should be one of the largest cities in the East; situated in a perfectly level plain, easy of access from the low country, surrounded by land capable of producing great quantities of wheat and rice, only two easy marches by an excellent road from one of the chief marts in Thibet, it ought to be the entrepôt of the trade of Thibet, Tartary, China, and India. It should be full of dépôts of broad cloth, cotton goods, cutlery, rice, corals, tea, spices, kincabs, leather, and miscellaneous articles of European manufacture brought there to be exchanged for rock-salt, musk, gold-dust, borax, and silk; but under its present rulers not a Thibetan ever ventures to cross the frontier, and there is not only no trade but no communication between Thibet and Paro. On the Thibet road, about seven miles from Paro, is the fort of Dakya Jung, which is intended to act as a defence against invasion from the Thibet side. The lower and level portion of the valley is richly cultivated with rice, which is procurable in considerable quantities at about 2 rupees a maund; the higher portion of the valley grows a very fine, full-grained wheat and barley. We rode on one occasion down the valley some 10 miles, nearly to where the Parchoo joins the Thimpoo or Tchincho River, along the bank of which is the Buxa Dooar route, taken by Pemberton and Turner. The Paro Valley is a perfectly level plain: to this point the road was an excellent unmade grass ride along the river banks, with an avenue of weeping willows; both sides of the river are well studded with pretty villages, and their unusually prosperous look was, we found, attributable to the fact that they belonged to the sepoy and officials of the fort. We ascertained that every evening the whole of the garrison of the fort was allowed to leave and remain in their own homes for the night; many of them were on a sort of furlough, and were permitted to remain in the villages for months together, and, during harvest and seed time, the men are nearly all absent at their little farms. There must have been some 600 or 700 houses in the valley, all of three and four stories. Cattle were numerous, and the people seemed, compared with the rest of the Bootanese, tolerably contented. Just above the palace, the Parchoo is joined by another stream, which comes from a little valley to the north, and, if not carefully attended to, these two, when combined, would speedily destroy the whole valley. But in controlling the action of these rivers the Bootanese show greater foresight, ingenuity, and public spirit, than is usual with Orientals. The whole course of the river is carefully embanked, and, where necessary, revetted. The embankment at Paro is composed chiefly of large boulders thrown up to a great height and thickness; in places where the force of the current is too strong for the resistance of these loose stones, a clever contrivance is resorted to for the purpose of keeping them together; a large rough frame of pine logs, about 40 feet square, is buried in the ground, and filled in with stones and earth. In the Hah Valley this kind of fascine embankment was carried on for nearly a mile. The embankment of the rivers is effected chiefly by the sepoy; and at Paro on our return we saw some 200 of them at work, repairing breaches in anticipation of the coming rains. Indeed they seem to be a good deal made use of in works of this kind, for during our stay they were several times taken up in large gangs to bring down huge slabs of stone from the mountain side for the purpose of grinding powder on. These slabs were placed on sleighs, and run down the hill side; on the level, wheels are attached to the sleighs; in this way these people manage to move enormous stones, and many of the smaller bridges are made of single long pieces of stone.

35. The soil about Paro is charged with iron to a singular extent; by placing a magnet Iron at Paro. down on the ground anywhere in the valley, it was at once covered with a kind of metallic iron dust; by collecting a heap of sand and working it with the magnet, a very large percentage of iron was separated from the sand. The whole hill sides above were yellow, and were apparently full of iron; one hill in particular was called "Chakolah" or Iron Mountain. There is an iron mine about two days' journey from Paro, and the Booteahs declared that they obtained lead from the same mine, but in very small quantities. It is certain that they do obtain lead to a small extent in the country, but that their supply is not equal to their demand is clear from the fact that they are always endeavouring to buy lead from our territory. Their powder was a miserable production; they got us to try some they had just made, which was a pretty fair specimen of native

powder, but the powder made some time before was perfectly useless; it was neither milled nor glazed, and was, of course, destroyed by very slight exposure to damp. Their saltpetre is generated from animal matter; the sulphur they obtain in small quantities from the plains; the burning of charcoal they thoroughly understand, and it seems to be used in large quantities at Paro for their iron manufacture.

36. The tops of the mountain ridges all around Paro are dotted with monasteries. On the eastern range is the celebrated monastery of Dongalāh; it is said to have a number of good frescoes on its walls by Thibetan artists. During our stay at Paro the mountain on which it is situated was one mass of snow, and we could not therefore visit it. Close to Paro, on the western side of the valley, is Gorikha; the monastery is small, but it is much venerated by the people. Above this monastery is a large, level, grass plateau about 9,000 feet high, with a magnificent view of the Thibetan snowy range, and immediately fronted by the splendid cone-shaped Chumularhi, a sacred mountain in Thibet, 23,944 feet high, which is visible from Bhaugulpore and other stations hundreds of miles away in the plains. The plateau, under any government but that of Bootan, would be used as the summer palace of Paro and as summer quarters for troops, for though Paro is 7,741 feet high, higher indeed than any of our sanatoria, the sun has great power there, notwithstanding the strong breeze which blows up the valley regularly from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. On a high bleak hill on the north of the Paro Valley is a place of pilgrimage held in much esteem by the Buddhists, the temple and monastery of Tuckshung (the Tiger's Cave). It is cut out of, and built into, the rock, and overhangs a fearful precipice. The venerated Goraknath is said to have visited the spot, ejected the tigers, and resided here: the marks of his hands and feet are pointed out on the rocks. Cheeboo Lama, and nearly all the Sikhimese were highly delighted at the opportunity afforded them of visiting this place, and some of our sirdars spent all their money in the purchase of butter to burn in votive lamps. Those with barren wives who desired heirs anticipated the most beneficial results from their pilgrimage to this shrine.

Paro Races.

37. Towards the close of our stay at Paro the annual festival began. We had been so long delayed that we could not stay to see the chief fête; the old Penlow, however, was most anxious that we should do so, and, though he had at first been strongly opposed to sketching and photography, he told us that if we would stay we might bring the camera up into the palace and photograph the whole scene; and he even offered to dress himself in armour and have his picture taken with all his men around him. We were most anxious to get on and to get back again before the setting in of the rains, and we could not therefore delay, though we saw the races. These had very little in common with horse racing according to the English notions. A long string of ponies was brought out, each being ornamented with ribbons and coloured streamers, mounted by men with very little clothing on, except a long coloured scarf hanging from the head. In front of the riders was the tah-pen, or master of the horse. It is curious that this functionary, who is a high officer of the court, should have a title so precisely similar to one of our own court officials, but master of the horse is a literal translation of his title (tah, a horse, pen, a master). On arriving at the starting-post all the riders dismounted; sepoys armed with long whips rushed amongst the crowd, and cleared a road with great brutality and violence. At a given signal, the ponies were, one by one, flogged by a number of men with whips into a gallop; the riders had to run, holding on by the mane, until the pony was well off, and then had to vault up to their seats. Many showed considerable dexterity, vaulting backwards and forwards over the ponies whilst at a gallop, lying down full length on the ponies' backs, &c. No saddles or pads of any sort were used. The ponies were started one after the other, and there was no attempt at testing their speed; the skill of the riders alone was on trial. After going a certain distance they all halted, and were started again in the same manner; some six different starts must have been made before the course was completed. At the end of the course, the riders were all entertained at the expense of the Penlow, and they then went back to the palace in the same manner. The tah-pen was lifted off and on to his horse on each occasion with a great parade, for it is contrary to Booteah notions of dignity for a man to mount and dismount from his horse himself.

Leave Paro.

38. After waiting for 16 days at Paro without any communication from the Durbar, though a letter could have been received with ease in two days, I told the Penlow that I would either return to Darjeeling or go to Poonakh without waiting any longer for a reply. He would not hear of my returning; he said that I had been treated with inexcusable neglect, but that he expected nothing better of the Durbar under such Amla as were now in power, and that there was no accounting for anything they did. He thought that if I once reached the Durbar all would be right, and he withdrew all objection to my going on, gave me guides, promised to arrange for sending on our letters regularly, and on the 10th March we left Paro. We crossed over the bridge and stopped in passing to take leave of the old Penlow, who was very friendly in his manner and warned us to keep a constant look out on the Durbar, as it was composed of treacherous and ignorant men. It came to our knowledge afterwards that a proposal had come over to the old man to seize Cheeboo and confine him, allowing us to return to the plains; he had positively refused to give any assistance to such a project, and had replied that he would forbid us to go on if the Durbar would send a written order to this effect, otherwise he could not interfere with us, but that he would have nothing to do with treachery towards us. The

Durbar

Durbar would not, however, take on itself the responsibility of giving the order for our return. After leaving the palace the ascent was very steep by a fair road winding amongst the outer forts; from some of these forts we could see down into the palace quadrangle; they all entirely command the palace, and by going round by the river-side to the north of the palace, these forts could be reached by a force with guns without any difficulty, as the country is open and the slope very gradual. At the top of the pass is a fort called the Bieylah Jung (11,164 feet) with a garrison of a few coolies; there was little snow on the pass. The descent on the other side was very gradual, through smooth grass and scattered pine forest filled with game of all sorts. After a march of eight or nine miles we reached Pemethong (8,499 feet) at the base of a valley, and encamped in a fine open flat under the village; there is a small empty fort here, a few houses, and a monastery without Lamas. On the encamping ground was a large praying cylinder turned by water, and a good sized Mendong covered with inscriptions. Many of the inhabitants of Pemethong were Bengallees captured as slaves many years ago, and with but a very faint notion of the part of the country from which they were taken. They apparently were mostly natives of Cooch Behar. Whilst encamped here messengers arrived from the Durbar; the news of my intended departure from Paro had evidently reached Poonakh, and had at length made them send a reply which ought to have reached me 14 days before. The messengers, who were some of the same men who had met us before, said that the orders of the Deb Raja were that I should at once return with them to Paro, and if after hearing all I had to say they thought it necessary, officers of higher rank would be sent there to treat with me. On examining them, however, I found that there was not in fact any real idea of sending any officers to treat; that these messengers themselves had neither instructions nor authority; and that the object of their deputation was simply to endeavour to wear out my patience by delays and obstacles, and induce me to return. I told them that if they would state to me distinctly, on behalf of the Deb Raja, that he declined to permit me to go to Poonakh or to receive me, I would return to Paro and start at once from that place for Darjeeling, and I explained to them what the consequences would be of my returning under such circumstances. They said that the Durbar had never refused to receive me, or authorised them to decline to let me go on, and that if, therefore, I would not return to Paro, and remain there with them till some course of action was determined on by the Government, I had better go on. I asked them to return with me to Poonakh, or to go forward and explain what I told them. This, however, they positively refused to do, as they had received orders to go to Paro and must obey them; I afterwards ascertained that, to punish the Penlow for having allowed us to enter his territory, these men had been furnished with an order on him for a sum of money, for though the Durbar would not take upon themselves the responsibility of refusing to receive me, they systematically punished all their local officers for not turning me back by force. From Pemethong there are two routes, one straight across the valley, and over the crest on the opposite side, to Tassishjung, the winter palace of the Rajas, which is about 10 miles distant from Pemethong—the route followed by Turner in his embassy to the Grand Lama. The road we took was down the bank of the little River Jukchoo, which flows along the valley; the road was perfectly level till we came to the junction of the river with the large River Tchinchoo, or, as it is here locally called, Wangchoo, after the village of Wangka. We here joined the Buxa Dooar-road, the route of Turner and Pemberton, which runs along the valley of the Tchinchoo, the name by which it was known to the officers of these missions, but which seems now to have fallen into disuse, for we generally found that the river was called Thimpoo, taking its name from the district of Thimpoo, the chief town of which is Tassishjung, under the palace of which place the river flows. We took refuge from a storm in the village of Wangka; not a single inhabitant was to be seen in it. We found that the private residence of the Paro Penlow was here, but there was nothing to distinguish the house from any of those around it. All the houses in the valley are singularly good. We halted at Chalamafee, a large village situated where the two roads to Poonakh and Tassishjung meet. The latter palace is only two miles from this village, and the forts could be seen from a little distance from the camp. Our tents were pitched under two splendid cypress trees, the stem of one of which was six spans round. The village was full of Bengallee slaves, many of them had been born in slavery, others were carried off in early youth, and were ignorant of their own homes. Every village we now came across had a number of Bengallee inhabitants, and gangs of them were to be found in the forests hewing wood and collecting pine leaves for manure for their owners. All the people captured from our territory are evidently sent up to the Durbar, where they are distributed as presents amongst the followers of the Amla. Shortly after we started, the next morning, we came to the little fort of Simtoka, which is occupied as a residence by the ex-Deb, who had been removed from power during the late revolution. He was residing in perfect retirement, and seemed to have scarcely a servant with him. Cheeboo Lama offered to call on him, but he declined, saying that he had no power to assist us, and the mere fact of our holding any communication with him might excite the suspicion of the Durbar against us. Our march was along the banks of a little stream, through a narrow valley, with a tolerably clean pine forest on either side; the ascent to the Dokiew Lah Pass, 10,019 feet, was scarcely perceptible. At the top of the pass are the ruins of an old fort, and there were Chortens and a Mendong. The view from this place was magnificent. The whole of the Poonakh Valley and an enormous extent of the Thibetan snowy range immediately faced us. At the highest peak of the pass was the usual lapcha, or cairn of stone, supporting Bhuddhist flags, and a

Buxa Dooar-road.

Poonakh.

few yards down was a little hollow indentation which the Booteahs regard with veneration as the mark of the hoofs of the horse, Farchoo Doopgein Shepoo, the second Dhurma Raja whose incarnation is still supposed to rule Bootan. We halted for the night just above the village of Telagong, a place chiefly inhabited by gy-longs or monks, who had, as usual, taken great care of themselves; they had built excellent houses, many of which were ornamented with carved deal, and were coloured; the village was surrounded with really fine cultivation, mustard, barley, wheat, chillies, and excellent turnips. From this place to Poonakh was but a short march, and on the 15th of March, we descended a valley passing the Telagong Fort, which appeared to have not a single resident in it. After crossing a little river by a wooden bridge we again ascended for a short distance the opposite side of the valley; from this to Poonakh was nearly level, the road was very good, but we were now down at about 5,000 feet; the country was perfectly open, there was not a tree near the road side, and the heat was therefore most oppressive. Close as we were to the Durbar, and though we had sent on several messengers to report our arrival, no notice of any sort was taken of us until we arrived within sight of the palace, when a message was sent by a sepoy to say we could not be allowed to approach by the road which passed under the palace gates, but must go down the side of the hill and enter our encamping ground by a back road. I determined that the Durbar should have no excuse from any act of mine for picking a quarrel, and turned off by the route indicated, though it was so precipitous that we had very great difficulty in making the descent. The insolence with which we were treated at Poonakh by the Amla, their assumed willingness to accept the terms offered them by the Government of India, their subsequent refusal to have anything to say to those terms, their threats to confine me in the fort unless I signed an agreement to return to them the attached Assam Dooars, for which we had regularly paid them revenue, their withholding supplies, their attempt to seize and detain Cheeboo Lama, and the difficulty which we had in getting away from Poonakh by forced night marches to Paro, even after complying with their demands under protest, have been fully detailed in my confidential Report, No. 45, dated the 21st April last, and need not be repeated here; but it may be well that I should give some description of the place. The palace and fort of Poonakh is situated on a sandy, stony delta, formed by the meeting of the Rivers Matchoo (Mother River) and Patchoo (Father River), which, after their union, flow down to the Berhampooter under the name of Patchoo-Matchoo. Both these rivers are deep and somewhat swift; the Matchoo comes down from the foot of the snowy peak of Ghassa; the Patchoo has a more easterly origin. The palace is built on the regular standard plan, a rectangle enclosing a courtyard, in the centre of which is a six-storied tower. The building is not to be compared with Paro; it is a shabby, straggling, mean, tumble-down pile, very dirty and ill-kept. We were encamped on the south of the palace, and in the part of the palace immediately fronting us was the residence of the Lamas; there were generally reported to be 2,000 in the monastery, and Schlagintweit endorses this statement, which has no origin except in the barefaced exaggeration which is one of the chief characteristics of the Bootanese. We had several opportunities of counting the Lamas when they all went out of the palace to walk in procession and bathe, and we found that there were only 275. On the west side of the palace, raised above the other buildings, is the residence of the Deb; in the centre tower lives the Dhurma Raja; on the east lived the Tongso Penlow, the governor of the fort, and other Amla. There are two entrances to the precincts of the palace, one by a bridge across the Patchoo, the other by a bridge across the Matchoo. These bridges are on the usual plan, broad covered ways, open at the sides, and entered by a large gateway passing under a tower. They were, however, very inferior to the Paro bridge, and were scarcely safe for any large body of men to pass over at one time. If troops ever enter the country, and have to cross bridges of this peculiar construction, care must be taken that the men do not keep step, for this causes a strain which many of the bridges would not bear. We were never allowed inside the palace; but were received in a sort of a public room in a garden someway behind it. The garden, of which Turner speaks in such eulogistic terms, has now no existence; everything about the place has gone to ruin and decay during the great internal struggles for place which have for so many years convulsed the country. Scarcely a house was to be seen in the neighbourhood of the palace, though there were the outer shells of many, destroyed from time to time in the struggles to obtain possession of the fort. The valley is very level, about 4,534 feet high; it produces a good deal of rice. The range of the thermometer was very great, often 40 degrees. The sun in the day was as powerful as in the plains. There, as at Paro, there is no shade of any sort; the trees for miles around have been felled indiscriminately for firewood, and the fuel is now brought from a distance of some six or seven miles. Looking up the valley, the snowy peaks of Ghassa are seen; but the country, either in respect to fertility or scenery, is not to be compared with Paro. The Deb and Dhurma Rajas' court remains at Poonakh from November to the end of April, and at Tassishujung for the remaining six months of the year. The Governor of Poonakh has to support the whole court one half the year, and the Governor of Tassishujung for the other half-year. During the absence of the court from the palace it is left under the charge of two or three menials only. Every one leaves, sepoys, lamas, slaves, and every hanger on of the court. The soil at Poonakh is, like that of Paro, full of iron. There seems to be little communication with the plains, though the road must be tolerably level to Cherrung, since the height of the river at Poonakh is only 4,534 feet, and it has some 100 miles to run before it reaches the plains. Marching light, the people of Poonakh go to the plains in seven days.

About

About twelve miles down the valley is the fort of Angdu Forung, the appointment of the governor of which is one of the most coveted offices in Bootan; it carries with it a seat in Council, and the privilege of plundering certain Dooars. There is a legend that one of the first Dhurma Rajas was looking about for a site for a capital, and on passing this place one of the boys of his camp, named Angdu, amused himself by building a little mud house. The Dhurma Raja accepted this as an omen, and determined to fix on that as the capital; he built the present fort there, and it continued to be the seat of Government for some years, and has always borne the name of Angdu Forung or Angdu Palace. There is a bridge at the fort, and a force marching on Poonakh should divide here, and marching up either bank of the river, take the palace at Poonakh in front and rear, and cut off all chance of escape. There is a branch road to Angdu Forung from Telagong, our last halting-place before reaching Poonakh; between Angdu Forung and Poonakh there are no bridges, and the river is not fordable; the palace of Poonakh is entirely commanded by a height on the west bank, and it would be difficult to conceive a place so ill-adapted for defence. One round of shell would set the whole place in a blaze, and the bridges being held, and a force posted to the north of the fort, not a man could escape. The distance between Poonakh and Tassishjung is about sixteen miles, and the only road is that by which we came.

39. The members of the court present during our visit were the Dhurma Raja, Deb Raja, Tongso Penlow, the Governors of the two palaces of Tassishjung and Poonakh, the Governor of Angdu Forung, the Joom Kalling or Chief Kaze, the Deb Raja's Vizier, and the Deb's Dewan or chief steward. The Dhurma Raja whom we saw was a boy of about eighteen years of age, a mere puppet, and the form of consulting him on affairs of State is not even followed. He is not really the Dhurma Raja, who is properly supposed to be an incarnation of the first Dhurma Raja, Farchoo Doopgien Shepton. The last incarnation was so tormented by the Amla that he fled to Thibet, and died there in 1861. On the death of the Dhurma Raja a year or two elapses, and the incarnation then reappears in the shape of a child, who generally happens to be born in the family of the Tongso Penlow or some other principal chief; the child establishes his identity by recognising the cooking vessels, &c. of the late Dhurma; he is then trained in a monastery, and on attaining his majority is recognised as Raja, though he really exercises no more authority in his majority than he did in his infancy. It will at once be seen that a better arrangement for securing all power in the hands of the Amla could not be devised, for in every case of the death of the Raja a long minority is secured. To carry on the spiritual functions of the Dhurma Raja during these frequent minorities there is a second incarnation, the incarnation of the Regent, who makes his appearance from time to time as occasion requires in much the same way as the incarnation of the Dhurma; he is called Lam Thepoo. Since the death of the last Dhurma Raja the incarnation of Shepton has never re-appeared, but the late Raja, whilst absent in Thibet, forgetful of his Lamaic vows of chastity, entered into a liaison with a Thibetan woman, and had two children by her, a boy and a girl; the boy is about eight years old, and there are now two parties as to the right of this boy to succeed. One party holds that Shepton in his last incarnation voluntarily and with an object, broke through the rule of celibacy, and has thus indicated that in future he will appear by hereditary succession; the chief supporters of this view are those who find the habit of celibacy irksome, and want an excuse for abolishing it; the other party hold that for a Dhurma Lama to have children was a thing unheard of, and that the child cannot be recognised. Others, again, seem to think that the last incarnation was so badly treated that he will never appear again in a country so steeped in sin and lawlessness as Bootan. Any way, the child is being brought up carefully in a monastery, and is treated with considerable veneration. We merely saw the acting Dhurma Raja under a small canopy, half concealed by silk scarves and the smoke of incense; he was an insignificant looking shy boy; he was brought to the tents and taken back on a pony, preceded by several led ponies and a number of drums and clarions. His costume was a reddish purple Lama's robe, and a copper hat of the shape worn by Romish cardinals. The Deb, or rather the person who represented the Deb, was an elderly Lama, with nothing whatever remarkable about him; he had a startled, frightened look, and was evidently very uncomfortable at the situation in which he found himself. There was no real Deb during our visit to Bootan. There had been a series of struggles between the Penlows and the Amla to establish various nominees of their own on the throne, but as fast as a man was appointed, he was either dethroned by the opposite faction, or died suddenly; the consequence was that no one would take the office, and to keep up a show of Government whilst we were at Poonakh, they fixed upon a common Lama from a neighbouring monastery and made him represent the Deb. The Deb never has any real power, and this acting incumbent never even pretended to power, neither was any attempt made by the Amla to induce us to believe that he had any. It was admitted that the Deb and Dhurma Rajas were mere names. The officer of the next highest authority at Poonakh was the Tongso Penlow. Theoretically, he had no right to be there, and when there, he should have ranked below the other members of the Council, but he was, *de facto*, ruler of Bootan at the time. The leaders in the late insurrection, finding that the cause of the dethroned Deb was taken up by the Paro Penlow, sent, in their alarm, for assistance from the Tongso Penlow; he came with all his men, completed the work of the revolution, but then declined to return to Tongso, and took up his abode in the palace with all his men, and assumed supreme authority, insulting the Amla, and filling up all the offices that he could make vacant by the appointment of his

Personnel of the Government.

own followers. He seized upon the State revenues for his own use, and assigned to himself the revenue which our Government pays for the resumed Assam Dooars: this, indeed, he had appropriated for three years past. He was absolutely hated by the other Amla, who were daily expecting either to be murdered by his order, or to be removed from office to make way for his nominees. His only supporters were the Angdu Forung Jungpen, and his son-in-law, whom he had just appointed Governor of Tassishjung, but even their support was very lukewarm, for the Angdu Forung Jungpen feared him, and was jealous of him, and his son-in-law warned us that he was treacherous and false. This Penlow was considered thoroughly bad and unscrupulous even by the Bootanese. He was, as indeed were nearly all the Amlah, of low extraction. His father had been a menial of a late Tongso Penlow; his bad qualities, the chief claim to promotion in Bootan, soon raised him to the high office of Master of the Horse to the Penlow. Whilst holding this office a revolution broke out, and the parties being evenly matched, it lasted for some time. The then Tongso Penlow was at Poonakh, and his Master of the Horse devised a scheme, thoroughly worthy of him, of getting rid of the head of the opposite faction. He made a proposal of compromising the dispute; this was agreed to, and the chief of the opposition was invited to Poonakh to receive honours from the Deb in token of thorough reconciliation. On his arrival he was received with great *éclat* and a day was appointed for vesting him with a dress of honour. He was encamped outside the palace, and was asked to an interview on the plain on which we were received. Here he was laden with heavy dresses, and was made partially intoxicated; he was persuaded to send away his men and allow himself to be escorted home by the Deb's followers. On passing under the gateway of the bridge, the Master of the Horse (the present Tongso Penlow) stepped out of a dark corner, and murdered him with his knife before he had time even to call for assistance. For this piece of Bootan diplomacy he was promoted to the office of Zimpen or Chief Secretary to the Tongso Penlow. After holding this office for a few years, he rebelled successfully against his master, turned him out of the fort, and took the office on himself. His predecessor is still alive, and has possession of Byaghur Fort, one of the Penlow's residences; he is a constant thorn in the side of the Penlow, and whilst we were at Poonakh was collecting men with a view of regaining his office, and it was in consequence of his measures that the Tongso Penlow left Poonakh the day we did, and enabled us to get away from the place. The Penlow has the worst and most repulsive countenance I ever saw in any man of any country. He is said, by his own countrymen, to be utterly reckless of human life, and to be an avaricious, treacherous, unscrupulous robber. We were told much of the strength of his forces, but we saw him march out on his way back to Tongso, and he had only some 300 men altogether, of whom about 110 were armed with clumsy matchlocks. He possibly may have altogether some 400 men, and, perhaps, 200 matchlocks, but a portion of these he was obliged to leave to protect his own fort at Tongso. It was the insolent tone adopted by this person in addressing our Government, which induced Lord Dalhousie, in 1856, to threaten to take possession of the Bengal Dooars. He has placed himself entirely in the hands of a Hindostanee who had come into Bootan from Nepal shortly after the mutiny. This man flattered him, and made him believe that he was one of the most powerful chieftains in India, and that he could with ease secure the assistance of the chiefs of the Punjab and the people of Delhi, and drive us out of the country: this adventurer was represented by some to be Ummer Sing, the brother of Kooer Sing; it is very generally believed, however, that Ummer Sing died in a Government charitable hospital. Whoever he may be, he is a most mischievous, intriguing character. He has learned to speak Booteah, and he told our sepoys that he was going on a mission to Nepal and the North West Provinces to raise up a final crusade against the English. He spoke of the Begum in Nepal as his immediate superior; he is therefore probably a Lucknow man. He is a wiry, thin man, with hair slightly streaked with grey, and about five feet seven inches in height; his hair was cropped close; he had a moustache, but no beard. He was very bitter against our Government.

The other Amla, with the exception, perhaps, of the Jungpen of Angdu Forung, who had headed the revolution and had first called in the Tongso Penlow, had no voice in any matter connected with the Government. The Governor of Angdu Forung was a man whose reputation was nearly as bad as that of the Penlow: he had, as Governor of Poonakh, headed the late rebellion and invited the Tongso Penlow to Poonakh; the moment the Penlow left, and before we had been absent from the capital three days, he organised a conspiracy against the Penlow, and, in concert with the other Amla, seized his son-in-law, the Governor of Tassishjung, and murdered him, sent aid to the former Penlow of Tongso, and invited him to attempt to recover the office from which he had been excluded for eight years. The character of the Governor of Tassishjung, whom I have alluded to above as having been murdered, we could not understand; he was certainly leagued with the Tongso Penlow, but in secret we fancied he hated him; he rendered us some service by warning us of the Penlow's intended treachery, and he obtained us supplies when we could get them from no other source. At the last moment, when the Amla endeavoured to prevent our march from Poonakh, he sent us a passport through his district, and told us not to care for the other Amla, as they dare not send any great number of men out of the fort to pursue us. He always, however, took care to set a high value on the assistance he gave; he was a most importunate beggar, and I believe simply wished to keep well with both sides, and be prepared for whatever might turn up. The Joom Kalling was the best of the whole of the Amla; but he was so tyrannized over by the Tongso Penlow that he could give us no assistance of any sort. He endeavoured to see us privately, but the

Penlow's

Penlow's men followed him out of the fort, and prevented our holding any communication with him. He used to send us messages when he could, but he told us frankly that he and all the Amla were quite helpless in the hands of the Penlow. It was this officer who, when Cheeboo Lama was confined in the fort, on the day of our departure obtained permission to take him to his own quarters, and then got him out through the gate and into our camp. On the murder of the Penlow's son-in-law, just after we left, he succeeded him as Governor of Tassishjung, and now holds that office. He was for a long time Jungpen of Darlingcote, knows something of Bengal, speaks a little Bengallee, and is a quiet and inoffensive, but not very intelligent, man. The remaining Amla are too insignificant to call for description: they are young ignorant boys, frivolous, impertinent, and importunate to a degree; their only ambition, so far as the mission went, was to get out of us what they could in the shape of presents. The meanness, cunning, and petty insolence of the whole of the Amla in this respect bears an unfavourable comparison even with the conduct of the African chiefs with whom Captain Speke had to deal; indeed there are whole pages in his journal which might be taken as a most faithful description of the Bootanese. They used to send men to spy into our tents, and see what we had, and then would send down a broken telescope or useless Monghyr gun for a present, valuing them at hundreds of rupees, and requesting one of our guns or telescopes in exchange as a "token of friendship." They would send a small basket of rice, and if a present was sent in return of even twenty times its value, they would return it asking for something twice as good, and saying that it was contrary to their custom to interchange presents which were not of equal value. They would, if they received a mechanical toy, or a watch, or pistol, break it in a few hours, return it, and say that they did not fancy that particular article, but would like something else, specifying something which had been seen by one of their spies. They depreciated the value of whatever was given to them, and told the most barefaced lies of the price at which they could purchase similar articles in Assam; for instance, they positively asserted that they could procure binocular telescopes better than those we gave them from the Government stores, at five rupees each. They had no sort of idea of the real value of anything produced out of their own country; they would have preferred a mechanical toy, or a musical box, or a large looking-glass, to the Koh-i-noor. If they did not get what they wanted at once they used to raise obstacles in our way, frighten our camp-followers, and stop supplies.

40. We, in the face of much opposition, and in spite of the attempts that were made to stop us, left Poonakh on the evening of the 29th March. The Angdu Forung Jungpen threatened to send men to cut us off if we did not stop, but we had seen quite enough to know that our only chance of escape was to take advantage of the start we had got, and to push on before the Amla had got together again, as several of them had gone off to their homes some miles from the palace, expecting that we should remain quietly till they returned. We pushed on night and day till we got into the Paro Penlow's district, and reached Paro on the morning of the 1st April. The ex-Paro Penlow was friendly and attentive. He had heard all that had passed, and said that he had been very apprehensive regarding our safety; that he had kept a constant watch on the proceedings of the Durbar, and that if they had actually proceeded to violence he should have marched over to release us with all the men at his disposal. It is impossible to say whether this had really been his intention or not, but very probably it was, for he was a far-seeing and shrewd old man. The Tongso Penlow had been his enemy for years, and he avowedly did not recognise the authority of the person who was called Deb at Poonakh, but was an adherent of the Deb who was dethroned last year. The young Penlow was also professedly friendly, but he was a most importunate beggar; he tried to obtain possession of everything we had, and, if unrestrained by his step-father, he would not, I fear, have hesitated to obtain all he wanted by force. He is moreover a relation, on the father's side, to the Angdu Forung Jungpen, and on the whole it was a great satisfaction to us to feel that he exercised no real authority at Paro.

Leave Poonakh.

41. The people at Paro were all engaged in preparing for an immediate revolution, and they told us that we should hear of its commencement before we reached Darjeeling. We remained one day at Paro, and I made a fruitless attempt to obtain the surrender of some Bengallees who claimed our protection; but in spite of all his professions of friendship, the Penlow would not part with these men, which shows how very hopeless it is ever to expect that they will, under any circumstances, abide by the terms of any treaty involving the surrender of captured British subjects. During our stay in the country we cannot have seen less than 300 British and Cooch Behar subjects in slavery, but I was only able to effect the release of one man, and this was without the consent or knowledge of any Booteah officers.

42. After the reception given us by the Paro Penlow, we felt at ease in respect of any pursuit from the Durbar, for they dared not send any force into his territory. As soon as they found we had escaped beyond their reach, the Durbar sent us a passport, which overtook us as we were leaving Paro. We left Paro on the 2d April, and the only difficulty we had to contend with on our homeward journey was the crossing of the Taigon Pass. The snow here was still four or five feet deep, and the lower stratum having melted, the ponies and mules sank at every step up to the girths: we had great difficulty in getting them through. We had to abandon two old mules given by the Paro Penlow, which were scarcely able to walk when they were given to us, and could make no progress at all

in the snow. A pony given to Government by the Dhurma Raja was so lame that we had to leave it behind after making one march from Poonakh; several of our own ponies were unable to overcome the difficulties of the pass, and had to be left behind. On the pass we were overtaken by a messenger from the ex-Paro Penlow to say that the insurrection had commenced, that the ex-Deb had had a hostile meeting with the Tassishjung Jungpen, and that the Paro Penlow had left that day with all his men to assist the former: his policy, which was characteristic of the Booteahs, was to offer to arbitrate, and thus obtain a footing in the Tassishjung Fort and then take possession of it. At Darlingcote we obtained further news of the progress of the insurrection; the plan fixed upon was for the Byogur Jungpen to seize on Tongso, and shut the Penlow out of his own fort; the whole of the Amla were then to combine with the Paro Penlow to prevent his return to the Durbar, and to eject his son-in-law from the fort of Tassishjung. The Tongso Penlow, on the other hand, was said to have determined to place his own brother in his place at Tongso, to return, eject the Deb whom he had himself appointed, and assume that office himself. If it is borne in mind that the men who are now combined with the Paro Penlow to eject the Tongso Penlow and support the ex-Deb are the very men who last year invited the Tongso Penlow to Poonakh to eject that Deb and besiege Paro, and that these internal commotions are the normal condition of the country, it will at once be seen how futile it is to expect that under any circumstances a strong and stable Government can ever be established in Bootan.

43. As news of our approach reached the frontier, our dâks, which had been stopped for weeks past, began to come in. Twenty-five dâks were received in one day and five the next. Orders had been sent from head-quarters prohibiting the carriage of our dâks, and threatening those who did so. This was evidently part of the Tongso Penlow's scheme for detaining us, and shows that he had all along made up his mind to treat us as he did.

44. It may at first sight seem to be a matter for regret that a friendly mission should ever have been sent into Bootan, but from what I have seen of the Government of that country, I am satisfied that it will in the end prove to have been the best course which could have been adopted. We have for so many years borne patiently the outrages committed by these people on our territory, that they had learned to treat our power with contempt; we now know that there is, in point of fact, no Government in the country, and that it is quite impossible that there can ever be a Government there sufficiently strong to warrant an expectation that they will ever become good neighbours. We were formerly restrained from avenging the insults offered to us by a doubt of the complicity of the higher authorities; we now know that they are the instigators and promoters of every act of lawlessness and aggression on our frontier, and that all British subjects captured on these occasions are kept as slaves in their forts and residences. A punitive policy was determined upon in 1857, and only suspended on account of the breaking out of the mutiny. Affairs had reached such a stage that only two courses were, in my opinion, open to Government, either immediate demands for satisfaction by an armed force, or a friendly remonstrance against the course pursued towards us, with plain and distinct threats of the consequences which would result from a failure to make amends for the past, and to give security for future good conduct. The latter was the course determined upon by the Government of India in the first instance; and I think that in the prosecution of the measures now absolutely forced upon us by the positive refusal of the Bootanese to live with us on terms of good neighbourhood, we are in a better position than if we had at once either annexed territory or invaded the country. The most favourable terms were offered to the Government of Bootan; and it is self-evident, from the draft treaty submitted to them, that it was not the wish of this Government to acquire further territory if it could be possibly avoided. The friendship of this Government has been deliberately rejected, and we have now no option as to the course which we must pursue.

(Political.—No. 39.)

Sir *Charles Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir,

India Office, London, 18 July 1864.

Para. 1. I HAVE received your Excellency's Despatch, No. 11, of the 1st of June, on the subject of Mr. Eden's mission to Bhootan, and it has been deliberately considered by me in Council.

2. I concur in the opinion expressed by your Excellency's Government, that, after the discouraging circumstances which attended the advance of Mr. Eden into the Bhootan country, especially after his arrival at Paro, it would have been sound discretion on his part either to have withdrawn the mission at once, or to have halted it at Paro, and sent an express soliciting further instructions from your Excellency's Government. And I also concur in opinion with your Excellency, that when at Punakha, in the extremely difficult and distressing circumstances in which he was placed, he "could not have acted otherwise than he did."

3. But

3. But your Excellency rightly observes that the more important question for consideration is not the past conduct of Mr. Eden, but the future action of the British Government. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has already directed that all payments for the Dooars and other lands shall be withheld, and that communication with the Bhootan authorities shall be suspended; he has also made arrangements for strengthening the police on the frontier, and has warned the civil and military authorities to be on the alert, both for the protection of our own frontier, and the defence, if considered necessary by the local authorities, of the people of Sikkim. These judicious preliminary arrangements have the full approval of Her Majesty's Government.

4. You have addressed the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, repudiating the agreement which Mr. Eden was compelled to sign, and informing them that no money payments will be made to them, and that, unless they deliver up all the British subjects and property which they have carried off during the last five years, you will take further proceedings against them. I approve of your having done so, although, in the present unsettled state of the country, it is doubtful whether any authority exists in whom substantive power is actually vested.

5. With regard to ulterior measures, I observe that in the memorandum drawn up by Mr. Eden, and forwarded with your Excellency's letter of the 1st ultimo, he points out three courses, which might, in his opinion, be adopted by the British Government,—

1. The permanent occupation of the whole country.

2. The temporary occupation of the country, to be followed by the withdrawal of the occupying force, after destroying all the forts, and letting the people see and feel our power to reach them at any future time.

3. The permanent occupation of that tract at the foot of the hills called the Dooars and Jelpesh, which formerly and naturally belonged to Bengal, but which was partly wrested from the Mahomedan rulers of Bengal, and partly ceded by us at the end of last century.

6. I am not prepared to sanction either the first or second of these measures—either the permanent or temporary occupation of the whole of Bhootan, and I am very much averse to sending expeditions into the country for the purpose of destroying the forts of the local chiefs.

7. It is most desirable for us that some stable Government should be formed in Bhootan, with which such relations as ordinarily exist between independent States can be established. There does not seem to be much prospect of this object being attained, in the present state of affairs in Bhootan; and I am afraid that the appearance of an English force would only tend to render it more difficult, unless we were prepared to set up and establish in the Government of the country some of the more friendly or more powerful of the chiefs. Such a course, however, would, in all probability, entail upon us the obligation of maintaining and defending the Government so established, and would practically result in another form of annexation. Indeed, the disadvantages of this course are pointed out very forcibly by Mr. Eden himself.

8. On the whole, I am of opinion that the occupation of all the Dooars in the first instance is the best course to be adopted. It places us in a most advantageous position to deal with any Government which may be established, or with the chiefs by whose sanction or connivance the inroads of the plundering bands into the low country have been encouraged.

9. It is probable that, when the Dooars are occupied, arrangements might be made, at a small expense, to protect the whole extent of them from these incursions, and it appears probable also that such a revenue might be derived from them when so protected as will afford the means of defraying the cost of occupation and defence.

10. I shall await the receipt of your further proceedings in this matter, which you promise to forward, but I have thought it necessary to lose no time in sending you these general instructions for your guidance.

(No. 13.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., &c., &c.

Simla, Foreign (Political Department),

15 June 1864.

Sir,

IN continuation of our letter, No. 11, dated 1st instant, we have the honour to forward copy of a communication from the Under Secretary to Government, Bengal, enclosing a Minute by his Honour the Lieutenant Governor on the report of the Honourable Mr. Eden of his proceedings in connexion with the mission to Bootan.

2. We also transmit a copy of a translation of the paper drawn up by the Tongso Pillo, and signed by the Honourable Mr. Eden, which is alluded to in the 26th para. of his report, together with copies of the letters to the address of the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, and the Secretary to Government, Bengal, which complete the correspondence forwarded with our letter of the 1st instant.

3. We also forward the copy of a communication from the Government of Bengal, enclosing a letter from the Agent, North-East Frontier, in which he reports the arrival of a messenger from the Tongso Pillo demanding payment of the Assam Doar composition money, and bringing back the despatches addressed by the Agent to the Bootan Government, and of the reply of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal approving of Colonel Hopkinson's proceedings.

We have, &c.

(signed) *J. Lawrence,*
H. Rose,
R. Napier,
H. S. Maine,
C. E. Trevelyan,
W. Grey,
G. W. Taylor.

(Political.—No. 64.)

FROM the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department; dated Darjeeling, 3 May 1864.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of the Minute recorded by the Lieutenant Governor on the report made by the Honourable Ashley Eden, Envoy to Bootan, to the Government of India, of the result of his mission to Bootan, a copy of which has been furnished to his Honor by that officer, and to state that instructions have, in accordance with his Honor's remarks, been conveyed to the different officers concerned.

MINUTE, 3 May 1864.

I HAVE received a copy of the report submitted to the Government of India by the Honourable Ashley Eden, Envoy to Bootan, reporting the failure of the mission to obtain from the Government of that country either satisfaction for past injuries, or security for the future. The envoy, instead of being received at the Court of Bootan with honour and consideration, was treated with insult and contumely, and was obliged by force to sign a paper agreeing to make over the Assam Dooars and Jelpigoree to Bootan, and to restore all run-away slaves and political offenders.

It appears from the report, that the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs are in reality mere puppets, and that the chief power in the State has been usurped by the Tongso Penlow. The present Deb Rajah is the Tongso Penlow's nominee, and it is by the Tongso Penlow and his faction, that the friendly overtures of the British Government have been rejected, and its representative dismissed with indignity. It is said that the Tongso Penlow, after installing his own brother in his place at Tongso, intends to return to the capital, depose the Deb Rajah, whom he himself appointed, and assume the Rajaship himself. On the other hand it appears that a movement headed by the Paro Penlow has been set on foot to restore the former Deb Rajah, to deprive the Tongso Penlow and his adherents of all share in the general Government, and to eject him from Tongso itself. The insurrection had commenced before the mission had left the Bootan territory, and the Paro Penlow had marched with all his force to the assistance of the former Deb at Tassisugung.

The

The course which may finally have to be taken, in consequence of the conduct of the Government of Bootan, must depend upon the orders of the Governor General in Council. In the meantime it is necessary to be prepared for any action which the Government of Bootan may take on the strength of the document obtained by force from the envoy, and in pursuance of its hostile disposition, as evinced in its treatment of the mission.

The existence of civil commotion, and the apparently insecure tenure by which the Tongso Penlow and his faction hold power, may, with other circumstances, operate to prevent any immediate active hostilities on the part of the Bootan Government; but it is not unlikely that the Tongso Penlow may demand the fulfilment of the conditions embodied in the spurious agreement signed under compulsion by the envoy, or at any rate that he may renew his demand for payment of the usual composition on account of the Assam Dooars, and that refusal may be followed by raids and further outrages on British subjects residing on the frontier, both in our own districts and in the dependent and tributary State of Cooch Behar. It may also be apprehended that opportunity will be taken by the Bootan Government to invade the Sikkim territory, and to restore the authority of the *ex-Dewan* whom we expelled in 1860, and by whose evil advice the Government of Bootan is understood to have been guided in its conduct towards the mission.

The Governor General's Agent, North-East Frontier, should be instructed to refuse payment of the composition for the Assam Dooars, and to decline to hold any communication whatever on that or on any other subject with the Bootan Government, or with any one professing to act on its behalf, until the pleasure of the Governor General in Council be known. If demand be made for the surrender of the Dooars, or for the delivery of slaves or political offenders, and if the demand be supported by reference to the spurious agreement, the demand should be peremptorily refused, and the agreement repudiated.

The Agent, as well as the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, the Superintendent of Darjeeling, and the Commissioner of the Rajshahye Division, to all of whom a copy of these instructions will be sent, should be desired to keep a watch on the frontier, to furnish the Government with such information as they may obtain of the proceedings and intentions of the Bootan Government, and of the subordinate officers on the frontier, and to be prepared for any measures of a hostile nature that may be attempted, whether they take the form of open attack, or, as is more probable, of sudden raids and dacoities upon villages on British territory. The Superintendent of Darjeeling should be specially directed to obtain through Cheboo Lama, and by any other means in his power, accurate information of the state of affairs in Sikkim, and to keep the Government regularly advised thereof.

The officers in question should be directed carefully to abstain from all action calculated to irritate the Bootanese authorities on the frontier or to provoke outrage. It is not necessary that the usual communications between them and our frontier officers on purely local matters should be suspended, or that there should be any interruption to the free passage of traders and other travellers between Bootanese and British territory. But while nothing is done to commit the Government to any line of action, no Bootanese officer must be led to suppose that the conduct of his Government towards the mission will be allowed to pass without serious notice.

The officers on the frontier should also be specially warned to prevent the exportation into Bootan of arms or ammunition, including gunpowder, lead, sulphur and saltpetre, and to take measures to prohibit the sale of such articles to persons likely to require them for that purpose.

The General commanding the Division will be requested to instruct the officers commanding on the frontier, to comply with the requisition of the Governor General's Agent, North-East Frontier, of the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, or of the Magistrate of Rungpore, for any force that may be necessary to assist the civil power in preventing incursions across the border, and the civil authorities will be directed to employ any extra police force that may appear to be necessary for this purpose, reporting the same immediately for the sanction of the Government.

A copy of these instructions will be sent to the Government of India, Foreign Department, (at Simla), for information.

(signed) Cecil Beadon.

A seal purporting to be

Dhurma
Rajah's
Seal.

AGREEMENT.

THAT from to-day there shall always be friendship between the Feringees and the Bootanese. Formerly the Dhurma Rajah and the Company's Queen were of one mind, and the same friendship exists to the present day. Foolish men on the frontier having caused a disturbance, certain men belonging to the British power, living on the frontier, have taken Bulisusan (Julpigooree?) between Cooch Behar and the Kam Rajah, and Ambarie, near the border of Sikkim, and then between Banska and Gowlparah, Rangamuttee, Bokalibaree, Moteeamaree, Papareebaree, Aroetta, and then the seven Eastern Dooars. Then certain

bad men on the Bootea side stole men, cattle and other property, and committed thefts and dacoities, and the Feringees' men plundered property and burnt down houses in Bootan. By reason of these bad men remaining, the ryots suffered great trouble; and on this account the Governor General, with a good intention, sent an envoy, Mr. Eden, with letters and presents, and sent with him Cheebo Lama, the Dewan of Sikkim, and on their coming to the Dhurma and Deb, making petition, a settlement of a permanent nature has been made by both parties. The Dhurma Rajah will send one agent to the east and one to the west; when they shall arrive on the frontier of the Company's territory, they shall, after an interview with the Feringee's Amiah, receive back the tracts above mentioned belonging to Bootan, and after these shall be given back, and on full proof being given against persons charged with cattle stealing, &c., the Feringees will surrender such offenders to the Booteahs, and the Booteahs will in like manner surrender offenders to the Feringees. After that each will take charge of his own territory, look after his own ryots, and remain on friendly terms, and commit no aggressions, and the subjects of either State going into the neighbouring State shall be treated as brothers.

If, notwithstanding, any bad men on either side shall commit any aggression, the ruler of the place in which the offender lives shall seize and punish him. And as Cheebo Lama is the interpreter between the Feringees and the Booteahs, the Sikkimese are therefore henceforth to assist the Booteahs. We have written above that the settlement is permanent; but who knows, perhaps this settlement is made with one word in the mouth and two words in the heart. If, therefore, this settlement is false, the Dhurma Rajah's demons, named Mohakae and Michapanderlamoo (the protector of prisoners), Leguecharoo, Oongcheao, Ragulah, Gudaloochumoo, Geyoning, Nadak, and all the gods and demons of Bootan, and the Company's gods, Mahadelii, Ifdya, Mahadewa, Gunapatti, will, after deciding who is true or false, take his life, and take out his liver and scatter it to the winds, like ashes. The Bootan army will possession of Sikkim, and if the Rajah of Behar shall attempt to take any land belonging to Bootan, the Bootan Government, the Sikkim Government, and the Company will invade Cooch Behar. If the Feringees attempt to take land from Bootan, the Booteahs, Sikkiuese, and Beharees will invade the Company's territory, and if the Behar Rajah shall invade Sikkim, the Bootanese, Sikkimese, and the Company shall invade Behar. Whichever of the four States, Bootan, Feringee, Behar, Sikkim, commit aggression, the other three shall punish it; and if, whilst this agreement remains, any other enemy shall arise to any of the States, the others shall all assist him. This agreement is made between the Feringees and the Bootanese. And this is the seal of the Dhurma and Deb Rajahs.

The year Singee, 21st month, Daonipa.



Importing to be
the Deb Rajah's
Seal.

(signed)

Ashley Eden,
(Under compulsion).

(True translation.)

(signed)

A. Eden,
Envoy to Bootan

(Foreign Department, Political.—No. 140.)

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Simla, 9 June 1864.

Sir,

His Honour the Lieutenant Governor has been put in possession of a copy of the Honourable Mr. Eden's report of his proceedings at the Court of Bootan, and of the failure of the mission on which he was deputed, and has furnished the Government of India with a copy of his Minute, No. 64, dated 3d May, recording the measures which his Honor has thought it necessary to take to preserve the peace of the frontier, pending the decision of the Government of India on the ulterior measures to be adopted for the punishment of the Bootan Government.

2. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council has directed me to communicate his approval of the proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor, in directing that all payments for the Dooars and other lands shall be withheld, and communication with the Bootan authorities suspended; in ordering the police force on the frontier to be strengthened; and in preparing to strengthen the Commissioner of Cooch Behar with such force as he may require. His Excellency in Council, however, would further authorise the Lieutenant Governor to do what may appear to be necessary to prevent the people of Sikkim from being attacked.

3. The civil and military authorities should also be instructed, in the event of the occurrence of dacoities and raids by the Bootanese, to exercise their discretion in following the plunderers, and endeavouring to recover the people and the property which may be carried off; but great circumspection should be observed on such occasions. In every case careful inquiry should be made, evidence should be recorded, and all the circumstances of the case should be promptly reported.

4. It

4. It may in such circumstances, in the event of new outrages of a serious character occurring, prove desirable that expeditions up the passes should be undertaken, with the view of attacking and punishing the chiefs who may have organised these raids, or allowed the plunderers to issue from their lands, or who have given them refuge. The past history of this frontier proves very clearly that small bodies of our troops, led by officers of intelligence and energy, could readily in this way overawe the Bootanese, and secure the border; but care must be taken that in no instance our troops proceed further than sound prudence may dictate, and in no case without being under the guidance of an officer of fair experience. The expedition also must be approved of by the senior civil and military authorities of that portion of the border, without whose concurrence and sanction no such expedition can be undertaken.

5. It may be advisable that the general officer in command of the division should select an officer who, in communication with the civil authorities, should report on the means available, and the best mode of employing them for attaining the object in view, should circumstances unfortunately render necessary the execution of such petty expedition. A copy of this letter will therefore be sent to the Military Department, for communication to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, with a view to the issue of subsidiary orders.

6. The officer, named by his Excellency will, in communication with a civil officer selected by you, carefully examine the whole line of the border, and arrange for a well-devised system of defence. The general principle will be to hold the petty posts by police, supported at proper intervals by military detachments, to the extent of our available means in police and troops. These arrangements should be carried out, as far as practicable, at once; but permanent arrangements for the security of the frontier must depend on the measures eventually adopted towards the Bootanese, and therefore no new establishments should be entertained, and no further expenditure than what is absolutely necessary incurred. If more police are required, they can no doubt be drawn from the surplus force in the interior of the country.

7. In the meantime his Excellency in Council has addressed the enclosed letters to the Deb and Dhurm Rajas, which I am to request you will have carefully translated into Bootia and Bengalee, and send, with the translations, by the safest and quickest route, to their destination. A duplicate copy of the two despatches should be sent by different routes from the original. The further measures which the Government of India may take will depend on whether answers are received to these letters within the prescribed time, what the nature of these answers may be, and whether the demands on the Bootan Government are complied with.

To the Deb Rajah; dated Simla, 9 June 1864.

Raja,

You are well aware that for many years past wanton outrages have been committed by your subjects within the territories of the British Government, and within the territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar, who are under British protection. Men, women, and children, have been kidnapped and sold into slavery; some have been put to death; others have been cruelly wounded; and much valuable property has been carried off, or destroyed. These outrages, it is well known, are not the acts of individual criminals who set the laws of Bootan at defiance. They are perpetrated with the knowledge and at the instigation of some of the leading chiefs of Bootan.

Over a period of 36 years these aggressions have extended. Many remonstrances have been in vain addressed to the Bootan Government; and the British Government has been compelled in its own defence, and the defence of its protected and subordinate allies, to have recourse to measures of retribution. In 1828 and 1836 the British Government were most reluctantly forced to occupy the Booree Gooma and the Banska Doars; but these districts were subsequently restored to the Bootan Government in the hope that the Bootan Government would fulfil the offices of friendship towards their neighbours by restraining their subjects from the commission of such aggressions for the future.

This hope proved illusory; and, after the British Government had in vain endeavoured to receive a better understanding with the Bootan Government by means of a friendly mission, it became necessary in 1841 to annex permanently to the British dominions the seven* Assam Doars, a measure which it was believed would convince the Bootan Government that British territory cannot with impunity be persistently and wantonly violated. Nevertheless, the British Government willing to believe in the friendship of your Government, and careful only to secure an undisturbed frontier, and to live at peace with the people of Bootan, paid to your Government annually a sum of 10,000 rupees from the revenues of these Doars.

But even this moderation on the part of the British Government, this sign of its anxiety above all things for peace, was misunderstood. Outrages did not cease. Precautions had to be taken for the defence of the British frontier, and not only the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs but the local Governors on the frontier, particularly the Tongso Pillo, had to be distinctly warned that unless these insults to the British Government were put a stop to, the British Government would have no alternative but to resort to further measures of retribution.

These warnings were ineffectual. It is unnecessary to repeat the numerous acts of aggression to which the British Government patiently submitted, and the further remonstrances which were addressed to your Government before they carried their threats into execution, by the stoppage of the rent of 2,000 rupees a year for the Ambaree Fullacottah, which the British Government held in farm. Of the reasons which forced the British

Same to Dhurm Raja.
• Ghurkola, Banska Chappagoone, Chapakhawar, Bijnee, Boore Gooma, Kulling.

Government to this measure your Government were duly informed, and you were warned that the rents of Ambaree Fullacottah would not be paid until full reparation should be made, captives released, and the guilty parties punished.

These measures also proved ineffectual; and as the British Government were unwilling to be committed to a course of retributive coercion, it was determined to make one effort more by peaceful negotiation and the dispatch of a friendly mission to explain fully the demands of the British Government, and to put the relations of the two Governments on a satisfactory footing. Of this intention, the Bootan Government were informed, in 1862, by a special messenger, who carried letters to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, and by more recent letters addressed to you by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The mission, under the conduct of the Honourable Ashley Eden, a high functionary of the British Government, and my envoy and plenipotentiary, reached your Court at Poonaka on 13th March 1864. Mr. Eden was the bearer of a draft treaty, which he was instructed to negotiate with you. The terms of that treaty were so just and reasonable, and so favourable to the best interests of both Governments, that I did not anticipate its rejection, more especially as Mr. Eden had full discretion to modify any of the details, not inconsistent with the principles of the treaty, to meet the wishes of the Bootan Government.

It was, of course, optional with you to accept or reject this treaty, in whole or in part; and had you received my envoy in the manner suited to his rank as my representative, and as by the usages of nations he ought to have been received, but declared your inability to accede to the demands of the British Government, this rejection of my proposals, however much to be regretted, as forcing the British Government to coercive measures for the protection of the persons and property of its subjects, would not in itself have been an offence.

But you are aware that not only have the just demands of the British Government been refused, but they have been refused in a manner disgraceful to yourself and to your Durbar, and insulting to the British Government. Not only has the envoy deputed to your Court not been received with the dignity due to his rank, he has not even received that protection from personal insult and violence which is extended to an envoy by the laws of all nations, save the most barbarous. By the Tongso Pillo and his coadjutors in council the letter addressed to you on the part of the British Government has been treated with contumely; my envoy has been publicly insulted and derided in your own presence, and has been compelled, under threats of personal violence, to sign an engagement agreeing to restore the Assam Doars.

This engagement I entirely repudiate, not only because it was beyond Mr. Eden's instructions to agree to any such terms, but because the engagement was extorted from him by personal violence and threats of imprisonment. The treatment to which the mission, which was deputed to your Court to remove all causes of dispute by peaceful negotiation, was subjected, has been so disgraceful that the British Government cannot allow the Government of Bootan to go unpunished. I am aware that your authority has been usurped by the Tongso Pillo and other chiefs. But it cannot be permitted that for the insubordination of your chiefs and the internal distinctions which weaken the Government of Bootan, the subjects of the British Government should suffer, and the envoy of the British Government should be insulted and maltreated; I therefore inform you that the district of Ambaree Fallacottah, heretofore held in rent from the Bootan Government, is permanently annexed to the British dominions, and that all payments of rent from that district and of revenue from the Assam Doars to the Bootan Government, have ceased for ever.

You have been informed both in writing and by my envoy, that all British subjects, and subjects of Cooch Behar and Sikkim, of whom there are said to be more than 300, who are now held captive by your chiefs and in your monasteries, or are detained in Bootan against their will, must be released, and that the property which has been carried off from British territory, or Cooch Behar or Sikkim, within the last five years, must be restored. I now warn you that unless these demands are fully complied with by the 1st day of September next, that is three months from this date, I shall take such further measures to enforce these demands as may seem to me to be necessary.

(No. 10.)

From Colonel *H. Hopkinson*, Agent Governor General North East Frontier, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, with the Lieutenant Governor, Darjeeling; dated Fzapore, 20 May 1864.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival of a message from the Tongso Pillo, bringing back with him the despatches which, as reported to Government in my Memo. No. 9 of the 26th March last, I addressed to the Bootan Government through the Honourable Ashley Eden on the same date, and being also the bearer of two letters from the Tongso Pillo, and one from the Dewangiri Rajah.

2. I beg to submit herewith translations of the three letters.

3. As directed in the 2d para. of the Under Secretary's letter, No. 59, and dated Darjeeling, the 3d May 1864, I have declined to make any communication in reply to the Tongso Pillo, and have caused it to be signified to his messenger that he is at liberty to return by the way he came to his superior, with all convenient dispatch, an escort of police attending him to the frontier, in case he or his followers should have any idea of committing any such outrages as were perpetrated by the Dewangiri Rajah in 1855, when he was on return to Dewangiri after a visit paid to the Commissioner.

(TRANSLATION.)

To the Agent Governor General, Gowhaty.

After Compliments,

I RECEIVED on the 13th Bysack, through the Dewangiri Rajah, your letter, and the petrochin (gift sent inside the letter).

You have not sent the 10,000 rupees revenue for which I sent to you on account of the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs, because the red seal of the Deb Rajah was not attached to the letter.

I have for the last four or five years been receiving the revenue on my own stamp and sealed letter.

You have also written to me about sending letters to Mr. Eden, whom the Lord Sahib has sent here.

When the Dooars were in our possession, then the Dewangiri Raja used to collect the revenue and send it to me, and I used to send it to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs; this was the former custom; after this the Dooars came into the possession of the sirkar, then the revenue used to be sent on the letters of the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs. After this the Dhurma Rajah gave me this order, that "you collect the revenue of the Dooars in your jurisdiction, and continue sending it to me." Even after that, I have been receiving the revenue on my own letters and seal,* and the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs have been continually impressing on me that it is not necessary that to receive the revenue, their seals and stamps are requisite; the former old Burra Sahib used to send the revenue on my letters alone, and this custom has continued for six or seven years, and no one of my messengers has ever returned empty handed; this time also, on the above account, the red seal was not sent; but you now want to send a letter to Mr. Eden; the Lord Sahib has no objection to pay the revenue; you are a middle functionary, why do you unnecessarily raise objections?

When I was at the city of the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs, I saw two gentlemen who had come from Darjeeling, and I took them into the presence of the Deb and Dhurmah, who made the gentlemen acquainted with their sorrows and their pleasures (*i. e.*, grievances); upon this the gentlemen agreed to make over the Doars to us, and an agreement to that effect was signed, and the gentlemen, after doing this on the 12th Chritro, went away, and I have returned to Tongso; the gentlemen have also, no doubt, reached their destination. The revenue has hitherto been paid now; also send it by Tawlee Zinkaff.—End, 14 Bysack.

Second Letter from Tongso Pillo.

To the Agent Governor General, North East Frontier, Gowhaty.

I HAVE received your letter with the patrochin through the Dewangiri Rajah; you have written in it that you have heard that Mr. Eden, by confusion or disturbances (goolmal), has been retained in midway. This is incorrect. Mr. Eden has not been so retained; there has been between us a most friendly conference in regard to our boundaries, and after a good understanding was arrived at, Mr. Eden returned to where he came from, and I came back to Tongso. After Mr. Eden had left us, I got your letters for him, which, as I could not deliver to him, I herewith return to you.—End, 14 Bysack.

Dewangiri Rajah's Letter to the Agent Governor General, Gowhaty.

By Tonbi zinkaff, who went for revenue, I got your letter to my address, as also letters from you for the Dhurmah and Deb Rajahs and Tongso Pillo; these letters I had conveyed to their destination by messengers who went by day and night. Tongso Pillo was, at the time, at the city of the above Rajahs, and made Mr. Eden acquainted with the Rajahs, and after all matters had been entered into, it was finally agreed, and a contract was signed, that the Dooars which the sirkar had possessed itself of should be returned to us. After this matter had been arranged your letters were received, and as they could not be given to Mr. Eden, they are now returned to you.

You have hitherto sent annually 10,000 rupees on account of the revenue of the Doars; why have you not done so this year? Let this be, however, as it may, I now again send you Tonbe zinkaff, who I sent to you last February for the revenue.

The gentlemen have arranged to let us have all the land of the Doars, and I have this order of the Deb and Dhurmah Rajahs, that I am to collect the revenue of the Doars, and send it to the Tongso Pillo, who will remit it to them.

For the time the Doars are in your possession it is my duty to collect the revenue from you, and send it to the Pillo.

This

* Note.—This is incorrect. The Booteah share of the revenue of the Doars was always paid on receipt of a letter, with the seal of the Deb Rajah. In 1863, Major Agnew, by an oversight, paid the revenue for the first time to the Tongso Pillo's messenger.

This has been the former custom, and if you ask the former Burra Sahib, he will tell you I am telling the truth. I have, therefore, again sent Tonbee zinkaff, and you can send the money by him.

You are now the Burra Sahib, and it is useless in you raising objections. Be so kind as to send the money quickly.—End, 18 Bysack.

(True translation.)

(signed) *H. Hopkinson*,
Agent Governor General, N. E. Frontier.

(Political.—No. 404 F.)

From the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Agent to the Governor General, North East Frontier; dated Darjeeling, 31 May 1864.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 10, dated the 20th instant, reporting the arrival of a messenger from the Tongso Pillo bearing letters from that official, and the Dewangiri Rajah, demanding payment of the Assam Doar composition money, and bringing back the despatches addressed by you to the Bootan Government, through the Honourable A. Eden, late Envoy to Bootan.

2. In reply, I am to say that the Lieutenant Governor entirely approves of your proceedings in having declined to hold any communication with the Bootan Government, and intimated to the messenger that he may return to his own country, attended as far as the frontier by an escort of police.

(No. 405 J.)

FORWARDED for the information of the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, in continuation of letter, No. 64, dated 3d instant.

Darjeeling, 31 May 1864.

(signed) *John Geoghegan*,
Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *C. Wood*; dated Simla, Foreign Department, 13th August (No. 52) 1864.

Sir,

IN continuation of previous letters, we have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, the accompanying copy of a letter* from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, enclosing copy of a Minute by the Lieutenant Governor on Bootan affairs, and to intimate that as soon as a reply from the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs is received, we shall again address you on the subject.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence*,
H. Rose,
R. Napier,
W. S. Maine,
C. E. Trevelyan,
W. Grey,
G. N. Taylor.

(Political.—No. 1813 T.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Darjeeling, 25th July 1864.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter, No. 64 T, dated the 3d May, and subsequent correspondence, I am directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a Minute by the Lieutenant Governor, containing an expression of his views as to the course which should be pursued in the event of the Bootan Government failing to comply with the demands made on it by the Government of India.

* No. 1813 T, dated
25 July 1864.

MINUTE by Lieutenant Governor Beadon, 22 July 1864.

As the time approaches when, if the Government of Bootan refuse or fail to comply with the demands made upon it in the letter addressed by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General to the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs, dated the 9th June last, his Excellency has declared that he will take such further measures to enforce these demands as may seem to him to be necessary, it seems proper that I should lay before the Government of India an expression of my views as to the course which it will be expedient to take in the event of that contingency, which, though much to be deplored, appears at present only too probable.

The demands which have been made upon the Government of Bootan are in the words of his Excellency's letter to the Deb and Dhurma Rajas, "that all British subjects and subjects of Cooch Behar and Sikkim, of whom there are said to be more than 300, who are now held captive by your chiefs, and in your monasteries, or are detained in Bootan against their will, must be released; and that the property which has been carried off from British territory or Cooch Behar or Sikkim, within the last five years, must be restored." It is to be assumed, I suppose, that all the outrages* which have been committed by the Bootan Government and its officers during the 30 or 40 years preceding the 9th of June 1859, except in so far as they affect the liberty of persons still held in captivity, all the prolonged and repeated insults and evasions* of that Government, all the guilt of those concerned in the numerous acts of rapine and violence committed in British territory and in the territory of its allied and dependent States, and, lastly, the crowning act of insolence by which the British envoy was disgraced in public Durbar, and compelled against his will, by threats of violence, and under well-founded apprehension for the safety of the whole mission, to sign a document which needs no description, but which was of course at once and entirely repudiated by the Government of India, are held to be condoned and expiated by the resumption of the annual payment of 12,000 rupees heretofore paid on account of the Assam Dooars and Ambaree Fullacotta, and the final and unconditional annexation of those tracts to the British dominions. If this be a correct assumption, I venture to affirm that such an instance of magnanimity and forbearance on the part of a great and powerful government is not to be found recorded on the page of history. At any time during the long period to which I have referred, the British Government, as the experience of 1772 plainly shows, might with ease, by putting forth a minute fraction of its strength, and by expending an inappreciable amount of its resources, have crushed this barbarous State, and enforced the most complete retribution. At any time the British Government might have avenged the injuries inflicted on its subjects, its allies and its dependents, and effectually prevented their recurrence. But through all these long years it has preferred moderation to justice. It has contented itself with vain remonstrances, vainer concessions and attempts at conciliation, and still vainer threats, while of all the property plundered, and of all the wretched people carried into captivity, not an atom has been restored, not a single individual has been liberated.

It cannot therefore be a matter of surprise that the Bootanese chiefs, secure in their ignorance of the power of the British Government, and of the motives by which it is actuated, misled by the interested counsels of its enemies, confident in the supposed inaccessibility of their mountains, forgetful of the events of 1772, and unmindful, too, of the ease with which only three or four years ago a British force, on a single and much slighter act of provocation, penetrated to the capital of the neighbouring territory of Sikkim, a place far more difficult of access than any of the principal towns or forts in Bootan, should set at naught the remonstrances and friendly overtures of the British Government, and regard its menaces with incredulity and contempt.

It indicates the dawning of a more firm, dignified, and humane policy than has heretofore prevailed, that his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General has taken the decided step of resuming the payments on account of the Assam Dooars and Ambaree Fullacotta, and of finally annexing those districts to British India, and that he has declared in plain and unmistakeable terms his determination to enforce the demand for the liberation of all captives, and for the restitution of all property plundered during the last five years. But I fear there is little, if any, ground for expecting that the Government of Bootan, after disregarding with impunity the distinct threat made by the Government in 1856, that the Bengal Dooars would be taken from them unless full reparation were made, will be induced now, by any fear of indefinite consequences, to make it. It is rather to be apprehended that the Bootanese authorities, irritated by the cessation of the annual payment on account of the Assam Dooars, will take the earliest opportunity to renew their incursions on the frontier, and seek to effect a restoration of this payment by a repetition of those acts of annoyance which, after long years of forbearance, at last induced the Government of India to send a friendly mission into Bootan, with a view to put an end to them. I have now, on the failure of that mission, necessitated resort to coercion.

It is evident indeed from the documents already forwarded to the Government of India under the dockets from this office noted on the margin† that the Government of Bootan is determined to insist, as far as it can, upon the agreement signed under compulsion by Mr. Eden.

* It is unnecessary that I should particularise these. A detailed and graphic history of them has been prepared by Mr. Eden, and will shortly be submitted to the Governor General in Council.

† No. 405 r, dated 31st May; No. 1037 r, dated 25th June.

Eden. Not only have the Tongso Penlow, and his subordinate officer the Dewangiri Raja, in their communications with the Governor General's Agent on the North-East Frontier officially asserted that an agreement had been signed by Mr. Eden, by which the Assam Dooars were to be restored to Bootan, and on the strength of this alleged agreement have in the name of the Deb and Dhurma Rajas demanded payment of 10,000 rupees, as the revenue of these Dooars for the time they were in possession of the British Government, but the Soubah of Dalimkote, the dependent of the Paro Penlow, has written to Mr. Eden to say that in accordance with the alleged agreement the Deb and Dhurma Rajas have issued orders to all the Soobahs, directing them to act according to the terms thereof, and have sent to Dalimkote to inquire whether these orders have been properly carried out.

Measures have already been taken for the protection of the frontier, as reported to the Government of India in the Secretary's letter, No. 64T, dated 3d May; and since then, under the orders of the Government of India, conveyed in Lieutenant Colonel Durand's letter, No. 140, dated the 9th June, the officers on the frontier have been authorised to pursue marauders into Bootan territory, and to punish outrages of a serious character by reprisal. The instructions issued on this behalf were reported to the Government of India in the Secretary's letter, No. 1091T, dated the 28th idem; and the Commissioners of Assam and Cooch Behar have been desired each to furnish a confidential memorandum as to the resources of the Bengal Dooars, and the arrangements to be made in the event of the Government of India determining to occupy them, either as a material guarantee for a compliance with its demands or in permanency.

But we have now to consider what measures shall be taken, not only to enforce the demands of the British Government in case the Bootan Durbar should fail to comply with them within the time allowed, but in any case to secure the British territories, and those of Sikkim and Cooch Behar, from future violation, and to protect the inhabitants of these territories on the Bootan frontier from any further recurrence of such acts of lawless violence as those from which they have so long suffered.

And here I would venture to state my opinion that these latter objects cannot effectually be attained by merely holding the inferior Bootan functionaries responsible for the outrages committed by them or their followers, or by punishing them with reprisals. This would, in all probability, merely lead to a succession of petty conflicts, in which we should, no doubt, be always successful, but which would cause much loss and misery to the peaceable inhabitants on the border, and would fail to produce anything like a permanent state of order and tranquillity. It seems to me also that it would be equally a mistake to make any distinction between the districts under one or other of the two Penlows, who, though they may virtually exercise authority independent of the Deb and Dhurma Rajas, acknowledge the supremacy of these rulers, act in their name, and invariably evade our demands for satisfaction by pleading their subordination to the Central Government. The only intelligible policy which, in my judgment, the Government can pursue, is to regard the Booteah nation as a whole, and to look to its ostensible Government, and to that alone, for reparation and future security.

If the Bootan Government fail to comply with the demands of the Government of India before the 1st September, I submit that we ought, without doubt, at once to take the course which was followed by Mr. Warren Hastings in 1772, and to occupy the Bengal Dooars, not merely so much of them as lies in the plains, but the whole of them up to the crest or watershed of the outer hills, as well as the outer range of hills abutting on the Assam Dooars. It is only by holding all the passes that the inhabitants of the plains can be effectually protected against the incursions of Bootea marauders. The crest of the hills, and the forts which now exist there, afford the only positions on the Dooars in which our troops can remain with safety to their health throughout the year. While they hold those positions no Bootea will dare to descend into the plains for any hostile purpose, and no one who may be concerned in any outrage on the plains can readily escape into Bootan. On the other hand, if we only occupy the plains, and leave the Booteahs in possession of the passes and the outer range of hills, they will still retain in their hands the ready means of attack as well as of escape, and the task of protecting the frontier from their incursions will be more difficult than ever.

Besides the Dooars, there is a small tract of hill country to the north of Dalimkote which it would be extremely advantageous to occupy, both as a protection of the station of Darjeeling from any surprise from Bootan, and as a means of rendering the territory of Sikkim more secure against attack from the same quarter. The exposed situation of Darjeeling, so closely surrounded as it is by foreign territory, has always been a source of apprehension both to the Government and to the European residents at the Sanitarium; and it is highly expedient that, if possible, this apprehension should be removed, in the direction of Bootan, by advancing the frontier about 20 miles to the meridian of Dalimkote. This little strip of hill country, forming, as it does, the eastern slope of the valley of the Teesta, and extending from Khinok, near the point at which the river leaves Sikkim (about 12 miles above its junction with the Great Rungeet) to where it debouches from the hills into Bengal, occupies, in fact, the same position towards Darjeeling that the Dooars occupy towards the British districts in the plains, and its addition to British territory is demanded by the same considerations which require the annexation of the Dooars, namely, the security of British subjects and of the Raja of Sikkim, our ally. It abounds with forest, and is scantily populated; but though yielding little, if any, revenue to the Bootanese, it would be a valuable possession to the British Government, not only for its timber and its capacity

capacity for tea cultivation, but as giving the command of the best and most direct route from the plains into Sikkim, and on to Thibet by the Chala and Netai passes.

If it be granted that we should occupy and hold the Dooars and the left bank of the Teesta, or so much of this tract as may be thought necessary for the protection of our frontier against the incursions and raids of the Bootanese, there can be no question, I think, that our occupation should not be temporary or in the nature of a mere guarantee, but that it should be permanent, and that the territory occupied should be annexed at once and for ever to British India. During a temporary occupation we can make no serious endeavours to foster the resources of these districts, or to improve the condition of their inhabitants, and we cannot calculate on their inhabitants making any efforts for themselves. There will be no encouragement for industry or enterprise if their fruits be not secured, and if the wealth and property that may be accumulated under our Government, instead of being enjoyed by their possessors, should merely serve to mark them out for the future rapacity of the Bootanese Government and its subordinate officers. We can expect no assistance from the people, especially from those of respectability and influence, if such assistance is, on restoration, to render them objects of revenge to their former rulers. No conditions of indemnity will find such a Government as that of Bootan, or such people as those who compose it; and it is certain that if we once occupy the Dooars, and afterwards relinquish them, we shall give up their inhabitants to a system of oppression worse than that under which they now groan, and still more intolerable after an interval of freedom and security. It will be far better not to occupy an acre of Bootan territory than to occupy it with the intention of ultimately restoring it, or otherwise than in the way of permanent annexation.

But I am far from wishing to impose upon the Bootan Government harsher terms than the necessity of the case seems absolutely to require; and, therefore, while depriving them of a portion of their territory, I would offer them, as a condition of peace, a large proportion of the net revenue which they now derive from it. The recent resumption of the annual payment on account of the Assam Dooars will enable the Government to be the more liberal in this respect without trenching upon the funds necessary to maintain the establishments that will be required for the proper administration of the territory to be annexed. It is believed that a revenue of a lakh and a half of rupees may at once be realised by an easy assessment from the Bengal Dooars, though under the present system of arbitrary plunder they probably yield much less than this to the Bootan Government; and as the expense of management, including police, would not exceed a lakh, the surplus—say 25,000 rupees a year—might be at once offered to the Bootan Government, on such conditions as the Governor General in Council may think fit to impose, and a promise might be held out to them of an increase on this payment up to 50,000 rupees, on similar conditions, whenever the improving revenues of the annexed territory may enable the Government to augment the grant from that source.

The inhabitants of the Dooars are not Bootanese. The plains are inhabited by Bengalees, and the slopes of the outer hills by Mechis, Garrows, Cacharees, Parbutteahs, and other tribes, all industrious cultivators of the soil, who under a tolerable system of Government would gradually break up the wastes, and clear the jungle, while their efforts would be seconded by the immigration of ryots from the adjoining British districts, and from Cooch Behar, as well as by the enterprise of European timber merchants, and tea, and cotton planters. The rapidity with which unoccupied land is likely to be reclaimed may be inferred from the state of the terai lands of the Darjeeling district, which, annexed in 1850, have now for the most part been cleared of jungle, except where reserved for the growth of valuable timber, and the revenues of which in 14 years have more than doubled.* There can be no reasonable doubt that the low lands of the Bengal Dooars, being nearly ten times as large as the Darjeeling terai, would in the same time, and under a like administration, yield a revenue of not less than four or five lakhs of rupees, while the amount to be realised by the sale of waste land on the slopes will be very considerable. As regards the small strip of hill on the left bank of the Teesta, which if left in the possession of Bootan after the annexation of the Dooars, would project most inconveniently into British and Sikkim territory, its sparse population consists chiefly of Booteahs. A great part of the inhabitants of this tract have immigrated into Darjeeling since it became British, and this emigration is now only checked by the intervention of Bootea officers, who guard every ford across the Teesta to prevent it, and treat the families of those who escape with every species of cruelty. If the Booteahs resident in Darjeeling are to be trusted, their countrymen and relatives on the opposite bank of the Teesta, who can appreciate the substantial advantages of high and regular wages on the tea plantations and public works, and who make no secret of their wishes, expect, and eagerly desire to be under the protection of the British Government. The revenue this strip of hill country can be made to yield would never be otherwise than inconsiderable, but its management would be inexpensive, and the waste lands, if sold, would realise a large sum. In a very few years the hill sides, instead of being clothed as they now are with primeval forest, like those of Darjeeling a few years ago, or abandoned

to

* *Note.*—In 1850, when the Darjeeling Terai was taken over, the revenue was 23,630 rupees. In 1853 a ten years' settlement was made at 30,784 rupees, which has since been raised to 34,759 rupees. It is estimated by the Deputy Commissioner that the re-settlement next year, after survey, will raise the revenue to at least 60,000 rupees, and probably more.

to unprofitable waste, would smile with the growth of luxuriant and valuable products, and teem with an industrious, thriving, and contented population.

Of the detailed arrangements necessary for the administration both of the dooars and of the valley of the Teesta, I shall be in a position to speak with greater accuracy and detail when I receive the confidential reports which have been called for from Colonel Hopkinson and Colonel Haughton, but I may say here generally that the plan that seems to me to promise the best results, and to be in all respects most convenient, would be to add the hill country on the left bank of the Teesta to the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, which at present is of very moderate extent, and to divide the dooars into two districts, each under a Deputy Commissioner, placing them for the present under the control of the Commissioner of Cooch Behar. It may be premature to consider where the head-quarters of these two districts should be, but if no healthy place can be found in the plains, Pasakha, at the head of the Buxa Dooar for the Western District, and Cheerung at the head of the Sidlee Dooar for the Eastern District, places which are now occupied by Soobahs, which are at a considerable elevation, which are known to be healthy at all seasons, and which are tolerably central, will probably not be found inappropriate. Both these places would have to be occupied by a detachment of Native Infantry, and this would be a reason for making them also civil stations. At any rate, the administration of the Bengal Dooars would be attended with no greater difficulties in 1864 than it was in 1772, and would indeed be a matter of simple arrangement, like that of the Assam Dooars, after their annexation in 1841, or of the Darjeeling Terai, in 1850. The physical condition of all these tracts is alike.

For the occupation of the dooars, the present frontier force at its full strength, with the addition of a regiment of Sikh Infantry (the 25th Native Infantry, now at Alipore), the company of Artillery now at Cherra, and perhaps a squadron of the regiment of 17th Bengal Cavalry now at Sigowlee, will amply suffice. Even if the head-quarters of the 18th Native Infantry, now at Julpigoree, were ordered to Gowhatty, where it could be joined by the left wing, now stationed at Tezpore, and if a wing of the 17th Native Infantry, now at Bhaugulpore, were brought up to Julpigoree, while the 25th Native Infantry took up a position at Cooch Behar, the passes might all be seized and held in force within a few days, while the police would preserve order in the plains, and the cavalry, patrolling them, would afford the most complete protection against any hostile incursion.

In this view I am supported, not only by the opinions of Major General Showers and Lieutenant Colonel Haughton, but by the experience of 1772-74, when the dooars, including the passes into Bootan, were occupied and held for three years impreguably by two battalions of Native Infantry, and were only relinquished at the intercession of the Regent Lama of Thibet; when the submission of the Bootan Government was accepted, its promises of future good behaviour were believed, a treaty was concluded with it, and the dooars were restored. At that time neither Assam nor Darjeeling was British, and our strength, resources, and position were in every way inferior to what they now are.

If, in consequence of the refusal of the Bootan Government to give reparation for the past, and ample security for the future, it should be determined to occupy these tracts and make them British territory, it may then be prudent to pause and wait for further action on the part of the Bootan Government. Now that the insult offered to the Envoy has been punished, there is, perhaps, no immediate object in sending an expedition into the interior of Bootan, and it will no doubt be well if this can be avoided. It is possible that the Bootanese may recognise, as they did in 1774, the impossibility of expelling us by force, and may acquiesce in the conditions offered for their acceptance. But if this should not prove to be the case, if they should refuse negotiations, attack our posts, and attempt to drive us from our position, to violate our advanced frontier, or to annoy the people whom we have taken under our protection, or if they should still refuse to make the reparation demanded of them by liberating the captives and restoring the plundered property, then no doubt it may become necessary to send a force into the country, and impose conditions of peace at the seat of the Government.

That such an expedition might be successfully undertaken with a small force and at a comparatively trifling cost, there is every reason to conclude, not only from the opinions of all who have had an opportunity of observing the Bootanese character, their means of resistance, and the features of the country, but from the experience we have gained in the Sikkim campaign of 1860-61, and the Cossya Hill campaigns of the two succeeding years. On the former case a small British force marched to Tumloong over a far more difficult road than that which leads from Buxa Dooar to Tassisudan and Poonakha, and in the face of much more serious obstacles than any which troops invading Bootan would be likely to meet with, while the latter involved the subjugation of an obstinate warlike race, and the restoration of order throughout a large extent of rugged hill country, intersected with deep valleys, covered with dense jungle, and entirely destitute of roads.

(No. 44.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*.

Foreign Department (Political) Simla,

30 July 1864.

Sir,

WE have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy of a Report on Bhootan, from a military point of view, by Captain W. J. Lance, late Commandant of the Escort of the Envoy to Bhootan.

We have, &c.

(signed) *John Lawrence,*
H. Rose,
R. Napier,
H. S. Maine,
C. E. Trevelyan,
W. Grey,
G. N. Taylor.

From Captain *W. H. J. Lance*, Staff Corps, attached to Bootan Mission, to the Honourable *Ashley Eden*, C.S., Envoy to Bootan, &c., &c.; dated Darjeeling, 1 June 1864.

IN accordance with the instructions of Government, I have the honour to submit the following points of military interest extracted from the notes taken by me whilst attached to your Mission deputed to the Court of Bootan:—

1. The elevated ranges of the Himalayas, lying in about 28° north latitude and supporting the plateau of Thibet, throw out a succession of lofty spurs towards the south, which gradually slope away to a level tract of country on the northern bank of the Berhampootur. These spurs, together with a portion of the plain, form the kingdom of Bootan, or, as it is termed by the natives themselves, “Dhurma.”

2. The lower portion of the hills is generally covered with the densest jungle, replaced at a greater elevation by forests of oaks and firs, interspersed with the rhododendron and magnolia, and, failing these, huge peaks of gneiss expose themselves to view.

3. The Himalayan ridge above mentioned is the watershed from which the principal rivers run towards the south through the valleys of the Bootan Mountains and empty themselves into the Berhampootur.

4. The scanty cultivation of the country is principally to be found along the sides of the valleys, where the propinquity of the stream and a certain amount of alluvial deposits permit of more extensive tillage than the steep sides of the mountains.

5. The levels of the principal valleys vary from 3 to 8,000 feet, whilst 11 to 13,000 feet is the usual height of the loftier mountains.

6. *Rivers.*—The larger rivers of the country are generally rapid, rocky, and with sandy beds, and entirely unadapted for water carriage.

7. Many of them are subject to great changes in their volume at different seasons of the year, being affected by the melting of the snows.

8. The principal rivers commencing from the east are—

1st. The “Monas” (taking its rise in the slopes leading down from “Lhasa”), which runs in a south-west direction and collects the waters of the other streams east of the “Mateesam” as they course southwards. Thus increased, it becomes an impetuous waterway, impassable except by bridges (one of which, made of iron, is reported to exist at “Tassgong”), and throws itself into the Berhampootur just above Gowalparah.

2d. The River “Mateesam,” which passes Tongso, seems to be a comparatively small stream, stated to flow from the northern boundary of Bootan, and finding its way into the Berhampootur some distance below Gowalparah.

3d. The “Machoo” and “Pachoo,” flowing from the north, join their waters at “Poonakha,” where they are each crossed by a bridge.

After their confluence, the stream thus formed becomes unfordable, and in places contains large pools of great depth; it passes “Ungdiforung” (Wandipore), where it is bridged over and falls into the Berhampootur, about 15 miles above the Chinchu.

4th. The Chinchu, flowing past Tassissujeong (Tassisudun), is a rapid river with a rocky bed.

It runs nearly due south and traverses the Buxa Dooar until it eventually meets the Berhampootur.

5th. The Pachoo, a considerable stream with a strong bed, is fordable at certain seasons, flows through the valley of Paro, and falls into the Chinchu at a short distance south of Paro Castle; it receives on its course the waters of the Hachu.

6th. The Hachu, with its confluent the Longchu, which runs through the Ha Valley and falls into the Chinchu (wooden bridges cross both these rivers at Darikha); it has a strong sandy bottom.

7th. The Am-Mochu, which is a broad impetuous stream and unfordable; it is crossed by a wooden bridge on the road between the "Tegong" and "Tuta" hills.

8th. The Deychu, which is broad, rapid, and unfordable, filled with huge boulders and lying to the west of the previous stream.

9th. The Machoo (running parallel to the last river for some distance and then falling into it), which is shallow and fordable, but rocky.

10th. The Ninchu, a stream of minor importance, fordable and with a strong sandy bed.

11th. The Durlah, and its tributary on the east, the Sukamchu; both very rocky and filled with large boulders, but fordable.

12th. The Teesta, marking the boundary of our possession and Bootan, being broad, deep, rapid, and unfordable on the road from Darjeeling to that country.

9. *Roads.*—The main roads of the country generally run along the valleys from north to south, partly on account of the fewer difficulties there met with, partly because such traffic as exists between Bengal, Bootan, and Thibet, flows in that direction.

10. The principal of them are—

1st. That following the valley of the Chinchu from the summer capital, Tassissujeong, to the plains, either by the Buxa Dooar, by Doona, or by Dalimkote.

2d. That leading down from Poonakha *via* Ungdiforung and Cheerung, entering Bengal by the Cheerung Dooar.

3d. That from Tongso, running almost due south through the valley drained by the "Mateesam" stream and leading out into the plains opposite Gowalparah.

4th. A continuation of the road between Lhasa and Tassgong, which, pursuing a southerly direction from the latter place, reaches the plains opposite Gowhatty.

This road appears to be the best route from Bengal to Lhasa, and might be made the means of establishing a valuable trade between the Indian and Chinese markets.

5th. The route pursued by the present Mission from Darjeeling *via* Dalimkote to Paro and thence to Poonakha. It will be understood from the previous notice of the watersheds of the country, that this road leads directly across the lower portion of the slopes, running from north to south of Bootan, and, consequently, alternately rises and falls as it leads across the hill ridges, or traverses the narrow valleys and rivers between. This route, although in some parts very difficult, and in many presenting merely a hill path, is still capable of being made practicable for the carriage of goods on mules, &c., and might easily be made a means of communication between Darjeeling and Paro.

11. There are various roads leading from Bootan to Thibet, the most considerable of which are—

One from "Tongso to Lhasa" already mentioned (No. 4).

Another on the west, following the valley of the Pachoo, passing Paro and the Chumulari Mountain, and leading eventually to Toshu Lumbu.

12. None of these roads, even when running along the valleys, will bear any sort of comparison with those of more civilised states (the absence of wheeled carriages rendering much care in their formation unnecessary), and, except in regard to the bridges, little, if any, road repairs seem to be made by the authorities.

13. Besides the main roads above indicated, smaller mountain paths intersect the hills in all directions, formed by the villagers for local convenience.

14. *Agriculture, production, &c.*—Owing to the weakness of the Supreme Government, the rapacity of the district and other rulers, the prevalence of particular laws rendering property uninheritable, and a daily increasing population, this country, under more favourable circumstances capable of any amount of development, produces but a bare subsistence for its sparse population.

15. The ryot uses a plough of the rudest sort, and scatters the grain doled out to him by his landlord on ground seldom fertilised by the application of any manure: the crops when produced become the property of the landlord, who leaves the cultivator barely sufficient to live upon. A similar custom exists with reference to cattle, and from these combined causes agriculture is kept at its minimum point.

16. Tract upon tract of the most productive land is thus gradually being covered with jungle.

17. As a necessary result, food and forage for troops are not procurable.

Here and there in the higher regions a herd of "yaks" may be met with, and at some of the larger towns a little rice would be available.

18. *Towns,*

18. *Towns, Houses, &c.*—In a country so poor it cannot be expected that many towns should be found: in fact, the largest places, such as Tassissujeong, Paro, Ungdiforong, Tongso, Dewangiri, &c., have taken their rise similarly to many European cities of the middle ages, formed the collection, round the castle of some powerful lord, of retainers, dependents, and peasants, whom political ties or personal interest led to assemble there, and consist of nothing more than a castle with a greater number of houses than usual collected together in its vicinity.

19. One description of a Booteah dwelling-place will suffice for all, as the manner and style of building are the same everywhere.

20. The houses, which, on the outskirts of the country are merely bamboo and thatched huts, become larger and better as the kingdom is penetrated.

21. There they rise to the height of three and four stories, with mud walls two and three feet thick, surmounted by a single roof, on which stones are placed at intervals to assist in retaining the planks in their places.

The walls have in some instances thick beams running through them for the sake of additional strength; the floors, as well as the doors and windows, are substantially built of massive timbers; whilst outside the latter are large wooden balconies projecting from the side of the house, capable of being closed entirely by means of shutters, and forming efficient "Machicoulis" galleries for defensive purposes.

22. The rooms are large, but often low and dark. No nails or iron are employed in the construction of these houses, their place being supplied by the use of the *Martisa* and *Truon*, and other such expedients of carpentry.

The space between the ceiling of the highest inhabited room and the roof itself is used for storing firewood and other articles.

Portions of the wall, about one or one and a-half foot square, are cut away just below the roof, admitting light and air into this room, and give the appearance of a number of small embrasures, having merlons of equal breadth, and as such they could easily be used when thought fit.

23. Access from one story to another is obtained through a small opening in the floor of the upper room, a heavy log of wood, deeply notched and resting against the aperture, serving for stairs.

24. Villages generally contain about six to ten of these houses, each capable of accommodating 12 to 25 men, and in case of necessity even more.

The larger towns already mentioned possess a fort and a larger number of houses, but otherwise in no way differ from the smaller villages.

25. *Description of principal towns, &c.*—At Tassissujeong, situated on the River Chinchu, is the summer palace of the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs, consisting of a central tower, surrounded (as represented) by a high enclosure of buildings, in which the priests, retainers, and others connected with the Court reside. "Tassissujeong."

Houses of the description already given are scattered about the plain.

26. Poonakha, placed at the confluence of the Machoo and Pachoo rivers, is merely one large building, used as the winter palace of the Government. There are small villages at some distance from it, but no houses in its immediate vicinity.

The palace consists, as usual, of a lofty central tower and large rectangular enclosure some 35 feet high, the whole built very solidly of stones and heavy beams of wood, with a single roof.

The building would accommodate 1,500 men: communications between the tongue of land on which the palace is built and the opposite banks of the rivers are kept up by two large wooden bridges, with square towers of stone placed at each end for defence.

The palace itself is entirely commanded on the south and west by the hills of the narrow valley in which it is built. The rivers washing its walls might be forded at certain seasons, though with difficulty.

The soil around is sandy.

27. *Paro.*—Paro is one of the principal places in the kingdom, built in a most fertile valley about half a mile broad; it consists of a castle and numerous clusters of five and six houses placed at intervals along the plain.

The intermediate spaces are well cultivated, producing wheat, barley, and rice; but even here no supplies in any quantity could be procured. The fort is built on the River Pachoo at the base of the hills forming the eastern side of the valley; by these it is perfectly commanded, and small forts or towers, substantially built of stone, are placed at various important points, but, possessing no artillery, would scarcely interfere with an attack on the main building.

The fort consists of two massive central towers (appearing as one) and an outer enclosure 60 by 40 yards.

Beyond this on three sides is a small terre-plein 15 feet broad, cut away on the eastern face to form a ditch, across which a drawbridge leads to the main entrance, closed by a strong gate.

The terre-plein is supported by a wall 20 feet high, terminating on the north and south sides in sloping ground, and on the west resting on the rocks of the river.

The walls of the fort are of great strength (those of the central tower being 10 feet thick) and plentifully loopholed. On entering by the main gate a passage leads immediately to the left, and then to the right, where it opens into the court-yard.

A rusty and honey-combed "3-pounder gun" nominally protects the passage, but there were no signs of its possessing any supply of ammunition.

The tower, which is divided into five stories, has at the lower one a large wooden gate, and between the first and ground-floor a stout trap door cutting off all communication from below when required. The Paro Penlow possesses about 150 matchlocks, a few old regulation muskets, and about 200 swords and shields, besides some slings and bows and arrows; his store of powder appears to be very small, and also bad; besides the above means of defence there are a few rude catapults mounted on the walls.

The fort would accommodate 700 to 800 men, but in case of attack it is not probable that more than 300 defenders could by any effort be mustered.

Water for the garrison is procured from a stream running down from the hills above the fort.

The reduction would be best accomplished by crossing the river about a mile below the fort, following the road along the left bank, and taking up any position where the lower central window on the south side might be fired into.

A few shells so directed would pass into the court-yard, and probably burst open the gate of the main tower at the same time; if necessary, the main gate (on the east) might then be blown in by means of a gun or bag of gunpowder.

28. *Ungdiforung and Tongso*.—Ungdiforung and Tongso, which were not visited by the Mission, are understood to consist, the former of a fort of the usual description standing on the River Machoo, about a day's march from Poonakha; the latter (about 60 miles east of the same place) of a fort, with blocks of houses near it, in like manner as at Paro.

29. On the route taken by the Mission the smaller forts of Dalimkote (Dellamcotta), Tsongbeh-Ha Beahlah, Suntokha, and Tilagong were passed.

30. *Dalimkote*.—Dalimkote, intended to command the entrance into Bootan from the west and south-west, is built on a spur overlooking the River Durlah. The ascent from this river on the road used by the envoy to a small level plateau called "Umbiok," 1,000 feet below the fort, is steep, narrow, and rocky. Here an eligible site, with a large stream of water near, presents itself for encamping any force destined to attack the fort above.

To this spot a very fair road leads also in three to four days' march from Julpigoree.

31. A wall, 15 feet high and built of stone, runs round the apex of the Dalimkote Hill, and at different intervals and forming part of it are the houses occupied by the Soubah and his people. The main house stands at the south-east corner of the enclosure, and contains the entrance.

To this a steep and rocky road, exposed to the missiles of the fort for about half its distance, winds up the eastern face of the hill from Umbiok.

The Soubah could muster about 60 to 80 followers, for whom he has swords, helmets, and shields.

He has also a few matchlocks, and perhaps half-a-dozen old regulation muskets, together with one or two catapults.

Water is procured from three springs near; the principal one, on which the garrison depend, rises in an adjoining hill to the south, and could be easily cut off.

The fort might be taken by escalade.

32. *Tsongbeh-Ha, &c., &c.*—Tsongbeh-Ha Beahlah, Suntokha, Tilagong, and Dhummoong, with garrisons, when required, of 30 to 60 men each, ought to be compared rather to "block-houses" than anything else, and in any military operation might be counted as such.

33. Other places of importance in the kingdom are Buxa Doar, Jugur, Tassgong, Dewangiri, &c.

34. With reference to the country in general, it may now be remarked that—

1st. *General Observations*.—The absence of fire-arms, except the few miserable matchlocks, usable only under special circumstances.

2d. The want of anything like a military organisation, and—

3d. The cowardice of the natives are sufficient causes to entirely neutralise the advantages of position so frequently offered by their country, and would render it an easy task to subjugate the kingdom with a couple of regiments and a few light guns.

35. Should military operations ever be necessary, the great difficulty to contend with would be the inability to draw supplies from the country itself; owing to this, and on account of the nature of the communications, separate columns, advancing in different directions, would be preferable to any attempt to sweep through the territory with one large body of troops.

36. Each column to consist of not more than 300 men, accompanied by sappers and a mountain gun and howitzer.

37. The troops would, of course, take as little baggage as possible, but not omitting warm

warm and cool clothing, to be prepared for the variations of temperature to which they would possibly be exposed.

38. Tents for the men should be dispensed with, and those necessary should be "pals."

39. Supplies and baggage would at first have to be taken principally by coolies, but supplies might make many of the routes afterwards practicable for ponies and bullocks.

40. As the columns advanced, it would be advisable to form dépôts, with carriage attached, at different convenient places, and thus to keep up a constantly arriving supply of food, rather than to endeavour to carry a sufficiency for the whole campaign at once, a proceeding that would entail an enormous amount of carriage, and seriously hamper the force.

41. One column might advance from Julpigoree on Dalinkote, to which place there is a very fair road; if deemed expedient, it could then move on to Paro and the intervening places.

A second column might proceed either by the Buxa or "Cheerung" Dooar, reducing the residence of the Buxa Dooar Soubah, Tassissujeong, Poonakha, Ungdiforung, &c., as also Paro, if not allotted to the Dalinkote force.

A third column could pass up to Tongso, and, taking up the line where the second column stopped, reduce it and the other places to the eastward.

A fourth column, moving up the valley of the "Monas," would take Dewangiri, Tassgong, &c., and meet No. 3 column marching to the east.

All the main points of the country would thus be occupied.

42. *Military Features of the Country.*—The slopes of the mountains are too great to allow of cavalry or artillery (except mountain train guns) passing or acting, whilst the prevalence of thick jungles, if disputed by a firm and resolute enemy, would present serious obstacles to an advancing column, as in many cases the heights above could not be crowned by light infantry, nor their flanks easily turned.

The abundance of large trees to be found on each side of the hill roads furnishes an inexhaustible material for the construction of stockades, abattis, &c.

43. The rivers of the country would cause some delay to a force, but would not otherwise materially affect its operations, except in the case of some glacial stream, unusually increased by the melting of the snows.

By taking advantage of some of the numerous bends, a temporary cane or wooden bridge could almost invariably be thrown over.

Horses would cross by swimming.

The bridges which exist are usually unfitted for the passage of anything but infantry, being built of cane or logs of wood, and (by report) in one or two instances of chains.

They can be all destroyed with facility. Lakes, marshes, and canals do not exist.

44. The roads of the country, being rather the result of daily travellers pursuing the same path than that of any efforts of the authorities to open up communications between different points, will be found in general practicable only for infantry, and sometimes in the plains for cavalry.

They are commonly rocky and sandy, capable of easy repair with the material lying at hand. The hill roads have sudden and abrupt descents and ascents, with acute turns, commanded at various points by adjacent eminences; difficult portions can often be avoided by temporary cuttings in the hill above or below. Well defended, these roads would be difficult to force, and at important points forts and block-houses are often found commanding the passage. Troops would be obliged to move along in Indian file.

The roads in the valleys, of course, afford more accommodation.

45. Water, as a rule, will be found abundant and good.

46. *Arms and Ammunition, &c.*—The arms used by the Booteas are—

1st. Matchlocks (few in number and used generally like wall-pieces, one man supporting the weapon and aiming, whilst an assistant applies the lighted match).

2d. Bows of inferior strength, with arrows made from bamboo slips charred and pointed at one end, and stated to be charged with poison in time of war.

3d. Slings made of hides.

4th. A short strong sword, single-edged, without any point, and having no guard for the hand; a weapon in war and a knife in time of peace.

5th. A shield, made sometimes of buffalo hide, sometimes of plaited cane.

6th. An iron or brass helmet of hemispherical shape, with lappets of thick cloth falling over the ears for protection.

Wadded coats and armour are, in a few instances, worn by some of the chiefs.

47. Their powder is deficient in quantity, coarse, and also weak, whilst the imperfect manner in which it is glazed must cause it to deteriorate greatly when kept for any lengthened period.

48. Artillery (except, perhaps, some old guns fallen into their hands by chance) they do not possess.

49. They use catapults; throwing stones to a moderate distance, and collecting piles of the same missiles on the walls of their fort, are able to do considerable damage to an enemy advancing without due precaution.

50. In their own wars they build circular towers and breastworks of loose stones piled one upon another and supported, when necessary, by a few heavy beams of wood.

51. *People.*—The Bootas are of middling height and strongly built.

Their number has been estimated at about 150,000 for the whole country, including the hills and Dooars, but there is reason to consider this amount as over-estimated.

52. They manufacture their swords from iron, which the country produces, and execute filigree work in brass and other metals with considerable skill.

53. The currency of the kingdom consists of a debased description of rupee (worth from five to seven annas), together with some small copper coins.

Indian rupees are eagerly accepted.

54. The climate is (at the higher elevations) bracing and healthy.

The valleys, however, are subject to great changes of temperature during the 24 hours, amounting frequently to 30 and 40 degrees.

55. In conclusion, I beg to append—

1st. An itinerary of the journey to Poonakha.

2d. A map of the route, together with some military sketches.

3d. A small vocabulary of “Booteah,” which might possibly be of future use.

Itinerary or Supplementary Report (Military) on the Route taken by the Honourable
Ashley Eden, C.S., from River Teesta to Poonakha (Bootan).

1. The Teesta, about 66 yards broad, rapid and unfordable; there is no bridge, but one of cane is easily constructed, or rafts of bamboos can be put together, ample materials being procurable on the bank of the river.

Horses are crossed by swimming. The left bank is thickly wooded, and very steep for some distance till the crest of the lower hill is gained.

Upon this hill the first halt was made.

2. The road leads from this by a gradual ascent through open country, well cultivated, over the brow of a higher hill to halting-place just beyond, called “Kalingpoong.” Water procurable here as well as on the road; height, 3,750 feet, temperature, 51° F. at 10 A.M.; a few supplies of eggs and vegetables and a little grain available.

3. From Kalingpoong road proceeds tolerably level, passing at the second mile a Gumpa, with one or two houses; half way a “chait” is met with (a stone monument), and close to it “mendong” (another description of monument built in the shape of a wall, &c.); about nine miles brings the march to an end at “Paegong.” No good ground for encamping, but water is procurable from one or two small streams; a house or two near.

4. From “Pargong” to Payungong is a tolerably level road, and the distance about four miles. Water is scarce at any other plain except this.

5. Branching off from the road to the north is a path leading to the fort of “Dhumson,” a small block-house. The place contains, when garrisoned, about 30 sepoy; consists of a tower and some outposts, all of stone, and built on a ridge stretching into the valley; main tower 20 yards long by 10 to 12 yards broad, and possessing three stories.

Is an outpost towards Sikkim, and well placed for its purpose.

From “Payungong” to Labha the road is generally level, through a thick forest of tall trees, and keeping under the ridge of the hill.

No water till camping-ground at Labha, where a small spring rises at a short distance above the cleared space used for halting at; distance to Labha 11 miles, height 6,059 feet.

6. From Labha the road becomes rocky, steep, and in places very bad; drops down to River “Umbiok Andhoo,” a tributary of the Durlah, at about 9½ miles.

A precipitous ascent then brings in view a small plain with a few houses on it and a stream of water; a good place for encamping. A road from Julpigoree exists to here.

Above, at a distance of about 1,000 feet high and 850 yards in a direct line, stands the fort of Dalimkote occupying the top of a hill.

Commands entrance into Bootan from west, surrounded by a wall 15 feet high; has a main tower in which the Soubah lives at the south-east corner, approached by winding path up steep hill, commanded by fort walls; no water inside the fort.

7. From Umbiok the road rises about two-thirds of the way to the fort, and then, falling into the valley on the other side, runs along the side of it in a southerly direction, passing a large stream and finally crossing the end of a spur, and reaching, after a very steep

steep descent, the River Sukamchu; river shallow and rocky, easily forded; a small patch of reedy grass for encamping; distance 12 miles.

8. From the Sukamchu the road runs for a short distance along the river bed, then through flat low jungle, passing three rivulets, and reaches (about half way) the River Nurchu, shallow and fordable, with sandy banks.

After this the way becomes a mere jungle tract, crossed by a large number of small streams, and, dropping down the edge of a steep spur, reaches the River Mochoo, broad and rapid, but easily passable by means of stepping-stones.

Distance about 11 miles; sandy ground, but plentiful for encamping.

9. From River Machoo the road is good to the Deychu. After having crossed the Maknehee, near camp, it enters tree jungle and slightly elevated plateau, passing several small streams and reaches the Deychu-fu, a minor confluent of the Deychu. A little further on, the latter river is met with, deep, rapid, and unfordable, with rocky bed and banks of boulders of large size.

This river must be crossed by a bridge; a small one (but not capable of bearing any great weight) exists, but a larger one would be necessary to cross any force. From this a very steep ascent leads up to a level plateau on which stands the village of Sipchu, where there is an excellent camp ground, with abundance of wood and water. A few supplies are obtainable at the village, where a Soubah resides for a portion of the year.

Distance about 9½ miles.

10. From Sipchu the route lies along the spur, crossing two streams close to camp and rising gradually, passing small open plateaux from time to time. The soil becomes stony in parts, and no water is found on the way till "Saegong" is reached; here there is merely a small pool of muddy water.

Distance nine miles; height 5,727 feet.

11. Road runs along a narrow neck of the hill after leaving "Saegong," opening out into a small plateau after three miles, then resumes its original breadth, rising and falling alternately; rocky in places. Snow appeared first after this; road to "Jongtsa," leads off to the left after passing plateau.

Water found once during this march. After 10 miles reaches "Hloughchu," covered with deep snow; height 8,600 feet; temperature 27° at night; water procurable.

12. Proceeding from Hloughchu, after three miles, the snowy pass of the Tuta Hill is reached, termed the Tula Lah, the road ascending to that point; thence, with many rises and falls, it descends till Dongochuchu is reached. A road to Ha leads off to the left soon after crossing the pass. A small space in the jungle, with a stream near, is found for halting at Dongochuchu.

Distance 10½ miles.

13. The snow ceases soon after leaving the last camp, and the hill is descended, passing through thick jungle and two or three open plateaux (on the lowest of which, seven miles from last camping ground, is the village of Yurbukha) till the River Am-Mochu is reached. Over this, as well as a tributary joining it at this point, are thrown two long wooden bridges. Camping ground on bank of river.

Distance 8½ miles.

14. Road winds up side of opposite hill from the River Am-Mochu, passing several mountain streams; descends again by a rocky path to the bridged River "Sukchu," and, after winding round the base of some projecting spurs and crossing a stream with a water mill, begins an arduous ascent up to Tsongbeh: the latter portion of the march is easier than the first; some villages on the road. Tsongbeh possesses a fort of small size, with a Soubah and retainers.

A small plain (with water running through and a village near) offers a most convenient camping ground, but no supplies beyond a fowl or two and a little "fafar" (a native grain) are to be had. Height 6,100 feet; distance 12 miles.

15. From Tsongbeh the march leads past a "mondong" and the fort round the end of the hill, gradually descending by a road broken up with masses of rock at different spots, and, crossing the river Sukchu by a wooden bridge five miles from last camp ground, zigzags up the steep side of the adjoining hill, turns round the spur, and reaches "Saybee" with a slight descent.

The road is very bad in parts during this march.

The encamping ground is good with a village (Saybee), and water close; distance nine miles: cultivation is extending, but no supplies procurable in any quantity.

16. Leaving Saybee the road descends at once to the River Seychu, rapid and with rocky bed, crossed by a wooden bridge; a nearly perpendicular side of a hill presents itself beyond, up which a foot-path zigzags till the top of the lower slope is reached; the path becomes after this less steep, and, passing some water half way up the hill and one or two open spaces, leads out into a rather larger clearing, called "Buokha," with water near and forming a good camp ground. Distance eight miles; height 9,191 feet.

17. From Buokha the road rises gradually, passing Mirin (where there is no water). At this season of the year (February) snow lies thickly on the path.

About four miles from camp the bamboo and other thick jungle met with all the way gives way to firs, &c. After a winding and rocky pathway has been traversed for some time a stone hut is met with, and shortly after "Safebgee" is reached; snow two to three feet deep; merely an open space surrounded with firs; a stream of water near; distance 10 miles; height 11,791 feet; temperature at night 17° F.

18. Leaving "Safebgee" the road runs under the crest of the hill, and rises till it reaches, between two to three miles, the pass of the Tegong Lah, bare and destitute of any vegetation, a simple sheet of snow. The track then (having crossed the ridge) descends through the ravines and over rocky portions towards the next valley, and after passing and repasing the ravine stream about a dozen times and running through verdant pieces of park-like scenery, emerges into the plain at Darikha. Good encamping ground on the bank of the Hachu River, with plenty of wood. A road from here leads to the plains; the Hachu is here joined by the Longchu, forming an unfordable stream.

Both are crossed just above their junction by wooden bridges.

The beds of both these streams are rocky and sandy.

On the opposite hills are villages and cultivation of fagar, wheat, barley, &c.

19. The road leaves "Darikha" and follows the course of the River Hachu, level and grassy in places, but at intervals presenting a few yards of rock, over which a precarious footing is obtained.

Villages and cultivation are abundant on either side of the stream.

Having crossed it twice by wooden bridges, the road leads through an avenue of trees to Ha, the residence of a Soubah, close to the river; ground for camping sandy, but level and commodious; wood plentiful; distance 8½ miles, with fair accommodation for troops.

20. From Ha the road mounts up the side of the hill forming the eastern boundary of the valley, and, after a steep ascent, a good road leads gradually to the pass Chni Lah; crossing over this, a direct descent, but not rocky or stony, proceeds to the village of Doonakha at the bottom of the slope.

When crossed by the mission the whole of the march was through snow three to eight feet deep, and 14 hours of continuous toil were necessary to accomplish it. Doonakha, a village of a few houses, possesses wood and water, but nothing else; distance 11 miles; thermometer 18° at night.

21. Leaving Doonakha the road crosses the stream at the village, descends the ravines (at this time filled, as the village, with snow), recrosses the same stream, and passes under the collection of houses called "Chuah;" another road over the hills from Doonakha enters Paro from the western side.

Distance to Chuah five miles; wood and water plentiful, and house accommodation available for a certain number of troops.

22. From "Chuah" the road, following the bends of the hills, turns round gradually to the north and leads down into the valley of Paro: here is the castle of the most powerful man in the country, a large and strong building situated on the Pachoo, with five to six small forts surrounding it towards the hill side.

Supplies (with the consent of the Paro Penlow) are procurable here to some extent; wood plentiful at a little distance, much cultivation, and plenty of house accommodation for troops.

Pachoo crossed by a bridge under the fort, also fordable in places. Plain sandy where not cultivated; fort commanded by the hills near; roads to Phari and also to plains lead from this, as also the way to Tassissujeong Poonakha, &c.; distance three miles.

23. The road from Paro passes the castle and zigzags up the face of the hill behind; it then runs along the northern side of the spur with a gradual ascent. This is the best portion of the whole route, equalled only by the march into Poonakha itself; it is evidently kept in something like repair; is five or eight feet broad, generally clayey, but stony in parts. A ruined house is passed about the fourth mile, and shortly after a handsome "mendong."

About six or seven miles the top of "Beahlah" is reached, where, at a short distance, on another eminence, and bearing 15°, is the fort ("Beahlah" Jong), built to command the passage, a mere blockhouse with about 40 defenders. The road then descends, still continuing good; passes through gradually sloping and open land, and ends by falling precipitously to the village of "Paunatong;" a few houses; small fort; stream running near; wood plentiful; good camping ground; distance 10 miles.

24. From Paunatong the road turns southwards, and, having crossed the small stream by a wooden bridge immediately after leaving camp, it runs more or less along the left bank till it reaches the junction of this stream, called the "Tukchu," with the Wangchu (a portion of the Chinchu). Much cultivation and many villages are scattered along this valley, as shown in the accompanying map of the route, &c.; on the left the district of "Bunet" is passed through; the name of the village at the junction of the streams is "Pundoo."

Those on the range of hills across the Wangchu River are Kasakha, Sidhu, and Nomya, containing about 10 or 12 houses each, of mud as usual. The road, having reached the Wangchu

Wangchu in about seven miles, turns up to the north-east, crosses to the left bank of the Wangchu, follows its course for some miles, crossing again once or twice by wooden bridges, passes the villages Chika and Chinchukha, also the River Chikachu, and reaches Chalamafee, a village of considerable size, at the spot where the River Chinchu turns, up to the summer capital of Bootan. Soil sandy; good encamping ground; river at Chalamafee rapid but fordable; wood and water in abundance; extensive cultivation all along this march; road level and good, though narrow in parts.

Wangchu rapid and rocky, and not fordable on the road.

Distance $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

25. Leaving Chalamafee the River Dokinchu is followed, passing the fort of Suntokha near camp; blockhouse as usual, with, perhaps, 40 men when called on for defence; river passed over by bridge; road very rocky, and, gradually ascending, passes an open plain of small extent, about six and a half miles on the way, having crossed the above river several times by wooden planks. After this a ravine leading to the top of the Dokinlah pass is followed up the rocky bed of the stream, and at about eight miles the top of the pass is reached. From here Sinchuh Lah bears 5° , Tatu Gompa 38° , Dongo Lah 235° . The road descends, at first steeply and afterwards more gradually, from this, and, at first stony, changes to clay earth, and reaches the camp ground half way down the hill, a small plain, with a rivulet running by, near a village called Chamjehuch. Other villages are scattered about on this and the adjacent hills, and a good deal of cultivation is everywhere apparent.

Distance $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

26. From Chamjehuch the road continues to descend the hill for some way, crosses on to another spur, passes the fort of Tilagong at a little distance, and falls to the river, crosses by a bridge, and with a gradual ascent rounds the south point of the range of hills on the opposite side, and following their contour makes a gradual descent till the palace at Poonakha, placed near the junction of the Machoo and Pachoo rivers, is reached. The road after passing the river is very good, and with an easy gradient.

Villages and cultivation are plentiful on this march.

Distance 11 miles.

The particulars regarding the military topography of the country and the capabilities of its forts, &c., have been alluded to in the General Report accompanying this.

A VOCABULARY of certain useful Words in the *Booteah* Language.

A.	B.
Abundance - - - Mongbo.	Bank - - - Kheh.
Above - - - Yahte.	Bad - - - Malep.
Abuse - - - Kunji labai.	Bag - - - Gip.
Accuse - - - Shuloke.	Ball - - - Dija.
Ache - - - Nianu.	Base (foot) - - - Sham.
Afar - - - Tharing.	„ (evil) - - - Mulep.
After - - - Odileh.	Battle - - - Ma.
Again - - - Teh.	Beast - - - Sunchch.
Agent (over) - - - Tohpya.	Beat (to) - - - Seh.
Agree - - - Odipyani.	Bed - - - Tip.
Ahead - - - Hunleh.	Bedding - - - Dui.
Air - - - Lung.	Before - - - Hin.
All - - - Tamchih.	Beg (to) - - - Sunymung.
Alone - - - Michi.	Beggar - - - Sunym nangking.
Alter - - - Jini.	Begin - - - Byamchu.
Angry - - - Shedang.	Bell - - - Thicheh.
Ankle - - - Kanpo mickehang.	Bend - - - Ghilang.
And - - - Ditch.	Best - - - Tamchchleh.
Answer - - - Kaleng and Kalup.	Better - - - Gusho.
Apart - - - Pahongleh.	Be (to) - - - Yutan.
Appear - - - Michitongsa.	Blind - - - N-guna.
Arm - - - Lako.	Box - - - Drom.
Around - - - Pang.	Boy - - - Pyabu.
Arise - - - Long.	Brass - - - Sang.
Army - - - Mami.	Bread - - - Ku.
Ascend - - - Jeh.	Burn (to) - - - Bao.
Aside - - - Panchah.	Black - - - Naku.
Ask - - - Lenah.	
Ass - - - Pongbu.	
Attach - - - Chodongkyab.	
Attire - - - Kola.	

A Vocabulary of certain useful Words in the *Booteah* Language—*continued*.

C.			G.		
Call (to)	-	Okikyap.	Game	-	Tzimoh.
Cane	-	Cha.	Garden	-	Shong and Dumra.
Candle	-	Lasug.	Gate	-	Goam.
„ (taper)	-	Chenine.	Get (to)	-	Toh.
Centre	-	Naugsha.	Gift	-	Seora.
Certain (sure)	-	I-emiguni.	Give (to)	-	Nang.
Chain	-	Chatah.	Glass	-	Shuni.
Chair	-	Thushing.	Gold	-	Ser.
Charcoal	-	Sconah.	H.		
City	-	Tongkhyer.	Head	-	Goh.
Coat	-	Koh.	Hear (to)	-	N-guna.
Coax	-	Hla.	Heat	-	Tu.
Corpse	-	Roh.	Heaven	-	Nam.
Coin	-	Nukuing.	Heavy	-	Thuh.
Cap	-	Phoopoh.	Heel	-	Hlam.
Cut (to)	-	Tok.	Helmet	-	Caum chama.
„ (a)	-	Muh.	Helpless	-	Wuhdubin.
Calf (of leg)	-	Ngadong.	Hide (a)	-	Popu.
D.			High	-	Thumpu.
Dey	-	Nun.	Hill	-	Lah.
Deaf	-	Eundong.	Horse	-	Tu.
Deep	-	Ting.	Hot	-	Tumo.
Dear (price)	-	Gongbombo.	House	-	Kim.
Die (to)	-	Shi.	Hundred	-	Gyatumbu.
Dig (to)	-	Koa.	Husband	-	T-oho.
Direct (straight)	-	Tangpu.	I.		
Dispute (to)	-	Thap.	Ice	-	Kao.
Dispute (a)	-	Thap.	Idleness	-	Nope.
Dog	-	Chih.	Illness	-	Ne.
Dread (to)	-	Ju.	Imprison	-	Chunchu.
Day	-	Kampo.	Inhabitant	-	Tongpo.
Dry (to)	-	Kam.	K.		
Dumb	-	Shehi.	Key (a)	-	Duni.
Dirty	-	Theka.	Kick	-	Doktam.
Difficult	-	Dukho.	Kill (to)	-	Se.
E.			King	-	Gyepu.
Ear	-	Namcho.	Kiss	-	Chup.
Eat (to)	-	Kasu.	Knife	-	Kih.
Ease	-	Kissu.	L.		
Easy	-	Jampu.	Ladder	-	Kyaka.
Egg	-	Gondo.	Land	-	S-a.
Eye	-	Mih.	Large	-	Bombu.
East	-	Shar.	Laugh (to)	-	Gu.
F.			Learn (to)	-	Khlap.
Face	-	Dong.	Leg	-	Kumpo.
Faith	-	Wuhdoo.	Lemon	-	Bisi.
Fat	-	Mughi.	Length	-	Kingpu.
False	-	Haug.	Level	-	Dandu.
Fly to (a bird)	-	Pu.	Lie down (to)	-	Nicsa.
„ „ (run)	-	Pyoh.	Life	-	So.
For	-	Sunneh.	Light	-	Ngungku.
Food	-	Sani.	Lip	-	Chu.
Fear	-	Ju.	Listen	-	Nyen.
Fever	-	Dur.	Little	-	Chuchun.
Fish	-	Duya.	Load	-	Thop.
Fire	-	Mi.	Lock (a)	-	Gucha.
Five	-	N-ga.	Lofty	-	Tunbu.
Flame	-	Minda.	Look (to)	-	Thah.
Flow (to)	-	Bakyu.	Loose	-	Yung.
Force	-	Sheh.	M.		
Four	-	Zhi.	Man	-	Mi.
Fort	-	Kantu.	Mare	-	Gumo.
Freeze	-	Khi.	Milk	-	Om.
Fresh	-	Sapu.	More	-	Dih.
Full	-	Kangbu.	Month	-	Daa.

A Vocabulary of certain useful Words in the *Booteah* Language—continued.

Mouth	-	-	-	Kha.
Mule	-	-	-	Kti.
Musket	-	-	-	Mindak.
Mute	-	-	-	Shepi.

N.

Naked	-	-	-	Gemu.
Name	-	-	-	Ming.
Near	-	-	-	N-impu.
Net	-	-	-	Tu.
Night	-	-	-	Piru.
No	-	-	-	Mi.
Nobody	-	-	-	Kami.
Nothing	-	-	-	Kure-mi.
Now	-	-	-	Thato.
North	-	-	-	Chang.

O.

Oath	-	-	-	N-a.
Often	-	-	-	Atung.
Old	-	-	-	N-ingpu.
Oil	-	-	-	N-um.
One	-	-	-	Chi.
Orange	-	-	-	Chatam.
Order	-	-	-	Ka.

P.

Paper	-	-	-	Shogo.
Path	-	-	-	Lam.
Pen	-	-	-	Nyugu.
Penknife	-	-	-	Nyudih.
Pepper	-	-	-	Akhar.
Physic	-	-	-	Meu.
Pistol	-	-	-	Minduc chuchun.
Plate	-	-	-	Duh.
Plough	-	-	-	Kumi.
Pork	-	-	-	Pakshah.
Prison	-	-	-	Chungkung.
Punish (to)	-	-	-	Khlokah.

Q.

Quarrel	-	-	-	Thupmo.
Quick	-	-	-	N-gyopu.

R.

Rain	-	-	-	Chapa.
Red	-	-	-	Mapo.
River	-	-	-	Chu.
Road	-	-	-	Lain.
Robber	-	-	-	Chako.

S.

Saddle	-	-	-	Tegah.
Salt	-	-	-	Chah.
Sand	-	-	-	Pyemoh.
Say (to)	-	-	-	Kye.
Servant	-	-	-	Yoku.
Shake (to)	-	-	-	Yuk.
Shallow	-	-	-	Lap.
She	-	-	-	Mu.
Sheep	-	-	-	Luk.
Shoe	-	-	-	Khlum.
Short	-	-	-	Tungso.
Silk	-	-	-	Kuchen.
Silver	-	-	-	Ghu.
Sister	-	-	-	Pusing.

Sleep (to)	-	-	-	Gue.
Soldier	-	-	-	Mami.
South	-	-	-	Khloh.
Son	-	-	-	Pah.
Spoon	-	-	-	Turmoh.
Square	-	-	-	Tujeh.
Star	-	-	-	Karmo.
Steal (to)	-	-	-	Kumo.
Sword	-	-	-	Kiring.

T.

Table	-	-	-	Gyachu.
Tailor	-	-	-	Ohempo.
Tall	-	-	-	Miring-pu.
Tea	-	-	-	Chha.
Tear	-	-	-	Mikehu.
Tempest	-	-	-	Puyu.
Temple	-	-	-	Chu-kang.
Tent	-	-	-	Kur.
Thirst	-	-	-	Kom.
Three	-	-	-	Sum.
Throat	-	-	-	Kyeh.
Thumb	-	-	-	Tep-chen.
Tiger	-	-	-	Tuk.
Tobacco	-	-	-	Tanka.
Toe	-	-	-	Kang-ju.
Tongue	-	-	-	Chep.
Top	-	-	-	Goh.
Tree	-	-	-	Shingdong.
Tooth	-	-	-	Soh.
Trouble	-	-	-	Dup.
Tumble (down)	-	-	-	Geo.
Twenty	-	-	-	Kyechi.

U.

Under	-	-	-	Gho.
Understand (to)	-	-	-	Mye.
Unripe	-	-	-	Macho.
Upon	-	-	-	Ten.
Upside (down)	-	-	-	Sin.

W.

Wages	-	-	-	Lah.
Wall	-	-	-	Kinglo.
War	-	-	-	Ma.
Wash (to)	-	-	-	T-chu.
Watch (to)	-	-	-	Sung-ja.
Water	-	-	-	Chu.
Wax	-	-	-	Pyachi.
West	-	-	-	Nuh.
Weary	-	-	-	Kyejen.
Weigh (to)	-	-	-	Ge.
When	-	-	-	Nam.
Who	-	-	-	Ka.
White	-	-	-	Kussu.
Why	-	-	-	Kamlya.
Wife	-	-	-	Tchoh.
Wind	-	-	-	Lung.
Wine	-	-	-	Arra.
Wood	-	-	-	Shing.
Woman	-	-	-	Pomu.
Write	-	-	-	Pi.

Y.

Year	-	-	-	Loh.
You	-	-	-	Chu.

(No. 77.)

The Governor General of India, in Council, to Sir *Charles Wood*.

Sir,

Foreign Department (Political), Simla,
19 September 1864.

WE have the honour to forward for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy of a letter from Captain Godwin Austen, recently employed on deputation with the mission to Bootan, enclosing a Survey Report, which is to form an accompaniment to his map of Western Bootan, with notes on the government, religion, &c. of the Booteahs.

2. A copy of the communication from the Surveyor General of India, submitting Captain Austen's letter, also accompanies this despatch.

We have, &c.
(signed) *J. Lawrence,*
H. Rose,
R. Napier,
H. S. Maine,
C. E. Trevelyan,
W. Grey,
G. N. Taylor.

From the Surveyor General of India, to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, Simla (No. 68); dated Calcutta, 23 July 1864.

*No 22, dated
15th July 1863.

I HAVE the honour to submit, for the information of Government, copy of a letter, as per margin,* from Captain H. H. Godwin Austen, Surveyor in the Topographical Branch of the Survey Department, and recently on deputation with the mission to Bootan, together with a Survey Report, in original, drawn up by that officer to accompany his map of Western Bootan, with notes on the government, religion, &c., of the Booteahs.

2. The map referred to in Captain Austen's letter above mentioned, will shortly follow this despatch. A copy of it is at present in course of preparation for the purpose of photography, as the original is not susceptible of being thus copied. The map shall be forwarded at the earliest practicable moment.

From Captain *H. H. Godwin Austen*, Surveyor, Topographical Survey, Mussoorie, to Lieutenant Colonel *H. L. Thullier*, Surveyor General of India (No. 22); dated 15 July 1864.

Vide Letter, No. 64,
from Secretary to
Government of
Bengal, dated the
17th June 1864.

I HAVE the honour to forward the plane table section of Western Bootan, surveyed by me during the march of the mission into that country last cold season.

The map is based on the trigonometrical stations in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling, and those on the snowy range to the north of Sikkim.

As far as Labor, above Dalingkote, it is as correct as the number of trigonometrical points around can make it, but thence to Har is all reconnoissance, correct in itself, but wrong in latitude and longitude.

The Paro Valley is in position very fairly determined by rays from Chumula Rhi, secondary peak; its latitude has to be slightly corrected by addition of perhaps 15 minutes.

From Paro to Punakha, the work is based on the peaks around Paro, and bearings taken on the Plane Table, the distances being put in by eye.

I have also the honour to forward forms of routes in the country, those in direction of Lhasa having been obtained from native information.

SURVEY REPORT to accompany Map of Western Bootan, or that portion traversed by the Mission under the Honourable *Ashley Eden* in 1864, by Captain *H. H. Godwin Austen*, F.R.G.S., Surveyor, Topographical Survey of India, late Assistant to Envoy, Bootan Mission; dated Mussoorie, June 1864.

HAVING received at Sealkote, on return from Ladak, in November 1863, orders from the Government of India to join the Bhootan Mission, then about to leave Darjeeling, I proceeded without delay to Dehra Dhoon where, at the head office of the Superintendent Great Trigonometrical Survey, I collected all the geographical information known of the country we were about to visit, and prepared large plane tables of the pattern in use with
Indian

Indian surveys, together with all the requisites required for carrying on a survey with such aid: these last are few, and I have found the plane table by far the best aid in sketching in the features of a hill country. On arrival at Darjeeling, upon these plane tables were projected graticules of the scale of four miles to an inch, which I considered quite large enough for a survey of a mountainous country, and a scale that shows all that is required for ordinary purposes.

I was enabled on the above scale to bring into one table an area of nearly two degrees of longitude and one and one-third latitude, and thus to plot in all the trigonometrical stations around Darjeeling and the fixed snowy peaks of the Himalaya range to the north, including the well-known mountain of Kanchinunga and Chumula Rhi, this last lying to the northward of our destination: Darjeeling Hill Station and Senchal Hill Station were the points on which I based my work, tested compasses, and boiling point thermometers. From Darjeeling and Senchal Stations, several well marked hills were fixed towards the east in Bootan territory, and I commenced sketching in the country from these two points, fixing others on the plane table by intersection of rays from Great Trigonometrical Survey Stations. I afterwards received at Dalingkote, from Lieutenant Colonel Thuillier, Surveyor General of India, a very good sextant for taking altitude observations. A subtense instrument had been sent up to Darjeeling before my arrival. The nature of the country would have rendered it all but useless, from the very short rays that can be taken in the winding paths through such dense forest: this useful instrument for route surveying in an open country I therefore left behind. Further on, near Paro and Poonakha, where the country was adapted to its use, the suspicion of the people would soon have been excited; even the plane table could not be set up in the presence of the people, and they expressed a decided objection to any drawings being taken of the country. When on the march, I always managed to get away off the road in the higher ground, set up the plane table, and take rays to every object around without being seen, and in this manner fix peaks and sketch the country for sometimes 25 miles. As a proof of the dislike of the people to any drawings being taken, Dr. Simpson, photographing a short distance from camp at Paro, received a peremptory message to be off.

"Rhi" means mountain in Tibetan.

After crossing the Teesta below Pushok on the Darjeeling side, the country of the Durm Rajah is entered, and a steep ascent from 1,120 feet to 3,800 or 2,680 feet through forest and small scattered patches of cultivation, brought one to the top of the ridge which, running for many miles east and west, was the line we kept, either close under and finally upon the crest of, as far as longitude $88^{\circ} 42'$. The weather was fine and beautifully clear, the snowy peaks were daily visible, and the sketch of the country, so far, is more correct than any other portion of the map.

Teesta River.

From Kalingpoong to Paiongoung the country to the south is bounded by a forest-clad ridge, the highest points of which are about 6,800 feet, and give out spurs and streams, running down to the Kulichu river, a small tributary of the Teesta. The spurs here have, at about 2,500 feet above the main valley, fine broad ridges, and the slope of their sides is by no means steep, many hamlets and new clearings are seen, and the jungle and forest were being burnt away on every side to form the sites of new fields and new dwellings.

Bootan beyond the Teesta.

Just beyond Kalingpoong, the monastery of Yangtsa Goupa is passed, surrounded with tall poles adorned with narrow white stripes of cloth printed in Tibetan characters, being commonly the six syllabled mantra, Om ma ni pad oni hun, repeated over and over again. The building has two storeys, the upper alone being used as an idol-room; this we saw, but it was poorly furnished. The road thence to Paiongoung was good, with only a few little descents and ascents into ravines from the ridge on the left. Paiongoung consists of some five or six scattered houses built of bamboo and thatch, the floors raised from three to four feet above the ground. From this village an ascent of about 1,600 feet, very gradual at first, takes one up to the top of the main ridge, and on the summit of the highest point stands the small monastery of Rhishi sum. The view from here ranges over an immense area down into the valley of the Ring po; the Sikkim mountains beyond spurs from the high range running north from Giepmochi. Nearer the village of Rhenokh covers a broad spur from the Rhishi range; this formerly, a portion of Bootan, was ceded to Sikkim several years ago for some aid rendered to the former State—the population are Booteahs; facing Rhenokh to the west and across the Rhishi chu stands the fort of Dumsong, a large oblong block of stone walls, but of no great thickness; the approaches along the ridge on either flank are protected by small out-works of circular shape; the whole position is a very strong one, as the mountains on the west, though commanding it, do so from a long distance, and are covered with dense forest almost inaccessible. About half way up the ascent to Rhishi sum Goupa a road branches off to Dumsong along the ridge, another and the most direct from the Darjeeling side leads away up the hill from Paiongoung.

"Goupa" means a monastery.

Dumsong Fort.

The road from Rhishi Goupa eastwards was level and very good, keeping close to the ridge, dense forests, principally of oak, magnolia, rhododendron, &c., rose on either hand, so that nothing could be seen; from the branches of these trees hung long ragged mosses, while the trees grew so close they choked each other, and, as a rule, were small-stemmed, and with scraggy gnarled branches. The principal underwood was a small species of bamboo (ringall?) which grew in dense impenetrable masses. After passing the monastery, the only place where water is procurable in sufficient quantity is at Labor, a few yards to the right of the open glade of that name in the forest: just under Rhishi Goupa a little water is found below the road, but only enough at this season of the year for a small party of men. It was very difficult to survey anything from this wooded ridge; it was frequently necessary to set the plane table in a different spot for every ray taken

from

from neighbouring stations or distant peaks, and these but scarcely visible through the holes and branches of the trees. At Labor the Sikkim hills are left behind, never to be seen again, for the road a short distance on leaves the ridge and descends gradually to the southward, then skirting a high rounded hill to the left clothed with magnificent forest, and following the crest of this for some four miles leads down to the Daling river: this portion of the road is not so good, and in one or two places being steep and rocky it would require some little work to place it in decent order, and so prevent the detention of baggage animals.

At the point where the road first strikes the crest of this ridge there is a somewhat open spot, thence the first view of the Fort of Daling is obtained, distant about four miles in direct distance, on the opposite side of a large valley from the north, and standing a considerable height above its rivers. I had now left all fixed trigonometrical points behind, only a few rounded hills on the west remained that had been fixed by myself, and with help of which I sketched in the fort and valley of Daling, trusting to eye and long experience in judging the distance of the surrounding hills before placing them on the plane table. The Daling Kote River is easily fordable at this season of the year, and remains so until the rains, when, I should imagine, its bed of large boulders would be, at times, difficult, if not impossible to pass; a cane suspension bridge at the ford told this plainly.

From the river a narrow stoney path leads slanting up the steep bank, eventually emerging out on an open nearly level space, on which stands a small collection of bamboo huts called Ambioikh, and near them are a few small patches of cultivation. Rising immediately in front is a steep spur crowned by the Fort of Daling, or, as it is called in the old maps, Dallimeotta; but I never heard this used, and it is probably the name given to this place by the Bengalee population in the plains. The fort holds a most commanding site, as viewed from Ambioikh, but is backed by much higher hills all covered with the dense sombre moist, I might almost add dripping, forest of these regions. Save where varied with a few different forms of forest trees and shrubs, it is the same in appearance from the summits of the hills to the narrow rocky gorge of the streams below these are heard but seldom to be seen, the green mass of overhanging forest hides them completely.

There is sufficient room to encamp 3,000 men at Ambioikh; water is to be had in plenty from a stream which flows on the fort side of the open plateau, which in former days was entirely under cultivation. The broken walls of stone that divided the plots could still be seen, the ground falls in terraces and narrow away down the slope where stand some large trees apart from the surrounding forest, and under these the tents of the Envoy were pitched. A road leads away down the left bank of the Daling River, and is the way out of the hills to Minagoroo or Dohmohni. Having been sent to bring up supplies for the camp from Julpigoree, I had an opportunity given me of seeing and making a rough sketch of the road with prismatic compass. Before commencing an account of this route, a few words on the portion above described may not be out of place here. Should a force be sent into this portion of Bootan at any subsequent period, it should never be sent from Darjeeling and by the road above described; a far shorter line of country is from Punkabari to Bullabari, and thence to Daling through the Morang or plains at foot of hills, the whole distance and road quite good. On the fall of Daling Fort, all the country on the left bank of the Teesta River, from Kalingpoong to Dumsong, would likewise fall, and that portion could be taken possession of. Darjeeling is by no means suited for a starting point; provisions, such as flour and rice, have to be brought up from the plains with much labour and expense, both of which the mission entailed unnecessarily. The ascents and descents from Darjeeling to the Rungeet up to Pushok, and again down upon the Teesta with another steep pull up to the top of the Kalingpoong ridge, are all very fatiguing to laden coolies, while the passage of the Teesta River is a most slow and tiresome business.

The best roads into Bootan on the west side lie from Julpigoree whence are three; first to Daling; second, *via* Minagoroo, to Sipchu; third through Minagoroo to Sumchi, over the Sêli La, down into the Har valley and thence to Paro: of these three routes, I am only personally acquainted with the first; this I performed in 16 hours, marching from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., or 10 hours* the first day, and six hours the second day, with well-laden coolies accompanying the party the whole distance.

For two miles and a half below Daling the road keeps the left bank of the stream and high above it; part of the distance lies over a level plateau covered with large bamboo forest: the road gradually descends from this and is stoney, but still practicable for laden bullocks; arriving at the stream, this is forded to the right bank, when a low thick jungle with forest trees is entered; the road is now very good through the level portion of the valley. On the right hand the cliffs rise to some 50 feet, covered with forests, but by no means impenetrable, and the road is commanded, so that an enemy might annoy a force here were they sharp enough to take advantage of the position.

After two miles, a little stream from the right is crossed, and just beyond is a somewhat clear space called Goroodoora, used at times as a halting spot by the natives from the plains bringing up provisions for the fort. A few yards further down stream the road leaves the level of the river and ascends for some 150 feet to the level of an alluvial plateau, still covered with forest, but with very little underwood, the ground being covered with grass about as high as the knee; this continues 2½ miles further, when a steep bouldery descent takes the traveller down to the level of the river again; this is not very densely wooded, and compared to the hill side is quite open; the stream is soon reached

at

Daling, Daling
Kote, or Dallim-
cotta.

* Including time
for cooking, &c.

Road from Daling
to Julpigoree.

at a point quite clear of the hills which are seen running in a westerly direction clothed with forest to the base. The Daling River also takes the same direction, and its course can be traced for a long distance through a broad belt of high grass, forest bounding it on the southern side. For three miles the edge of the forest is kept, the road then turns into it, and at three miles further the next village of Bullabari is disclosed, built on a little clearing in the forest, and consisting of some twenty-four houses, all slightly raised off the ground; one house more substantially built than the rest is used by the Booteahs passing backwards and forwards. From this point forest is again traversed, covering the ground, which is of the level boulder formation, raised some eight feet above the drainage of the country; this is always seen spread over the lower country stretching into the plain for some distance until the alluvium of the larger rivers is reached. At five miles the ground became rougher and cut up by a few dry "nullahs," the jungle became ranker, and we came upon a small stream flowing towards the south-east; beyond this point the jungle was much more open, long broad glades of high coarse grass intersected the forest; this again closed in on all sides and became very green and rich, and we emerged suddenly out of it upon the Dholah river, as that from Daling is here called; it was a still flowing clear stream, with banks rising only five feet above its pebbly bed; beyond this was another belt of dense forest, and then the opener kind began. The glades of high grass were of greater extent, and only a few long strips of open "sal" forest are seen; this too entirely disappears at $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the river, and the whole country is covered with tall grass, the strips of forest only showing far off on the horizon.

For four miles further the country wears this appearance, when it suddenly changes close to Kyranti, where the edge of cultivated ground is reached, and villages with clumps of bamboo and betelnut trees are seen continuing the whole way to the Teesta; $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond Kyranti the road is covered by a clear nullah, with steep banks, 10 feet below the surface of plain, called the Phuljerra nullah; and just beyond the Booteah Chokee at Azaturra the Dholla is again met with, along the right bank of which the road runs for $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles as far as the stockade of Domohni, situated on the left bank of the stream close to the junction of the Dholla with the Teesta. The place is nearly square, built of upright trees planted in stockade fashion, the houses standing in the interior with thatched roofs high above the walls, so that it would be an easy matter to fire the place; it is the residence of an inferior officer under the Daling Kote Souba, called a Katma, who, with a small party of Booteahs, garrisons the place, having some Bengalees also in his service armed with spears. I here saw two elephants, having passed four others on my way down. From Domohni the white sandy bed of the Teesta is seen, and by proceeding due west from Domohni the ferry opposite Pahaspur is reached, and Julpigoree lies about four miles down the right bank of the Teesta. The road is very good the whole way through the plains, but in the rains must in some parts be very deep in mud.

Domohni.

As to the value of the strip of land just traversed, a great deal of it is not worth much as it now stands, though the cultivation might be extended many miles to the northward of Kyranti, and the forest along the Dholla contains much good timber which would be of value.

These forests are of unlimited extent; further eastward the cultivated tract is more extensive, and I was informed that the portion in and around Minagoroo, and the stockade residence of a petty Souba, is very rich indeed: it is, in fact, from this tract of country that the natives of West Bootan draw the greater portion of their supplies, especially the betelnut, without which it is scarcely possible to imagine a Booteah is able to exist.

The population of the plains is entirely Bengalee, very few Booteahs living in the plains. The villages along the foot of the hills are inhabited by the Mech tribe, a race of people having a more Mongolian type than the Bengalee, stouter and more robust; they dress somewhat differently, the women generally appearing with the head uncovered, the hair being combed back off the forehead and tied in a simple knot at the back: these people are closely connected with men of the same race living to the west of the Teesta, and I saw several men from that side in the village of Bullabari.

Population of above tract of country.

Notes on the Country between Daling and Paro.

A short way from the open ground at Ambiokh, on leaving it for the fort of Daling above, the road crosses a small stream from the hills to the north of the fort, and immediately ascends about 1,000 feet; close under the ridge the path is very steep and stony, and the jungle grows close up to it. Reaching the ridge a small ruined outwork is past on the left, and the path turning to the right runs under the south-east side of the walls of the fort, which are 100 feet above the road. The ridge slopes up at an angle of 25° from the outwork, and is bare and covered with short grass. The longer sides of the fort here meet in a very acute angle; this is the weakest point, for the angle is squared off by a wall about 15 yards long and 12 feet high, with a large wooden balcony on the top, and a wicket door on the left side: the length of the run up the slope is some 100 yards, and the angle is quite undefended, save by direct fire. On the northern face, the slope of the hillsides below the fort is quite precipitous; the whole south-east face is accessible, but slopes up considerably; and on this side is the entrance gate. The house of the Souba is immediately on the right hand side of the gate, and the floor of the upper story is on a level with the top of the walls of the fort; this upper story and roof

Fort of Daling.

are entirely of wood, and a number of these pent-roofed buildings rise above the walls. The Daling Souba has a stand of some 40 muskets and a few wall pieces.

The best road to the fort is from the Tsa-kam-chu side, and can be reached, I think, from the Daling river at the ford below Goroodoora. This road is the best from Daling to Paro, and I will now describe roughly the country through which it runs. The first few marches leaving the fort, the sides of the forest-clad spurs are followed, gradually sinking in height until at a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles the top of the ridge is reached, and a glimpse is obtained of the Daling valley and river near Goroodoora; the road is much grown over by rank jungle, and in a few places is very narrow. Beyond the ridge for about a mile it is good, but then descends very abruptly by a zigzag path into the Tsa-kam-chu valley; this is much confined, there being only a narrow belt of high grass and scrubby jungle on either side of the stream. From this place to Sipchu (two very short marches) the country is of much the same type. The Nachu and Machu and Dechu rivers *debouché* into the plains on the line of road which is bounded on the north by the first slopes of the hills, and is carried over nearly level plateaus of boulder formation lying between those rivers: these rivers have cut out narrow valleys about 150 feet below the upper level of the plateaus, these terminating in cliffs that enclose the valley which seldom exceeds a quarter of a mile in breadth. The level river beds are free of forest, but covered with high close grass. "Mahseer" are seen in the pools of these rivers, but are small in the Nachu and Machu; but the Dechu having a larger body of water and draining much further back than either of the two others, the fish in this last-named stream run large in size.

The plateaus are all clothed with forest, but in most parts not dense enough to be quite impenetrable: the plateau crossed before descending into the Dechu is less grown over by underwood, and the forest trees here assume gigantic proportions entwined with huge coils of climbing parasites, some of which finally destroy the parent supports.

I know nothing of botany, so cannot give the names of the forest trees, but a common one seems the "cotton tree," with its tall straight stem and regular branches, at this time of year (April) quite bare of foliage, but having just blossomed.

From commanding points looking out towards the plains these are seen covered with forest as far as the eye could reach; the nearer ground is somewhat undulating, but the drainage lines cannot be followed with certainty; the surface, if seen, would probably be much cut up by dry ravines. Some way further out in the distance the forest hides every feature of the country from view. The Dèchu valley is, as a necessary accompaniment to its large water-shed, much broader than that of the other two rivers, and leaving the confinement of the alluvial cliffs, its bed widens into several channels, many of them old and dry, filled with boulders; further up stream near the cane suspension bridge these boulders are of very large size. The river at this point flows in a series of rapids, with long smooth reaches of water below, and is not fordable, save for elephants; in the rainy season it must be a most formidable river.

Looking north, the valley is closed in on both sides by steep forest-clad mountains, their summits buried usually in dense hanging masses of cloud; the slopes of the hills some way up the stream terminating in precipitous cliffs of boulder formation, covered with a hanging forest.

The range whence the rivers above mentioned take their rise is to the north of Dalingkote, about 7,000 feet, gradually rising to 9,000 and 10,000 until they reach Giepmochi, which is 14,500 feet above the sea level; this range forms the southern boundary of Sikkim.

The Dèchu takes its rise in the neighbourhood of Giepmochi, and its waters are of course much colder than those of the Machu and Nachu; the water-sheds between these rivers are about 6,000 to 8,000 feet high, with the usual rounded form. The forests are full of wild elephants, their tracks being seen along the path and in numerous runs crossing the road to the right and left; rhinoceros I heard of as frequenting the margin of the rivers running towards the plains, but saw none, nor indeed any animal save a large black squirrel, although nearer the grass jungle, tigers, leopards, and many kind of deer must be plentiful. Crossing the River Dèchu and the narrow damp flat on the left bank, the path ascends in a very steep zigzag track to the top of an alluvial clift, the edge of a plateau very similar to the one we had been traversing on the west bank; the road at this point turns to the left, and at about a mile along the edge of the cliff, and at a few hundred yards from it, stands the village of Sipchu, a very small place with two decently built bamboo houses with upper rooms, the residence of the Niboo of Jangtsa, who lives here during the cold weather, and removes to Jangtsa further up the river when the hot weather comes on. There is no cultivation here, and the only cleared spot is that on which the village is built. A small stream from the east flows into a ravine below the village. At this point the road towards Paro enters the hills, following a spur running up to the Toolè La, with a stiff ascent the whole way; the road is bad in many places, where by the action of water running over it, and constant use, the path has sunk deep into the clay, and is of course very narrow and obstructed by blocks of stone which have been washed out on either side. Sipchu being about 2,000 feet altitude and the Toolè La about 10,000, the ascent is about 8,000 feet; many clear open spots are passed on the more level portions of the ridge; these are covered with grass, and huts used by shepherds generally occupy such sites. As spring advances it is very difficult to obtain water at many spots on this ridge, except by going a long way down the ravines.

The largest and most open of these grassy spots is that at Tsigong, one march from Sipchu,

Tsakam.

Country on to
Sipchu, its rivers,
&c.

Bomoax, Hepto-
phyllum.

The Dèchu valley.

Sipchu.

Road over the
Toolè La.

Sipchu, where in the rains a small pond is formed fringed with rushes. Jangtsa is situated on the left bank of the River Dêchu, and can either be reached from Sipchu direct up the stream, a distance of $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles, which is the best route, or by a bad forest path down the steep hill sides from a place called Tlungchu, beyond Tsigong. The wild elephant roams over the whole of these forests up to about 8,000 feet, perhaps higher, and they penetrate far up the valleys beyond Jangtsa. Through Jangtsa lies the most direct road into Sikkim, *via* the Pango La, about 9,000 feet; the road is described as bad, and must be much overgrown by the dense forest in that direction, as it is but little used. There are other roads from Sikkim into Bootan, passing through Chumbi in Tibetan territory, and thence to Har and Paro. Having crossed the Toolè La, the road has fairly entered the mountains, and from the pass one descends into the valley of the Am Mochu, a large river from the north, which takes its rise near Phakchi or Phari in Thibet; passing the fort of the Rajah of Chumbi, it flows with a southerly direction thence to Yarbukkha, where it takes an east course of some five miles direct, under and to the south of Tsangbè, when it turns again to the south-east and joins the plains some 18 miles further down. At and about Tsangbè the scenery in the gorge of the ravine is most exquisite, a grand mixture of rocky precipice and tropical forest, while the fine body of water falls over and boils amidst huge water-worn masses of gneiss; to the north and east the valley is bounded by high mountains culminating in snowy peaks to the north-east, and the spurs of the mountains descend very abruptly into the river from shoulders some 2,500 feet above it. At the above elevation the ridges are generally broad and level; on such sites the villages are built, and good patches of ground are cultivated. On such a shoulder of the second spur from Yarbukkha, stands Tsangbè, the residence of a Souba whose house is very conspicuous, near a large white mendong (a wall into which stones, inscribed with the sacred muntra "Om ma ni," &c., are let together with rough representations of the principal deities cut on flat slabs of stone and coloured); there is also a monastery here. The villages hereabouts are more substantially built than any met with hitherto, and contain in some instances eight or ten houses; all are raised eight feet above the ground, the sides made of bamboo mats and thatched roof; a few were seen roofed with planks, and with pucca walls built up to some height above the ground, the upper story being entirely of wood.

Road to Sikkim.

Am Mochu river.

Tsangbè.

The road from Yarbukka crosses the Am Mochu at the junction of a small stream from the south by a very well-built bridge thrown from the right bank to a huge rock in the centre of the river, whence another spans it to the left bank. It is built after the usual form of all lever timber bridges in the Himalayas, with projecting abutments of large joists overlapping each other, the ends next the bank being covered and weighed down with blocks of stone; by this means the span for the main timbers is much lessened. In the bridge over the Mochu the whole bridge is strengthened and supported by strong lengths of cane passing over tressle supports at either end of the bridge; suspending canes attached to these pass under the beams of the bridge which form the roadway, thus combining the lever and suspension bridges, and forming an excessively strong piece of work; the bridge is prevented from swinging by the force of the wind by cane guys fastened to the limbs of trees on the banks; without the additional strength of the suspension ropes, the beams of the bridge would not be sufficiently strong for their great length and scantling. From the river bank the ascent on the other side is very steep for some 800 feet, but the road is broad and evidently kept in repair. After reaching a height of 1,500 feet above the valley, the road is level, and then rounding a shoulder of the hill descends gradually to a stream from the north; there is another steep ascent to the village of Tsangbè-am. Snow falls here at 6,000 feet, but does not lie long; but on the 6th February the effects of a late fall were visible in the broken and bent-underwood of the jungle; no fixed points could be seen from the Mochu valley, and it was therefore impossible to keep correctly to the scale on the plane table. I therefore adopted a base as near the scale of four miles to the inch as I could estimate; from this I could make a correct map of the country, trusting at a future date to get any remarkable points within this area fixed correctly from ranges on ahead. I took as a base the distance between the village of Yarbukka and the Mendong, near the rajah's house; both places were on commanding sites whence the higher points on the ranges and spurs could be seen and cut in; this base I laid down on a clear space on the edge of my board, and carried on the survey from the points thus fixed as far as the Tegong La. The river Am Mochu flows north and south close on longitude 89° , and from its size drains a very large area. The sepchas with us informed me that this river flows under the fort of Chumbi, where the Sikkim Rajah lives during a part of the year, and thence by following the river up to Phagahi in Thibet can be reached. Since writing the above I found, on reading Turner's account of his mission to Thibet, the following remarks in his description of the Phari valley:—"At the foot of the rocks on the western border of the plain was a large brook flowing to the south, which they called Maha-tchien, and added that it had a passage through the hills of Nipal into Bengal." There is no doubt that the Maha-tchien mentioned by Turner is the Am Mochu of the Tsangbè valley; both terms meaning the "great river;" while our present knowledge of the geography of this part of the country shows it to be quite impossible that any stream near Phagahi can flow into Nipal. The direction of the Am Mochu, information of the number of marches and direction of these places, given by the natives of the country, enabled me to fix with some approach to accuracy both Chumbi and Phag Rhi, which, though small places, are considered by the people of these scantily populated countries as of some importance.

Bridge over Am Mochu, near Tsangbè.

Road near Tsangbè.

Snow fall.

Am Mochu river

Position of Chumbi and Phag Rhi in Thibet.

Road from Tsangbè
to Saibi Thang.

After leaving Tsangbè there is a long and good descent down to a stream from the north, called the Sukchu, flowing down a very confined valley with wooded sides; the ascent is extremely steep. At a short distance after passing the bridge a magnificent waterfall is seen falling from a height of some 400 feet in a sheer perpendicular fall. The body of the water was small at the season of the year I visited it, and broke in spray long before it reached the foot; luxuriant vegetation grew the whole way up the face of the cliff, which approached so near the path that on looking up one could hardly repress the feeling that the water was about to fall on one.

Saibi Thang village.

After passing a small village and some cultivation, the road ascends to very nearly the same level as Tsangbè, and then descends again easily to the tolerably large village of Saibi Thang. This village is built on a broad level piece of ground above another stream, up whose valley a fine view of the snowy mountains and a peak called Choja Kang may be obtained; immediately in front of the village rises a steep spur, along the ridge of which runs the zigzag road to Har. The same thickly wooded mountains bound the valley on all sides, while a few grazing huts on the spurs above alone break the monotony of the sombre dark green forest.

Suphepjhi.

As far as Mirim these woods extend with the same characteristic features, the principal trees being oak and magnolia, with a few chesnut lower down, and I noticed the yew at Bhokar, an open grassy spot. At about two miles above Mirim the rhododendron becomes more common, and pines are soon seen, which as one ascends compose the whole mass of the forest. At the time we traversed this road, snow had begun to cover the ground just below the pine forest, and reaching Suphepjhi lay about four inches deep all over the ground, but to a much greater depth in the drifts: the pine forest was here much thinner, the trees much broken, and juniper grew in plenty on the spot where our camp was formed, giving us fine blazing fires. The night was very cold, the minimum thermometer showed 17° next morning. Though the night had been beautifully clear with a bright moon, in the morning the clouds soon enveloped all around, and I was disappointed of seeing anything of the country, or of any chance of getting a ray to the peak of Chumula Rhi. I therefore determined to take up my position at a large overhanging mass of rock near the Tegong La, which was walled in on the outer side to a height of about eight feet. I kept my coolies and supplies for a day or two, and remained while the rest of the camp went on to Dorika in the Har Valley; we laid in a good supply of wood, for the place was bitterly cold, occasional sleeting, and driving snow hid everything from sight for the whole of that day and the next. The morning of the 14th broke clear, and I was in great hopes of seeing Chumula Rhi. For this purpose I attempted to ascend the hill above the rock, whence an extensive view all around would have been obtained, but after ascending about 200 feet the snow increased so much in depth among the gnarled boughs of the rhododendron that we found it impossible to proceed further, especially as all this time the clouds were coming up from the plains where rivers which we had seen plainly at starting were now invisible. On again reaching the road below, it was too late even to go on to the pass, for clouds then covered the whole range in that direction.

Tegong La.

It was so necessary to the future correctness of the survey that some ray from a trigonometrical station should be taken here that I determined to remain another day on the pass, which being some 12,000 feet altitude was a marked and commanding position. Snow began to fall about four o'clock and continued all night, and the wind blowing in strong gusts drifted it under the rock, rendering the place quite untenable, the more so as our wood being buried under the snow, we could not keep up our fires. I therefore determined to leave the place and make our way to Dorika, and started on ahead of my coolies with a sepcha who was empty-handed; the snow was now half-way up the thigh in exposed spots, but the drifts were above the waist, so that on getting into one between rocks it was very difficult to extricate myself; after crossing the pass the snow was even deeper on the northern face, and continued the whole way thus to Dorika, where we arrived late in the evening. The road from the pass to Dorika led down a narrow confined ravine through woods of pine, and crossed and recrossed the rocky bed of the stream some 10 times by small but strong bridges. I am sorry to say that two of my coolies who became quite exhausted and numbed with cold were lost in the snow. The theodolite stand which was left was afterwards found by a party of Booteahs coming up behind, who smashed it up for the sake of the brass work; they also carried off the compasses and plane table books which had been left in the "Kilta;" these I fortunately afterwards recovered.

The entire country was now covered with snow the whole of the way to Paro, lying in the valleys about six inches deep; snow fell the whole of the way to Dorika, clearing up in the evening, but commencing again next day; this weather had also detained the envoy's camp, which I reached on the second day after crossing the pass. I made a halt of one day at Dorika to get, if possible, news of the lost coolies; besides this, two or three of the men with me had frost-bitten feet and could not move; thus, after all the trouble of remaining on the Tegong La, I was unable to fix my position, and could only carry on a rough sketch by bearings and judging distances.

The Har valley.

The Har valley is very high, having a mean altitude of 9,000 feet; on entering it the whole appearance of the country changed, the mountains were much higher and were clothed with forests of pine which gradually thinned towards the summits, leaving them rocky and bare; the mountains to the north are naked 3,000 or 4,000 feet down their rocky sides. The Har river is of considerable size, and flows down a broad channel with a gentle fall, which renders it fordable in many places most of the way to Hartumphiong; the

the hills slope gradually to the river both below and above Hartumphiong. Level flats about quarter of a mile broad extend on both sides of the river. The villages commencing with Dorika are most substantially built, being from two to three stories high; the lower portion of the walls are generally built of enpisee work with a batter for the outside of one in 12, the upper portion is almost entirely of wood, though in some cases the walls were carried up to the roof; this is flat and pented, of long boards over-lapping each other. The River Harchu is crossed by very substantially built bridges made of long fir-poles; the valley is extremely beautiful, particularly that portion immediately above Dorika where the river flows quietly on, overhung with trees and backed by dark pine-covered mountains, whose tops are covered with snow. This valley produces more sheep, I believe, than any other part of Western Bootan; this is due to the fine grazing grounds on the mountains in which the Harchu takes its rise, and where on the melting of the snow fine sweet grass springs up. There is a road to Chumbi over the mountains on the north-west by which that place can be reached in two marches. The general run of the mountains here as well as that of the Harchu River is to the south-east, and that stream unites with the river from Tassi Chozang about 15 miles in direct distance below Dorika, eventually to unite their joint waters with the mighty Brahmaputra, as do all the streams flowing from the northern side of the snowy range of Bootan. Between the Har Valley and that of Paro a high ridge is crossed at the Chi La, which is 12,490 feet high, or somewhat higher than the Tegong La, with peaks above rising to another 1,000 feet or so above it. The road is steep just after leaving the Har Valley opposite Hartumphiong, and a zigzag road continues for about two miles, skirting the side of the hills: the path is tolerably level up to the pass, and from that point descends by a fair road through forest to a small hamlet of some five or six houses called Changnangna; when we crossed this pass it was deep in snow, about two and a-half feet, so that it was not until 11.30 p.m. that the first of our party reached the village on the Paro side, although we started from Har at 7 a.m., and it was not till 2 a.m. the next day that the rest came up, many remaining out and sleeping in the snow that night; several men suffered from frost-bitten feet, and it was fortunate that the night was calm or many would have been lost; the snow, as on the Tegong La, was very deep in the drifts and in the narrow path through the forest. From the summit of the Chi La a magnificent view of the surrounding country is obtained on one side, the Har Valley and the Tegong La with the range to the north rising in fine snowy peaks, which attain an altitude of 16,000 feet at least, and still further north-west are one or two peaks which must be over 17,000 feet. On the other side a still finer view of the Paro Valley, bounded on the north by precipitous mountains, culminating in the well-known peak of Chumula Rhi, while to the south the gorge of the Parchu is lost among the round-topped ridges running towards the plains: nearly due east the view is bounded by the snowy mountains of the Tagoo La, which rise to an altitude of nearly 14,000 feet. Monasteries, conspicuous for their solid whitewashed walls, are perched, as in all Bhuddist countries, on high points of the hills, that of Dangala being the most conspicuous from its commanding position on a terminal point of the ridge between the Parchu and the river from Tassichozang: the pine forest covered the hills to a less degree in the direction of Paro, and the country had assumed quite another aspect, the hills becoming very bare of trees though covered with grass, then brown and dry.

Chi La ridge,
between the Har
and Paro valleys.

Country seen from
Chi La Pass.

Monasteries.

Barren appearance
of hills.

Road to Paro from
Chila.

From Changnangna two roads lead to Paro, one down the ravine into the villages and by a low spur called the Chaka La; another, the best and most direct way, is through Gorinar, a village with a large monastery on a spur which runs direct towards Parozong or Rinchinpoong, the fort of the Paro Peulo, which is seen for the first time from Gorinar across the Harchu, and under the hills of the left bank of the river, where another tributary from the north the Thochu joins the Harchu. The course of the Parchu River follows the general run of the mountain ridges, viz., north-west and south-east. The Paro valley is high (7,740), and thus, if we include the mountains and valleys between the Tegong La and the Dokieu La on the ridge to the east of the Tassichozang valley, we have a mountain mass of great breadth elevated very considerably above the valleys further east, and whose rivers, more particularly the Parchu, take their rise in a country quite Thibetan in character, while we find the valley of the Am Mochu on the west and that of Punakha on the east, the former about 4,000 the latter 3,000 feet altitude. It follows, therefore, that the fall of the Wangchu or Tassichozang river, from its confluence with the Parchu to the point where it reaches the plains, is very great, taking the height of its elevated junction to be about 7,500 feet, which is, if anything, below the mark, and that the distance between this junction and the plains is 45 miles in direct distance, we find that this river has a mean fall of 130 feet per mile. Turner (in his work before alluded to) mentions the cataracts and rocky gorge through which it makes its exit into the plains.

Paro valley.

The mountains around Paro fall, as a general rule, with easy slopes into the valley terminating on the level rice-grounds below; the breadth of the valley is over a quarter of a mile, and in places where lateral ravines join the main valley, it is as much as half-a-mile from side to side; up the Parchu towards Domgicy Zong it increases in width, and at that point the valley closes again, and precipitous mountains flank it on either side. The whole of the level ground is well cultivated, principally with rice, the terraces being almost too easily irrigated by the river; for the boulder-strewn channels of the Parchu silting up, spread either to one side or the other: extensive lines of embankment have been erected along the right bank to a considerable distance above the point of confluence with the Thochu; these embankments are often made by filling large oblong frames of wood-

Cultivation of.

work with boulders. On the return march we saw at least 300 men employed in the repair of these embankments. A great deal of wheat and barley is grown on the higher land above the valley; the fields are kept excessively neat and clean; bullocks are always used in the ploughs, which are of simple, light construction; the greater portion of field labour is carried on by the women, who also carry most of the loads, while men follow at their ease with no heavier load than their straight swords and a breastfull of pan leaves and betel boxes. There is no collection of houses in any part of the valley large enough to be designated a town; but small hamlets of from 10 to 18 houses substantially built are numerous all over the plain and the hill sides. Immediately opposite the Fort of Paro a bazar is held of country produce, and is the only one we saw in the country; the village of Oochu down the river is famous for its iron and brass work, the best Booteah knives and daggers are there manufactured; they sell at from 8 to 40 rupees: these knives appear to be very coarsely welded longitudinally; their form is straight with a broad back, keen edge, and no point; they are weighty weapons, and have no guard for the hand. In fighting, the Booteahs have the addition of a round shield which is held out in front of the body, the knife being brought over from behind when making a cut. Very fond of acting the bravo and bully, the Booteahs were ever ready to draw these knives on our followers; but I much doubt if their anxiety to do so would be so great when they found their match in open fight; the knives if drawn at all would then be brandished at a respectful distance.

Bazar at Paro.

Manufacture of swords.

Weather during stay at Paro.

Daily prevailing strong wind.

During the stay of the mission camp at Paro, a period of 17 days, the weather was uniformly clear and bright; the snowy peaks to the north were always in view and but seldom enveloped in cloud; on those to the south heavy masses often hung, but never advanced far along the Chi La ridge; we were evidently somewhat out of the influence of clouds, from the plains, and the vegetation of the country showed it to be a dry one. The nights and mornings were calm and still, but between nine and ten a.m. a breeze rose, increasing in strength up to one and two o'clock in the afternoon, often so violent and cold as to be most disagreeable, and its direction was always up the river; the same wind blows in the Har valley, it is to be attributed to the warmer rarefied air rising off this country, so bare in comparison to the forest on the south, and moving northward. The arid plains of Thibet, only 25 miles to the north of Paro, also tend to give a Thibetan feature to this valley.

Paro Fort.

The fort of Paro is a most imposing well-built place, standing on the left bank of the Parchu, which washes the foot of the rocks about 200 feet below the fort.

The Parchu River.

The Parchu is fordable in most places during the winter months, but during the rains this must be nearly impassable: a fine solid bridge crosses the river under the fort, whence the road to Tassi Soudon passes and ascends by broad cut zigzags until the outposts of the fort are passed; it then becomes more level, and rounding the spur from the highest outwork at Bhifhika, it is very good all the way to Bièlazong; here there is a small guard-house fort of the usual build. The pass is some 250 yards to the south over a ridge covered with turf. The forest is very dense on the other side, and is chiefly composed of pine; the view from this point looks down on a rather confined valley whose stream forms a junction with the Wangchu or river from Tassi Soudon, seven miles in a south-easterly direction: this valley is bounded by a steep but low ridge over which lies the direct road to Tassi Chozang by the Pomè La, plainly visible from Bièla. The view at this point is very fine: on the south-west the fine peak on the Tegong La ridge called Chozakang overtops the Chi La range, and beyond a succession of snowy peaks bounds the view, ending in the magnificent peak of Chumula Rhi to the north north-west; it was by the aid of this peak I was enabled to correct my survey thus far and to cut in surrounding points, by the aid of which the country further east was worked in with some degree of accuracy.

Road from Paro towards Jassi chozang.

Pimè thang valley.

Pomè La (pass). View from Bièlazong.

Method adopted for surveying this portion of country.

To effect the survey of this portion of work, I ascended early one morning, before the villagers were stirring, to the hill near Gorinar Goupa, whence I had an idea that the peak of Chumula Rhi would be visible, nor was I disappointed. Upon this ray I assumed a point for the position of the plane table, and took shots to all the principal places and peaks around, including Bièla tzung and Paro; the point assumed on the ray from Chumula Rhi was afterwards corrected by the mean of the latitude observations taken, and the secondary rays were transferred to that point. It was not until my return to Paro that I saw Chumula Rhi from the Bièlazong, and got another true ray on the plane table, by which the distance to Gorinar was very fairly tested. When the observations have been all computed and those worked out hurriedly at the time looked over again, the position of these two places and of Paro will be very fairly true. In order to map the country from Paro to Punakha, I adopted the plan of assumed bases on sheets of paper pasted on the plane table which I set by compass; to this I added bearings and distances taken by eye, and timing the rate of walking, so as to check the work on the plane table.

Pimè thang village.

In the Tsalchu valley between the pass of Bièla and that of Pomè La is the large scattered village of Pimè thang, with its monasteries and mendongs, a very picturesque place. The valley slopes gradually towards the Wangchu, and high snow-covered mountains near Tagula are seen some 12 or 15 miles off the left bank. Pine forests rise from the lower ravines and tail off into narrow strips as they near the bare top of the ridge which is the watershed between the Wangchu and the larger river at Punakha. The junction of this stream with the Wangchu is about five miles from Pimè thang, and just above this the river is covered by a good bridge to the right bank close under a large well-built house, the property of the young Paulo of Paro. The view down the river is not extensive,

as the advancing spurs shut out the view, but several large villages are visible; and perched high above the left bank is the monastery of Gensakas. The Wangchu here flows quietly for a mountain river, in a broad shallow stream with pretty occasional rapids, and at 2½ miles above the bridge is crossed again at the large well-built village of Simoo, the largest collection of houses yet seen; but we found at this season nearly all the inhabitants absent. Many of the best houses belong to retainers of the Punakha Court, or are followers of the different soubas in attendance there. The Dhurm and Deb Rajahs both pass the winter months at Punakha, returning to Tassichozong as the weather becomes warmer. The villages all the way to Tsalumarphi and Oolaka, which at the point where the Wangchu turns suddenly to the northward, had a melancholy desolate look; only a few of the poorer people were to be seen, and most of the fields still lay in a fallow state. To reach Tsalu Marphi, the Wangchu is again crossed to the left bank just beyond Toptaka, where a small tributary from the hills on the east joins in. The monastery of Talokpa is seen from here standing on the shoulder of a spur in that direction: monasteries large and small are nearly as numerous in this part of the country as villages. The valley is very open and bare, no pines grew near the river or for a few hundred feet above it: the common and weeping willow were the most abundant trees near the river, but had evidently been planted, and the first named were lopped down into pollards. At Tsalumarphi, on the level green close to the river, stands a magnificent tree of the juniper tribe, of very great girth and height.

The Wangchu here bends round at nearly a right angle, taking a direction north north-west and south south-east, and at the bend, upon level alluvial flats rising about 30 feet above the river, stand the villages of Tsalumarphi, Oolaka and Simtoka: from the last-named place a few houses near Tassichozang can be seen, distant about five miles up the Wangchu; the Rajah's palace was not visible. At Simtoka is a small fort of usual construction and solidly built walls; the road to Punakha is commanded from it for some distance and passes within 200 yards of and under it; the path leading up to the gateway leaves the main road at the spot where a kind of Choorten stands. The fort is half a mile from Tsalumarphi and situated on the left bank of the tributary from the eastward, up which lies the road to Punakha; it crosses the stream to the right bank about 400 yards above the fort; laden animals must ford the stream; the bridge is a mere plank. Proceeding another quarter mile it again crosses the stream, road very good and level, and rises with easy slope all the way up the valley; the hill sides are by no means steep, covered with forests, but not of large growth, pines plentiful and of different kinds. At about six miles a place called Thlungso is reached; there is here a large Government building used as a sort of serai by travellers; the village stands on the hill-side a short distance from the right bank of the stream. Three streams here unite, and along up the course of the centre ones the road continues to rise with the same easy gradient, and the pass of Dokien La is reached about four (4) miles further on. From this a fine view is obtained over the fine drainage area of the Pachu and Machu Rivers and their ramifications towards the snowy range; unfortunately the snows were not visible from this pass, either on our march to or from Punakha, and I was unable to cut in their distance on the plane table. The large tributary that joins from the east at Augdophorang (the Waudipore of old maps) was also seen with the mountains to the east and south-east; a little snow still lay on the pass and a few feet down the northern face; the time we crossed, second week in March. The summit of the ridge was fortunately a little open, and from the top of the wall of an old building a very extensive view was obtained; the ridge and southern face of the opposite spur were very bare, while luxuriant forest lay beneath on the northern side of the Dokien ridge. The mountains across the Machu Pachu were all very bare of wood, and the grass at this season being withered and brown gave the country a bleak appearance. On the northern side of the pass the road is at first a little steep, but good; it then runs pretty level along the top of a spur, and at about three and a half miles turns suddenly down the hill in a zigzag road to the village of Pieunzenor. Numerous villages are seen on both sides of the valley of the Chanachu, and are well built; the monastery, Talo Goupa, is a very conspicuous building on the top of the opposite spur. From Pyumze the road descends rapidly into the valley below, but though steep is in very good order. Arriving at the stream the fort of Tilagong is seen, an oblong building with high walls, somewhat larger than Simtoka, standing above the road, and about 200 yards from it, but it is commanded from the same spur on which it stands. Rounding this spur a descent of half a mile more and the Chanachu is reached; this is a small stream; road crosses by good wooden bridge to the other bank near the villages of Chandana and Lungium respectively down and up stream. The road then ascends easily and is well made, skirting the hill-side for about three miles until the ridge of the Talo Goupa spur is reached; there it turns nearly north along the hill sides with a gradual descent, crossing several small ravines, and passing under the large monastery of Nobgong; at six miles a fine mendong stands on the road, and thence is obtained the first view of the fort of Punakha, a most striking mass of building both from its size and build, still more so from its very picturesque position on a narrow neck of land between the Pachu and Machu rivers, which join just below the fort; fine roofed bridges over each of these rivers, opposite entrances in the side walls, connect the fort with the other banks; the style of architecture is the same as the fort of Paro, but built far more regularly, and is evidently much older. The Pachu and Machu are much about the same size, and evidently drain a very large area, taking their rise in the southerly range, five marches distant.

distant. The Punakha valley is very open here and well cultivated, rice being the principal grain raised in the low ground, wheat on the higher fields near foot of the hills, and villages contain large houses, but seldom more than six or eight in each; a very large straggling place is seen covering the hill sides high up on a spur to the north. On the different roads into the place stand many tall towers, of square shape and low pent roofs; the road pass through these, and the ceiling of the ground-floor room is decorated with coloured paintings of Bhuddhist gods.

The height of the Punakha valley is about 4,500 feet, and is consequently much warmer in winter than any of the neighbouring valleys. This has made it the residence at this period of the rulers of the country, who, in April, move across the Dokien La into the higher valley of Tassichozang. In the fort of Punakha reside some 250 monks of the Dukpa sect, of all ages, besides a number of retainers in the service of the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs and the Punakha Souba; many Bhuddhist monks visit this place from Thibet, and from even so far away as Ladak, where there are a few monasteries of the same sect of Bhuddhists. When at Burdon Goupa, in Laskar, in 1862, I was shown a picture of the fort of Punakha, the Dhurmah Rajah's abode, which I recognised at once on seeing it as the same; the name given to it in Ladak was Lo Pato.

This fort is commanded at from 300—600 yards distance on the spur running down from the large Mendong on the road to Tassichozang. The temperature of the valley was high even in the shade in the month of March, during our stay rising to 75°, while the wet bulb and air thermometer showed a maximum difference of from 8° to 12°.

Fish are speared in the river by torchlight, and are of the kind common to the higher rivers of the Himalaya, which have the mouth far back and under the nose; I did not see the mahseers, nor did the people seem to know it.

There is very little wood on the hill sides in the immediate neighbourhood, but plenty of grass; down the valley it is very level for about 12 miles, and in the Machu Pachu are long still reaches of water quite one mile and a half in length, a short rapid connecting with another long deep reach, a very peculiar feature of this river. The roads in this part of Bootan can scarcely be better. The plains are about 70 miles away in direct line, and the river must have a far easier fall than that from Tassichozang towards Buxadewa, or Passaka, which is the Booteah name, and I should imagine the valley to be far more practicable, and to have a very good road to the plains along its sides. It is quite unknown to us below Augduphorang, as far as it is visible from the Taloka spur, the valley seemed open and soon to leave the higher mountains. Up the Pachu is a place called Tsochufoo, three days' journey. Ghassa is the same distance up the Machu. A native informed me that both these rivers issued from the same lake, which he called Gang Tsobola-truk, seven days' distant for a man without a load; that one of these rivers takes its rise in a lake is not improbable, but it is scarcely probable, if not impossible, the two rivers can flow out of one and the same lake (this information is to be doubted). Seven marches of the length mentioned would bring the traveller very close upon the immense lake Yamdo Yeumtso, which my informant was evidently talking about; it is not at all improbable that the higher feeders of the Pachu and Machu rivers run back up into the elevated plateau on which the above large sheet of water lies. The waters of the lake are brackish, and the ridge is covered with a white efflorescence; its features are, I imagine, not unlike that of the Pangong lake in Ladak, in the neighbourhood of which many streams take their rise, but do not actually flow out of it; the same feature is seen in Rukshu, where the Tsokar lake having no exit has become quite salt, and caused the death of all the fresh-water shells that formerly inhabited it; the Yamdo Yeumtso has probably no exit. With this cursory account of Western Bootan, or, as it is often called, and I believe more properly so, Bhothang, I must add a few lines on its extent and boundaries, and the area which has been now roughly mapped. From Julpigoree, in latitude 26° 32' and longitude 88° 45', the boundary between Bootan and British territory follows the left bank of the Teesta River, its extreme point west lying close on longitude 88° 30'. At the Rungeel River the boundary comes in contact with the Sikkim Rajah's territory, but leaves the Teesta at the confluence of the Rongpo, and follows that stream to the junction of the Rhishichu stream, and follows that to its source in the Rhishisim ridge, which, as far as Gyepmochi forms the boundary line of Sikkim and Bootan; it strikes east across the valley of the Har-Mochu, but I do not know the exact distance above Tsangbè; where it crosses the valley in that direction it is, I believe, scarcely passable. From Gyepomchi Thibet lies to the north, or that portion under the Rajah of Chumbi, a dependant of the Lhasan authorities. The high range north of Har and Paro valleys forms the boundary as far as Chumula Rhi, thence it is continued eastward by the main chain of the Himalaya. The whole area of the mountain portion of Bootan up to longitude 90° east is about 3,700 square miles; of this about 2,800 have been sketched in Bootan itself. The total area added to our geographical knowledge of the country, including that portion of Sikkim near the Rongpo River, is about 3,700 square miles, adding as well a strip of country down the Dholah River towards Julpigoree. In 900 square miles of the above area only the general run of the ranges and rivers has been obtained.

Had it not been for the dislike shown by the Booteah authorities to any drawings being taken, many high points might have been visited, much more of the country would have been sketched, and with far greater accuracy: from all the higher peaks around Paro numerous fixed trigonometrical points would be visible when the weather is fine and mountains free of clouds.

The latitude of Paro has yet to be corrected; when the mean of all the observations taken are looked over, this may bring my latitude of Punakha nearer to that deduced by Pemberton, and from which I differ in plane table section by $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south. I do not think the error in longitude can be more than 2 miles or so. At present I differ from the above-named officer's value by $14'$, or nearly 15 miles. I am of opinion that the old position is too far west. This as led to the Punakha River being drawn with a course nearly south-east in order to carry it out into the plains through the Sidlee Doar, its position there as regards longitude I fancy being pretty nearly correct; but the Punakha River flows nearer south than south-east, and its valley could be followed in that direction for at least 18 miles: I base the correctness of these remarks on the longitude of Punakha on the rays obtained from the peak of Chumula Rhi, fixed trigonometrically.

At the time Lieutenant Pemberton visited Bootan I do not think any points on the southerly range had been fixed, so that he had no means so good of checking his distances in the long march west from Tassangsee.

BOILING POINT OBSERVATIONS taken in *Bootan, &c.*, by Captain *H. H. Godwin Austen*, Topographical Survey, in 1864.

Number.	Number of Thermo-meter.	Boiling Point.	Number of Air Thermo-meter.	Tempera-ture.	Deduced Height.	Mean Height.	Time.	Date.	PLACE.
1	11	211.12	6	71.0	1.122	-	10 a.m.	14 April	Teesta ferry below Pushok.
2	15	205.0	6	55.5	4.797	4.826	3 p.m.	7 January	Ringkinpoong (Knob).
3	-	-	-	-	4.854		-	-	Ditto - computed with Senchal H.S.
4	15	206.96	4	54.0	3.733	-	11 a.m.	8 July	Mongbor (Camp).
5	15	205.08	4	55.8	4.751	-	8.30 a.m.	10 "	Pagong (Camp).
6	15	202.13	6	49.0	6.380	6.404	4 p.m.	10 "	Rhishisum Goupa.
7	-	-	-	-	6.428		-	-	Ditto - by Senchal.
8	15	201.75	4	33.5	6.598	6.620	7 a.m.	12 January	Labor.
9	-	-	-	-	6.666		-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
10	11	201.25	4	33.5	6.587	-	7 a.m.	12 January	Ditto.
11	-	-	-	-	6.628	-	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
12	15	208.5	4	60.5	2.882	2.922	5 p.m.	12 January	Ambiokh under Dalingkote
13	11	207.88	4	60.5	2.922		-	-	1,000 feet below.
14	6	207.8	4	59.5	2.961	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
15	15	210.95	4	58.0	1.572	-	7 a.m.	30 January	Ditto - ditto.
16	15	210.02	4	65.5	2.036	2.073	5 p.m.	31 "	Nurechu River.
17	-	-	-	-	2.110		-	-	Sipechu village.
18	15	203.3	4	54.8	5.732	5.756	3 p.m.	2 February	Ditto by Senchal.
19	-	-	-	-	5.780		-	-	Tsygong (Camp).
20	15	198.9	4	40.0	8.157	8.178	5 p.m.	3 February	Ditto by Senchal.
21	-	-	-	-	8.198		-	-	Thlungchu (Camp).
22	15	198.15	4	44.0	8.580	8.595	4 p.m.	4 February	Ditto - by Senchal.
23	-	-	-	-	8.610		-	-	Dongochuchang.
24	15	206.6	4	65.0	3.895	3.849	10 a.m.	5 February	Ditto - by Senchal.
25	6	206.18	4	65.0	3.829		-	-	Am Mochu bridge (Camp).
26	11	206.2	4	65.0	3.823	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
27	15	202.6	4	50.5	6.120	6.143	4 p.m.	6 February	Ditto - ditto.
28	-	-	-	-	6.165		-	-	Tsangbe village (Camp).
29	15	197.08	4	48.5	9.185	9.256	3 p.m.	10 February	Ditto by Senchal.
30	6	196.4	-	47	9.335		3.5 p.m.	-	Bhokar (Camp).
31	11	196.3	-	46.5	9.274	-	3.10 p.m.	-	Ditto.
32	-	-	-	-	9.203	-	-	-	Ditto.
33	-	-	-	-	9.210	-	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
34	-	-	-	-	9.327	-	-	-	Ditto ditto.
35	15	192.4	4	38	11.800	11.800	1 p.m.	11 February	Ditto ditto.
36	-	-	-	-	11.800		-	-	Suphefhi (Camp).
37	15	192.15	4	31.5	11.908	11.910	4 p.m.	12 February	Ditto by Senchal.
38	-	-	-	-	11.912		-	-	Overhanging rock in Te-gong La.
39	6	191.1	6	35	12.150	-	8 a.m.	5 April	Ditto - by Senchal.
									Tegong La - ditto.

BOILING POINT OBSERVATIONS, &c.—*continued.*

Number.	Number of Thermo-meter.	Boiling Point.	Number of Air Thermo-meter.	Temperature.	Deducted Height.	Mean Height.	Time.	Date.	PLACE.
40	11	191.1	6	35	12.210	-	-	-	Tegong La by Senchal.
41	-	-	-	-	12.235	12.229	-	-	Ditto - by Darjeeling.
42	-	-	-	-	12.241	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
43	15	198.0	4	40	8.658	8.675	Noon	16 February	Dorika bridge (Camp).
44	-	-	-	-	8.692	-	-	-	Ditto - by Senchal H.S.
45	15	199.88	4	48	7.664 <i>g</i>	7.741	-	-	Paro (Camp) level of river.
46	6	198.78	-	-	7.590 <i>f</i> .	-	5 p.m.	2 March	Computed with Senchal.
47	11	199.2	-	-	7.723 <i>e</i> .	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
48	15	199.8	4	43	7.711 <i>d</i> .	-	5 p.m.	28 February	Paro computed with Senchal.
49	6	198.95	4	43	7.800 <i>c</i> .	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
50	11	199.05	4	43	7.808 <i>b</i> .	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
51	15	199.7	4	52	7.758 <i>a</i> .	-	6 p.m.	23 February	Ditto - ditto.
52	-	-	-	-	7.730 <i>a</i> .	-	-	-	Paro computed with Darjeeling.
53	-	-	-	-	7.795 <i>b</i> .	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
54	-	-	-	-	7.843 <i>c</i> .	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
55	-	-	-	-	7.670 <i>d</i> .	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
56	-	-	-	-	7.716 <i>e</i> .	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
57	-	-	-	-	7.942 <i>f</i> .	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
58	-	-	-	-	7.629 <i>g</i> .	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
59	6	190.5	6	44.5	12.528	12.492	4 p.m.	3 April	Chi La by Senchal H.S.
60	11	190.85	-	44.5	12.389	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
61	-	-	-	-	12.625	-	-	-	Ditto by Darjeeling H.S.
62	-	-	-	-	12.427	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
63	15	195.5	4	35.5	10.067	-	7 a.m.	20 February	Changnangna village.
64	15	197.2	4	39.5	9.129	-	4 p.m.	21 "	Changmoteng - ditto.
65	-	193.55	4	40.0	11.161	11.164	1 p.m.	10 March	Bielat Tong pass.
66	-	-	-	-	11.166	-	-	-	Ditto by Darjeeling H.S.
67	15	198.35	4	51.0	8.499	-	-	-	Pimethang village.
68	15	200.18	4	35.5	7.954	7.844	-	12 March	Tsalu Marphi village.
69	6	198.03	4	35.8	8.070	-	-	-	Ditto - ditto.
70	-	-	-	-	7.509	-	-	-	Ditto - by Senchal H.S.
71	15	195.62	4	47	10.018	10.019	3 p.m.	13 March	Dokien La.
72	-	-	-	-	10.019	-	-	-	Ditto - by Senchal H.S.
73	15	201.1	4	48	6.947	6.969	7.5 a.m.	13 March	Pyumze (Camp).
74	-	-	-	-	6.990	-	-	-	Ditto by Darjeeling H.S.
75	15	205.63	4	65.0	4.429	-	5.30 p.m.	14 March	Pundkha - ditto.
76	-	-	-	-	3.904	4.456	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
77	6	204.62	-	64.8	4.691	-	5.35 p.m.	-	Ditto by Darjeeling.
78	-	-	-	-	4.651	-	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
79	11	204.8	4	64.8	4.597	-	5.40 p.m.	-	Ditto by Darjeeling.
80	-	-	-	-	4.615	-	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
81	15	205.5	6	63.5	4.505	-	6 p.m.	20 March	Ditto by Darjeeling.
82	-	-	-	-	4.550	-	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
83	11	204.95	6	63.5	4.510	-	6 p.m.	20 March	Ditto by Darjeeling.
84	-	-	-	-	4.534	-	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
85	6	204.55	6	63.5	4.734	-	6 p.m.	20 March	Ditto by Darjeeling.
86	6	-	-	-	4.690	-	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
87	6	205.2	6	55.0	4.395	-	8 a.m.	25 March	Ditto by Darjeeling.
88	-	-	-	-	4.377	-	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
89	15	205.98	6	55	4.392	-	-	25 March	Ditto by Dejarling.
90	-	-	-	-	4.462	-	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.
91	11	205.88	6	55	4.075	-	-	25 March	Ditto by Darjeeling.
92	-	-	-	-	4.101	-	-	-	Ditto by Senchal.

Mussoorie, 10 May 1864.

(signed) *H. H. Godwin Austen*, Captain,
Surveyor, Topographical Survey.

NOTES ON THE GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, &c. &c. OF THE BOOTEAHs.

Government.

THE Government of the country is entirely in the hands of the Soubas, who are again under the rule of a higher grade called Penlo, of which there are two, the Paro Penlo of Western Bootan and the Tongso Penlo of Eastern; the latter individual has now the greatest power and influence over the petty Soubas, whilst he showed us very plainly that both the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs were puppets, whose strings he alone had power to pull. These Penlos have power of life and death without any reference to the Supreme Government in Punakha; this power the smaller Soubas, Niboos, &c., do not enjoy, though punishment with death must often happen without any fear of detection, more especially if the victim be a Bengalee. The courts of these Penlos are in every way similar to our old feudal courts of the middle ages. The people are in every way subservient to the wish and will of the Penlo, while the retainers of the prince, drawn from the same source, serve without any pecuniary reward; their clothes, arms, food, &c., are supplied in return for their services, which are not onerous. They collect the supplies requisite for their own subsistence, make raids and fight the quarrels of their master. Good service is rewarded by promotion to Zimpen or Zinkaff, or by money in shape of a present. Soubaships are not hereditary as a rule; any man may rise to that position if he is ambitious, talented, and unscrupulous; thus the present Tongso Penlo was of very low origin. The petty Soubas are all sent to their districts from the court, and retain their appointments only so long as the Government may allow them to do so; an entire change of officers often takes place on the accession of a new Deb or Dhurm Rajah.

We were told that most severe burthens are placed on the cultivators, and great extortion is practised, without any fixed rate of assessment; still, I am inclined to disbelieve the greater part of these stories told us as they were by the Chiboo Lhama and the Zinkaffs who were sent to attend on us; these last were of course spies, and to curry favour extolled our Government at Darjeeling and ran down their own, and even declared their intention of taking the opportunity of our return to go back with us, but in no instance did they carry out their pretended design. The people did not seem unhappy or in want, and were on the whole better housed and clothed than the natives of other Hill States which I have visited, for instance Ladakh. The people in their hearts disliked us, as was shown by the demeanour of the crowd of retainers and country people at Punakha, and the same brought to light the respect they have for their own superiors. Our presence in the country is in no way necessary to the well-being of the Booteahs, who, in my opinion, are as happy as, in their own idea, they can be. I may here mention that the only instance of unpaid labour which I noticed was the carriage from village to village of the property and provisions belonging to the Soubas; this work devolves entirely on the women. There is a class of men, and a very numerous one, I allude to the Bengalees, who, taken *en masse*, suffer great hardships, and are little cared for by the rulers of the country, who, by the way, own great numbers of them. These Bengalees have been seized and taken away from their villages on and within our frontier, extending from Julpigoree as far as Gwalparra. In the case of adult women and men the very detention away from their homes and families is lamentable; as for those who have been taken when children, they have only their lives of slavery to live out. The detention against their will, and no hope of returning to the plains, seem to be the main grievance with these people, but with some masters their lot must be one of constant toil, with scanty allowance of food. Half-breeds of the two nations were occasionally seen of a darker tint and slighter build than the Booteah, and with more hair on the face.

Religion.

The religion of Bootan is Budhism in form, and the same as that now prevailing in Lhasa, whither monks from all parts of Thibet and Bootan proceed to receive instruction in the many duties of their religion. The monks thus educated fill the higher grades, and with increasing years rise to be the head of the monastic establishments. The principal sect in Bootan is "the Dukpa," wearing a dark purple robe. The head of the sect is the Dhurm Rajah of Bootan, and the sect has followers even in Ladakh, but there they are in the minority, giving place to the sect called "Gelukpa," wearing yellow robes. Monasteries are still numerous all over Bootan, and once existed in great numbers, but the influence of the priesthood is dying out, and Chiboo Lhama, the Sikkim interpreter attached to the mission, deplored the increasing disfavour shown by the Soubas to the priests, whom they formerly consulted in every event of their lives; the monks, however, still seem to flourish, for they number in the fort of Punakha about 250, exaggerated by the Booteahs into 500; this they were prone to everywhere, so that their numbers are not so great as we were led to suppose, while it would be very difficult to have an exact account of their numbers. They would not permit us to visit any of their sacred buildings. It may be here remarked, that neither "mendongs" (main walls), "churtens," or "dung-tens," were by any means so numerous as in Ladakh; and the first differed in form and in the arrangement of the inscribed slabs. Square "lhotos," with engraved stone slabs of the principal gods, were numerous near all large villages, and long white strips of cloth

stamped with "muntras," and attached to long poles, were very common near monasteries and sacred spots; their religion did not seem to sit heavy on the people, although it served them capitally at times as a political *ruse* when our presence was not required, and it was a fruitful source of delay and procrastination. Mountain water and wood gods were invariably made to inhabit the site where we wished our camp to be pitched, and this was, I am certain, merely done by the Soubas, &c., by way of annoyance, and as a petty means of raising their dignity, as well as to show their power of ordering us about before their attendants.

At Punakha the monks were, if anything, more insolent than the laymen, making faces at us and rude remarks, and forcing themselves unpleasantly near one's person: very different this from the behaviour of the same class in Ladakh, where they have been taught manners by force, the only method these proud priests can understand.

In all other respects the gods, ritual instruments, form of prayer, religious music, &c., of Bootan were the same as in Ladakh, and have been, I believe, already described.

Character of the People.

Intimately connected with the religion of a people is their moral character and intellectual advancement. I have remarked that, in all Buddhist countries, female virtue is very lightly prized, and the Booteahs are of all others the most grossly depraved. They were very often coarsely obscene in their language and actions, and this was not confined to the male sex. I cannot give much praise to the character of the people of Bootan in other respects, for, although among themselves they seem jovial, and laugh and joke, and show at times great humour to strangers, they are over-bearing and rudely familiar; their independence shows itself in a swaggering, bullying demeanour; added to this, they are shameful beggars, asking for everything they see, intruding into the tents, and pulling everything about. The Soubas were even greater beggars than the lower orders, and, in some instances, appropriated articles which were shown to them. On every occasion when the Soubas or Zimpens, with their attendants, came to our tents, we lost innumerable articles, which did not say much for the honesty of our visitors. In treating with them politically, we found the higher classes audacious liars; their subterfuges are of a kind so marked as to be seen through at once, and the best line to assume with them is, never to give in to a single excuse, especially one of delay. Festivals or the propitiation of some deity are the usual excuses brought forward, always made up by the priests, who can easily invent some tale of a deity whose anger has to be appeased.

Polyandry exists, and is a fruitful source of licentiousness, as there are thus left so many unmarried women; besides this, the priesthood absorbs a large portion of the able-bodied men, who are under vows of celibacy, and though the vow sits lightly enough on many of them, they never can marry and bring up a family. In the case of men of rank related to the reigning family, who have entered upon a monastic life, dispensations are obtained from Lhasa when political events render it necessary that they should take upon themselves the married state. The evils enumerated above, combined with a long unsettled state of the country, have brought about, as might be expected, a great diminution of the population, which is very disproportionate to the area of the country. I have endeavoured below to give an approximate value of the number,* and have separated the outer hills, where the villages are small and scattered, from the more populous valleys further north. In this estimate I have omitted the Bengalee population of the plains, which it is impossible to calculate with any degree of correctness.

Description of the People, their Appearance, &c.

The Booteah is a member of the great Mongolian race, and possesses its peculiar attributes of a broad flat face, long oblique eyes wide apart, and very high cheek bones. The Booteahs have still very often a good-humoured look in spite of these plain features; the practice common to both sexes of either shaving the head clean or wearing the hair very close cut gives them a very disagreeable look, more especially the women, who but for this would, many of them, be pleasing; their faces are very high-coloured, of a healthy red, and their general tint an almond brown where they are not tanned or discoloured by dirt. In their person the Booteahs are not clean, and seldom wash even their faces; added to this, the woollen clothes, which are their uniform dress, are never changed or washed. Those who are better off wear a cotton "chogah" under the woollen one.

In make, the Booteahs are stout and strong-looking, with splendidly developed legs, more especially below the knee; but I do not think them so muscular as their appearance would imply. Shoes are seldom worn, and the legs are always bare. The men do not seem to wear the "pugrie" from choice, and more are seen bare-headed than with it tied on, while the pugrie hangs generally round the neck and over the shoulders. The women never cover their heads, their common ornaments being round and oblong beads of cornelian and coarse turquoise worn round the neck, together with silver amulets, red coral

* About 11,000 in the mountainous portion of Western Bootan up to longitude 90°.

coral beads are the most prized. I neither saw earrings nor bangles worn, and the men wear no ornaments save a ring or two on their fingers, differing in this from other Thibetan races who are very fond of earrings; silver charm boxes are occasionally carried by the men.

As a race, I do not think the Booteahs are long-lived; the few old women and men we saw was remarkable (that is to say, over 60 years of age), a very curious thing in so fine a climate as the northern portion of Bootan.

Goitre was very prevalent all along the route we followed, but I noticed but one case of leprosy, and that at Punakha; two unnaturally white children were shown us at Saibie-thang. On the whole, the people seemed troubled with very few ailments, save those brought on by their own vices. The Booteah does not stand the heat in the malarious jungles of the Terai, and those living about Sepcha and Dalingkote suffer much from fever and ague; cholera has not yet visited the country, but as a counterbalance against this, small-pox is the great scourge of the country, and when it makes its appearance commits great ravages.

The Booteahs are coarse feeders, eat much meat, especially pork; beef, mutton and goat's flesh are also eaten, the two last are preserved by drying in the air; tea is prepared all over Thibet with butter and salt, and is drunk by all who can afford it, in great quantities, and at all hours; they also drink spirits and "marwa," a drink made from the fermented seed of a kind of millet; at their feasts the Booteahs and Sepchas drink this to excess, and many of our coolies, after a halt, were quite useless from the effects of the liquor.

Education, &c.

There is but one good result from the monastic system, viz., that reading and writing is practised and taught in the monasteries, the latter is often not to be surpassed in beauty and evenness of form.

Drawing also meets with some attention in the decoration of their temples, and in paintings of their many gods, goddesses, and demons, a system of teaching drawing is in vogue and is the same all over Thibet; Lhasa is the great centre of this decorative style of art which has its exact parallel in the illuminated drawing of the middle ages; modelling is carried to great perfection in the representation of their deities, and some of these which I have seen were most beautifully executed.

Their advancement in some of the arts is as great as their backwardness in others.

The Booteah is a clever silversmith, blacksmith, and worker in brass; their swords show that they are by no means backward in working these metals; a great deal is done in casting gods in brass, ritual instruments, &c.; good iron chains are also constructed for chain bridges, the principal place of manufacture being Paro. The work in which they are least skilful is the making of pottery, this is all clumsy and formed with the hand alone; they have no lathe on which to turn it, and the modeller walks round the vessel he is making. I do not think the bow lathe even is used for any carpenter's work. Woollen clothes of many degrees of coarseness are made in all the higher valleys, these are generally of variegated colours in lines; across the breadth this is narrow, being only about 8½ inches. These striped cloths, worn by both men and women, are quite characteristic of Bootan, and have a smart gay look.

The Booteahs make their own gunpowder, but it is of a very inferior description, and far weaker than that manufactured in the plains of India. I did not hear of firearms having ever been manufactured in the country; of matchlocks and guns, they have every variety from brown bess to an old matchlock barrel fitted into a rough stock and discharged with a portfire; they have a few stand of percussion firelocks, probably brought into the country during the years 1857-58. All firearms have evidently been imported from India. They have few or no guns; an old honeycombed three-pounder in the courtyard of the fort of Paro was the only one I saw. The rest of their projectile armament consists of bows slings, and the catapult, the latter used in the forts, but they do not throw the stones very far or with any precision. To these weapons are added the straight sword worn on the right side by every boy and man throughout the country, and daggers stuck in the voluminous bodied choja; the spear was not often seen save in the hands of Bengalees in their service; shields are carried by the Booteahs, of the round kind common in India; helmets are worn by a certain number of retainers in the service of every Souba, these are in shape half a sphere with a slight projecting beading; on the inside is a stuffed lining whence three flaps of red cloth hangs down to the shoulder. A Booteah sepoy, armed *cap-à-pie* presents a very picturesque appearance.

Trade, &c. &c.

The country has no large staple of export. "Mungeet" is collected in the forests about Sepcha and Jangtsa and taken down to Minagooroo; woollen cloths, butter, pressed and dried curds of yâk's milk are carried from the higher valleys to the lower, but do not find their way out of the country. From Thibet, ponies, tea, salt, woollen cloth, China silks, yâk tail, "chowries," and a few articles more of luxury than anything else, are imported, and a few of these pass through yearly to Rungpur; nothing is more prized from our side than English broad cloth, red being the colour most in vogue. "Sipari" nuts are consumed in great quantities by all classes, and the want of this luxury and of grain

would cause the loss of the lower country in the plains to be severely felt by the Booteah Soubas. There are no bazars in the country, but at Paro and Punakha "Hauts" are held. What trade there was, appeared to be in the hands of the Soubas, and this was, I fancy, the reason that the clause, in our treaty relating to trade from our country passing freely into their country, was objected to.

The greater portion of the country is very well suited for the cultivation of tea. On asking the people why they did not begin this, the answer was decided, viz., that the Dhurm Rajah did not approve of it: his advisers no doubt foreseeing the loss of the profitable trade in tea from Thibet. Cotton would grow well on the alluvial plateaus near Sipchu and, I believe, saffron could be cultivated successfully about Punakha. There is plenty of iron in Thibet, and we were told of copper, the slag of which was shown us at Paro. I did not hear that the sand of the rivers contained any gold dust, but we remarked a very singular fact at Paro, namely that the river sand there contained black grains of small sized iron, in such quantities that a magnet was very soon covered with them when moved about in the sand; these grains adhered to each other in spiculis when collected in sufficient quantity; the resources of this country are not half developed, and it could easily treble its present population. From Dalingkote to Punakha the geological formation is a stratified gneiss of exactly the same kind as at Darjeeling, occasionally it became more felspathic, but was often very crumbly, and had a sandstone appearance; the hill sides have a thick covering of red clay, particularly well marked at Paro. I noticed no other formation on any portion of the road, nor did I once see the limestone mentioned by Pemberton.

The country we passed through was very uninteresting in a geological point of view, but this is recompensed to the botanist; "the flora" being very fine. The late Dr. Griffiths, who accompanied Pemberton's mission, has, I fancy, left little to be discussed.

The climate of the valley of Har Paro and Punakha it is alone necessary to remark on, for that of the country to the south is much the same as that of the Darjeeling Hills; the climate of Har is severe; in winter, snow always falls in the valley up to February.

Paro being lower is less free of snow, but it even lies there when the fall is a heavy one; the extremes of heat and cold are very great at Paro, but the climate is still very good, and far better than that of Punakha; the climate of the valley during the whole year I am of course unable to speak of. Tussi-Soudan and the hills in its neighbourhood struck me as likely to have the finest climate throughout the year. The Telagong valley is especially very happily situated.

(signed) *H. H. Godwin Austen*, Captain,
Surveyor, Topographical Survey.

ROUGH ESTIMATE of the Population of Western *Bootan*, including only the Mountainous Portion to 90° East Longitude.

	Men, Women, and Children.
From Teesta river to Daling - - - - -	500
Jangtsa valley - - - - -	80
Tsangbé valley - - - - -	500
Har valley - - - - -	350
Down valley below Dori - - - - -	150
Paro valley - - - - -	3,000
About Thulchu - - - - -	760
Down the Wangchu - - - - -	1,400
Up to Tsalumarhi - - - - -	800
Tassichozang, and above it - - - - -	400
Chanachu - - - - -	400
Punakha valley - - - - -	800
Above Punakha - - - - -	1,200
Below - - - - -	500
In hills near - - - - -	200
	5) 11,040
Able bodied men - - - - -	2,200

(signed) *H. H. G. A.*, Capt.

(No. 86.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., &c., &c.

Simla, Foreign Department (Political),
19 September 1864.

Sir,

IN continuation of previous correspondence relating to Bootan affairs, we have the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of further papers.

2. We beg to refer you to our letter to the address of the Government of Bengal (No. 480), dated 12th September, which contains our orders as to the course to be pursued in the event of the Bootan Government failing to comply with the demands made on it by the Government of India.

We have
(signed) *J. Lawrence.*
H. Rose.
R. Napier.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.

(Foreign Department, Political.)—No. 403.

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Simla, 20 August 1864.

Sir,

I HAVE laid before the Governor General in Council your letter (No. 1,813 T), dated 25th July, and the Minute by the Lieutenant Governor, containing an expression of his views as to the course which should be pursued in the event of the Bootan Government failing to comply, by the 1st of September, with the demands made on it by the Government of India. His Excellency in Council directs me to inform you that he will await the action taken by the Bootan Government by the date specified, before deciding on the proposals of the Lieutenant Governor for exacting reparation. His Excellency in Council does not negative the Lieutenant Governor's proposal to make a stipulated allowance to the Bootan Government for the Bengal Dooars, should their annexation be deemed necessary; but reserves the point for future consideration.

(Political.—No. 2,508 T.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; dated Darjeeling, 23 August 1864.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter (No. 140), dated the 9th June last, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to submit, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, an authenticated English translation of a letter, dated the 3d instant, from the Dhurma Rajah of Bootan, being a reply to the letters addressed by his Excellency to the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs on the 9th June, and to say that it appears to his Honor, as it doubtless will to his Excellency the Governor General in Council, to be of an extremely unsatisfactory character.

2. It will be observed that the Deb Rajah, in whose name all communications to the British Government are addressed, has carefully avoided replying to the Governor General's letter; and that the Dhurma Rajah, instead of attempting to make any sort of apology for the gross insults offered to the Government of India in the person of its envoy, throws the responsibility of those proceedings on the amlah, and says that the envoy never made any complaint to him, though he must be well aware that he held no communication himself with the envoy, and refused to have anything to do with the transaction of business. The treatment of the mission, in the presence of the Dhurma Rajah, was as insulting as it could be.

The Dhurma Rajah completely ignores the threat contained in the concluding paragraph of the Viceroy's letter, and proposes to receive a fresh mission, or to send one himself to the Government. Either alternative is, his Honor submits, completely out of the question. The object of inviting an envoy is doubtless the hope of being able to seize his person, and then to dictate terms; and some of the frontier officers of Sikkim had, before the receipt of this reply, reported that this line of policy was being discussed by the Bootaneese.

3. After the treatment received by his Excellency's representative, for which no apology whatever has been tendered, it would, in the Lieutenant Governor's opinion, be inconsistent with the dignity of the Government to receive a mission from Bootan; but, if even this were not so, no sort of good could be anticipated from a compliance with the proposal. Past experience shows very clearly that propositions of this sort are merely put forward with a view of gaining time and staving off active measures; and it is almost certain that no mission would ever be sent, even if the Governor General in Council consented to receive one; and that, supposing a mission were sent, it would be found that the envoy's instructions would go no further than authorising him to try and get back the Assam Dooars and Ambaree Fallacotta without any equivalent.

4. We have a precedent to show that when the Bootan Government does send a mission, it does not consider itself bound by any agreement which its representatives may make. It seems to his Honor perfectly useless to attempt to enter into negotiations with Bootan, until it has been made to realize the power of the British Government, of which it has at present no sort of idea; and it appears clear to the Lieutenant Governor that the only course open to the Government, after the insolent evasion of the final demands of the Governor General, is to proceed to enforce those demands in the manner indicated in the Minute recorded by the Lieutenant Governor, under date the 22nd July last, a copy of which was submitted for the information of his Excellency in Council, under cover of my letter (No. 1813 T.), dated the 25th idem.

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from the Dhurm Rajah, dated 3 August, 1864, to Bahadoor Sahib.

YOUR letter, dated 27th of July, has been received, and its meaning has been understood. On account of outrages on the frontier of the two countries, some gentlemen came here last year, and I told the burra sahib that these outrages were not committed by my order, but by bad characters living on the frontier, and that the Rajah's (of Cooch Behar?) men had entered my territory, and killed and plundered and kidnapped my ryots. When the gentlemen came, I said to my Council, "See! this gentleman has come from a long distance. Whatever has been cannot be undone, but for the future there must be no more outrages committed. Let there be just dealing with these gentlemen; do what is necessary to prevent any misunderstanding between the Dhurm Rajah and the sahibs." It is the custom of this country that the Dhurm Rajah's duty is to give orders, and the Council's duty to do the work. The truth about the treaty is this: the gentleman said, "I am willing to sign a letter of engagement;" and I then said civil things to him, and let him go in peace. If the amlah used any force, why did not the gentleman complain to me then? But he said nothing about it at that time to me. If you have any wish to make friends, I have that wish also; if you don't like the agreement made by the Council, I will do what is fair. Send me an envoy, with full power to agree to everything, in December next, and we can then settle the wishes of both parties.

If there is any difficulty about the sahib's coming, tell me, and I will send a full-power envoy. Tell me where to send him, and I will send him there. Just now it is too hot to send a man to the plains, and it is unhealthy; but I will send in the cold weather. There have been many outrages committed on my territory—murders, plundering, &c.,—and for this the Rajah's (Cooch Behar?) people are not alone to blame; they have been committed as well by other people living in different parts of the Terrai. Besides this, I have not received the revenue of Ambarree for some years: this, also, has to be settled. Instead of doing this, you, acting under the advice of bad men, have, without thought of right or wrong, taken some of my lands; and if, in addition to this, you wish to stop my revenue, you must please yourself.

(True Translation.)

(signed) A. Eden,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

From the Secretary to Government of Bengal to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 2523 T.); dated Darjeeling, 24 August 1864.

* No. 227, dated 2d instant, with enclosures and one original map.

WITH reference to paragraphs 6 and 14 of the Lieutenant Governor's Minute submitted with my letter, No. 1813 T., dated 25th ultimo, I am directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter* from the

the Commissioner of Cooch Behar regarding the Bootan Dooars and routes into Bootan ; and to observe that the information has been hastily collected, and is, no doubt, owing to the difficulty of access to the country even by natives of our districts, in many details more or less inaccurate.

2. In paragraph 3 of Colonel Haughton's memorandum there is a mistake in respect to the Assam Dooars. Kooreapara and Char dooars do not, and never did, belong to Bootan ; they are quite distinct dooars, belonging to tribes subject to Thibet, to whom the British Government makes an annual payment for them. The two dooars which have been omitted, and for which the above two are substituted, lie on the border of Kamroop, and are Bijnee (II.) and Chaprakhamar.

3. It is clearly established by this report, and this has always been the impression of this Government, that the tract of country comprised in these dooars is not in any way more unhealthy than the neighbouring districts of Cooch Behar and Rungpore, whilst the lower range of hills jutting out into the dooars is more healthy than any part of the plains of India.

4. All the passes up to the frontier forts are accessible to beasts of burden, and even elephants ; beyond this the road possibly would require improvement which might easily be effected, as in the Sikkim war, by a few sappers. There is no doubt that the Buxa and Cheering Dooars are the two best. Paragraph 6.

5. The estimate of population (87,000) is probably excessive, the inhabitants of the Dooars are poor cultivators without retainers, and if the estimate was reduced by one-half, it would, perhaps, be in excess of the truth. Paragraph 8.

6. The estimate of revenue is no doubt moderate, but whatever it may be now, there is every reason to believe that it would be very great when the population of Cooch Behar and Rungpore flocked into the dooars, as they would the moment the British Government took them under its protection. Paragraph 9.

7. The description of the Bootea system of Government described in paragraph 13 is, his Honor believes, perfectly correct.

8. In regard to paragraph 18 of Colonel Haughton's report, the Lieutenant-Governor is disposed to adopt the proposed revenue system only as a temporary measure, making a settlement with the zemindars where there are zemindars, and with the ryots where there are no zemindars as soon as possible. In 1772, these dooars were simply placed under the collector of Rungpore, who seems to have managed them during their occupation by the English. There is no reason, however, why the judicial system in force in the neighbouring districts should not be introduced into them ; the people are not wild hill men, but a peaceable, industrious, patient race of Bengalees.

9. There is no doubt that at first the four posts mentioned in paragraph 19 should be occupied, but this is a matter which would best be settled when the dooars were once occupied. It should be borne in mind that the Booteas are perfectly helpless in the plains, and that a very small force of trained police, or soldiers, will send the largest body of men they can collect back into the hills.

10. The force proposed in paragraph 20 is, the Lieutenant Governor thinks, quite beyond all the necessities of the case ; two thousand men would be the maximum required under the most cautious policy. Two regiments of infantry, one of irregular cavalry, and some light guns would do all that is necessary ; the probabilities are that we should never be interfered with in any way. For hostilities in the dooars only, there would be no sort of difficulty about carriage ; the people of the dooars have a great number of pack cattle, and ponies, and oxen can be procured in any quantity in the neighbouring districts. A great many elephants would fall into our hands, and a considerable number could be borrowed or hired from the Rajahs of Cooch Behar and Julpigoree, and from the different zemindars of the neighbourhood.

11. The Lieutenant Governor quite agrees with Colonel Haughton that eventually a strong police force will protect the whole frontier without addition to the present military force, or, indeed, any material addition to the total cost of the Bengal police. Paragraph 24.

12. Colonel Haughton has made a mistake as to the amount of revenue remitted for Ambaree Fallacottah : it was not 10,333 rupees, but 3,239 rupees. Colonel Haughton has probably included some remissions made for several other mehals of the same estate about the same time. Paragraph 25.

13. At page 7 of the report there is a mistake regarding the height of Dalimkote. The plain below the fort was ascertained by the late mission to Bootan to be 2,922 feet, the fort was 1,000 feet above this.

14. The information contained in the concluding portion of the report has been collected from different inhabitants of the dooars and the frontier, in accordance with instructions issued by this Government. It is, of course, general, and, to a certain extent, probably not quite accurate ; for instance, the list of Bootan officials at page 17 scarcely recognisable, though there is enough to show that they are the titles of the chief officers as they have

caught the ears of Bengalees, and not the names of individuals at all. Jump is evidently Jungpen, the prefix Bhitor and Bahir are obviously of plains' origin; Deb Jump is the Debs' Zimpen; Tapay is the Tahpen, or master of the horse; then there are the Nirochen, Doorogen, Kulling, Bhandari, Katham, and Sepoy, each represented in the way in which the title sounded to a Bengalee.

15. The return of the original map is requested.

From Lientenant Colonel *J. C. Haughton*, Commissioner of Cooch Behar, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 227); dated 2 August 1864.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter, No. 522 T., of 6th June last, I have the honour to forward, for the information of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor, a memorandum concerning the Bootan Dooars and routes into Bootan. Appended to it is a very useful memorandum of the revenue and population* of the Western Dooars, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. T. A. Donough, Deputy Magistrate of Julpigooree. I also transmit a memorandum of information collected by Captain Lance at that place, in which Dalimkote and its approaches are particularly described.

* See page 302.

2. It is not possible, without inspection of the country, to decide what post must be occupied should we take possession of the dooars; but I have no doubt that the principal places indicated in the annexed memorandum should be occupied in the first instance by a military force. Minor points may be occupied by police, and perhaps eventually all posts that are retained; but much must depend upon the attitude assumed by the Booteahs.

3. I assume that it will be essential in the first instance to seize the heads of the principal passes; a careful examination and experience alone will suffice to determine whether they should continue to be occupied or not; occupation of them will have the advantage of enabling us to guard the fewest points, and give us possession of mineral tracts and lands valuable for tea on the southern slopes of the hills. It will enable us to keep up free-trade and to stop it at pleasure.

4. I am of opinion that the occupation of the dooars would at once set free a considerable portion of the police in Cooch Behar, Rungpore and Gawalparah, and that eventually an ordinary battalion of police, composed chiefly of Goorkahs and men of the border, will suffice for the police duties of the dooars from the Teesta to the Monass.

5. The map referred to in your letter under reply, received from the Surveyor General's Office, is herewith forwarded, with the posts it is proposed to occupy marked upon it.

6. In conclusion, I have to express my regret at the imperfectness of the information submitted. I have had to extract the greater part of it from persons very illiterate and deficient in intelligence.

MEMORANDUM on the Dooars of Bootan.

THE dooars of Bootan are the passes into the country formed by the exit of rivers. To each pass an officer is attached, and under his jurisdiction is placed the pass, a portion of the adjoining hill country, the slope of the hills, and more or less of the adjacent plains wrested from Assam, Cooch Behar, or Bykantpore during the decline of the Mogul dynasty, or apparently between the years 1700 and 1770.

2. The frontier extends in an irregular line from Gopalgunge on the Teesta to Balecapara in Assam, or from the meridian of Calcutta about four degrees east in longitude, in the 27th parallel north latitude. The line trends southward about half a degree in the meridian of 91°, and again returns north. The breadth of the tract varies from 10 to 30 miles, and it has been estimated by one very competent to the task to contain 4,400 square miles, exclusive of the lower hills; but we have since 1841 discovered the connection of the Booteahs with the dooars east of the Monass River in Zillah Gawalparah, paying them, in lieu of all the privileges they enjoyed, 10,000 rupees per annum. This memorandum will, therefore, chiefly deal with the dooars as yet untouched bordering on Cooch Behar and Zillah Gawalparah.

3. The

3. The dooars are usually reckoned as 18 in number, but the term dooars appears also to be locally applied to subordinate talooks not in themselves forming passes into Bootan. The principal dooars touching Cooch Behar are,—

1. Dalinkote.
2. Zameer or Jamrikote.
3. Chamoorchee.
4. Lukee or Bala.
5. Buxa, Baska, or Paksha.
6. Bhalka.
7. Bara or Beygoo.
8. Gooma.

The following adjoin Zillah Gawalparah :—

9. Reepoo.
10. Cheerung or Sidlee.
11. Bijnee or Bagh.

The following are on the Frontier of Kamroop :—

- Part of Bijnee or Bagh.
12. Chappagooree.
13. Baska (Dewangiri).
14. Ghurkola.

The undermentioned face Zillah Durrung :—

15. Khalling.
16. Booree Gooma.
17. Kooroapara.
18. Char Dooar.

4. The accounts of the climate and productions of the dooars are very contradictory. This I believe to arise from the fact that the country to which the term is applied comprises every variety of soil and climate. Some portions, as south of Dalinkote in the plains, appear to be well cleared and cultivated, and devoid of terai. This remark also applies to Baska and possibly to other dooars in Assam. There is absolutely no terai at Baska, and the head quarters of the local authority, Dewangiri, is 2,000 feet above the level of the sea. Nulbaree, a few miles below Dewangiri, was indicated to me as the most healthy place in Assam.

5. Bijnee and Sidlee, again, are interspersed with low hills and jungle, and this portion appears to be unhealthy for natives of India. Again, Buxa on the Cooch Behar frontier is pretty free from jungle, and said to be healthy. The head-quarters of the Soubah, 2,000 feet above the sea, is thought to be particularly salubrious. Dalinkote is also believed to be healthy, but the jungles of Chamoorchee are the reverse. I believe the jungles at the foot of the Bootan Hills are better ventilated than those farther west. The natives of this quarter believe all the jungles east of the Teesta more healthy than those farther west.

6. The best passes into the hills are said to be Buxa, Beygoo or Bara, Cheerung or Sidlee, and Banskah or Dewangiri. The Cheerung pass is accessible both from Cooch Behar and Assam. Beygoo is said to be a very good pass, though little used. None of the passes are known to be accessible in their present state for wheeled carriages, or to laden beasts of burden,* but, no doubt, several of them could be rendered available for laden animals with a little labour, especially Buxa.

* Since this was written the Nazir of the Raj Soubah assures me his bullocks have constantly gone backwards and forwards to Buxa laden during the last 20 years.

7. The only fortification worthy at all of the name known to exist is Dalinkote, but its supply of water is easily cut off. Stockades, however, which would cause difficulty could be run up in the course of a couple of days in every pass.

8. The population of the dooars consists, first, of Rajbungses and others, calling themselves Hindoos, and connected with the people of Cooch Behar; second, Mahomedans; these chiefly inhabit the outer border and better cultivated portions of the country; thirdly, Meech and Garrow tribes, who occupy the inner and more jungly tracts, and the hill slopes. These are said not to intermarry with the Booteahs above them, or the Hindoos and Mahomedans outside them. They are all said to be favourably disposed towards us. But we could expect no assistance from them unless assured of our permanent occupation of their country, for the Booteahs are thoroughly well known as a cruel and treacherous race whom no oath will bind, and who will for years watch for an opportunity to revenge themselves. The estimates I have made of the 11 dooars adjoining Cooch Behar gives a population of 8,700 families, each family, including servants and retainers, I would reckon at ten persons, thus giving a total of 87,000.

9. The revenue, on the best estimate obtainable, I reckon at 1,05,952 Narainee rupees or 72,047 Government rupees. I believe this to be far below the truth, but I have gone as far as possible on positive statements. Both Hindoo and Booteah authorities in the dooars have offered more than once to hold them from us. They are said to have offered to pay in 1825 three lakhs and 40,000 Company's rupees; and when Sir F. Halliday, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, visited Julpigooree, to have renewed their offers to become tributary, and to pay three lakhs, or 2,04,000 Company's rupees. In 1837-38, one Hurgobind, a

rebel against the Booteah authority, occupying Bhothaut, Mynagooree, Chengmaree, Gopalgunge, &c., of Dalimkote Dooar, offered to become tributary to us, and to pay 50,000 rupees per annum (if Narainee rupees were meant, the amount would be 34,000 Company's rupees); he subsequently came to terms with the Booteahs, who were unable to subdue him, and agreed to pay 1,02,000 rupees (or 69,360 Company's rupees). The country, however, has steadily and continuously fallen off, in consequence of the arbitrary conduct of the Booteahs, resulting from their intestine quarrels and the absence of any fixed government among them.

Pemberton, p. 81.

10. The appointments of the Booteah officers are nominally for three years, but in reality officers are removed on the slightest pretext; any one thinking himself able to take possession of an appointment, and making an offering of value, or promising larger tribute, is, it is said, appointed at once. He proceeds to take possession, and to plunder his predecessor, the actual office-holder, who fights as long as he can, and, if successful in driving off the newly-appointed officer, holds his post as if nothing had happened, sends up a present, and conducts business as usual. If beaten, he flies for his life to British territory, or to his nearest powerful friend. Thus it is the interest of each official to screw as much as possible out of the country during his tenure of office, quite irrespective of the consequences.

11. There is a recognized method of making irregular levies upon districts, not unknown in other quarters. The Pillo, or the Dhurm, or the Deb Raja, or any one vested with sufficient power, sends a present to the chief man of a basket of fruit, or a pony, or other trifle for which a return present is expected. The bearer is instructed to bring back so much, and he intimates to the honoured recipient of the present that he must have such and such things, or such a sum, without which he cannot return. This demand must be complied with under pain of being punished for "slighting the present."

12. In the statistical table appended to this Report, the amounts shown, it is believed, in some cases include, and in others exclude, realisations in kind.

13. The Booteahs cannot be said to govern the dooars; they merely hold them in possession as a means of raising money. There is no administration of civil justice, but the authorities will interfere in favour of a party who asks their assistance, and is willing to pay for it. In criminal matters the case is somewhat different. Criminals are a steady source of revenue; all crimes whatever are punishable by fine, and if the offender has not wherewithal to pay, himself, wife, and children are sent up into perpetual slavery in the hills.

14. I have already said something of the climate of the dooars. My belief is that along the frontier the climate is as good as that of Rungpore or Cooch Behar. Actually in the jungle, near the foot of the hills, fevers may be expected to be more prevalent, but all parties appear agreed that the air of Buxa, and other places of about the same elevation, is very salubrious. The local population are a healthy and strong race, and are not specially subject to fevers. The Booteahs dread the plains generally during the rains, and at this place the Hindoostanees always suffer at that season from dampness of the climate, I believe. At present, 20 per cent. of the Raja's troops are sick, chiefly of fever. They are all Hindoostanees.

15. The soil of the dooars is said to be quite equal to that of Cooch Behar and Bunglepore; wheat, rice, sursoo, millet, and small grains of sorts, hemp, opium, and tobacco are cultivated. The forests abound in sal timber, which to the east and west are sources of revenue. Limestone is believed to exist, but it is not worked. This will probably prove a source of great profit hereafter, as all lime now used in this quarter is brought from the Cossyah Hills at a cost of more than cent. per cent. on the original price. If limestone exists, coals should also be found. The existence of both these minerals in the dooars of Kamroop is certain; at least, I have seen undoubted specimens of both shown to me as from that locality.

16. Should it be determined to occupy the dooars, there seems no reason to doubt but that the measure will prove beneficial to our own territories, to the people of the dooars, and eventually to the Booteahs. The dooars have for a long series of years apparently continued to fall off in population, as Cooch Behar did when they meddled in its affairs. Cooch Behar, about the year 1600, was the centre of a powerful kingdom, including Kamroop and a number of surrounding countries; its Raja mustered an army of 100,000 men. Subsequently, the Mahomedans invaded the country, and, by the aid of domestic treachery, conquered it. With the decline of their power, it became an easy prey to the Booteahs, under whose sway it became greatly impoverished. A British commissioner, 70 years ago, found the country with a revenue of a little more than a lac of rupees; this he speedily trebled; cultivators poured in, and, in spite of 39 years of misrule under the sovereignty of an unscrupulous and abandoned debauchee, the revenue has increased nearly sixfold, and the population has doubled. In the dooars, I have no doubt but that a moderate assurance of safety to life and property would produce the same results.

17. There are a number of outlaws of Rungpore and Cooch Behar in the dooars, fled from justice. These persons would naturally be averse to our occupation, and might cause much trouble. I think it would be politic to grant an amnesty to all offenders resident in the dooars for past offences, provided they registered themselves and took out a protection from any officer authorised to grant one.

18. The

18. The revenue of the dooars I would collect from the zemindars and heads of villages, or tribes direct; allowing, where the collector has no other profit, a percentage, according to circumstances, not to exceed one-fourth of the gross revenue. Civil and criminal justice I would leave, as far as possible, in the hands of the people. The same system will not probably be found to answer throughout. Thus a large portion of Dalimkote and the frontier adjoining Cooch Behar would probably be found fit for a much more advanced system than the interior. I would be unwilling to frame any code for the country till visited. Any Booteah authority found in power might probably, in the first instance, be retained if he tendered his submission. Till further experience be gained I think it would be sufficient to direct that the officer in charge of the dooars should act in his judicial proceedings in conformity with the spirit of the laws of India.

19. It is not easy, without some personal knowledge of a country or information from intelligent persons who have such knowledge, to state what points should be occupied, and what force should be used for the seizure and retention of it. The best information, however, which has reached me upon the subject, induces the belief that the following should be occupied in the first instance:—

Dalimkote,
Buxa,
Cheerung, and
Dewangiri in Assam.

It may be found best to occupy these posts permanently, as more healthy than the stations in the plains; if not, their supports would be at Julpigooree:—

Chicheekatta, and either
Cooch Behar,
Gowreepore (near Doobree), or
Gowalparah.

Nothing but an examination of the routes can determine which of these would be the best points of support for Cheerung.

20. If hostilities be apprehended on the Assam side, Dewangiri might be occupied with the greatest advantage. The force I would recommend for the primary seizure of the dooars would be 3,000 infantry and one regiment of cavalry,* each infantry corps to be accompanied by two 12-pounder howitzers and at least 50 pioneers. The baggage of the force to be carried, as far as practicable, on ponies. A pony corps was got up for the Cossyah campaign, by whose advice I am not aware, but it did not succeed well. This want of success, however, was not attributable to any cause, but defective arrangements at the outset. The officer to command such a corps should be one suited to his task. The syces should be Hindoostanes (the Bengallee syces being deficient in stamina and courage) with moderate pay; they should be well cared for, and under such circumstances would probably care for their animals. The Bengallees are deficient in resources, and extravagant pay fails to reconcile them to the hardships inseparable from a campaign. When an officer commanding a regiment is to be found capable of making arrangements for his own baggage animals, it is best, I should think, he should do so.

21. Each separate body should, if possible, have an officer with it capable of surveying the route, and extending his survey in all directions from the head quarters of his corps.

22. If it should be determined to occupy the dooars of Bootan, I conceive it to be essentially necessary that depôts for provisions should be formed without any delay. Julpigooree and Cooch Behar and Gowalparah are the principal points. At these ghee, wheat, rice, and dall, with minor condiments, should be stored. Gowalparah is a mart, and from it any place as far as Cooch Behar or Cheerung could be supplied with little difficulty. At this season the rivers are open, and provisions may be transported in any direction. If, as has recently been stated, an interdict to trade has been promulgated in Assam, the Booteahs for the next few months will draw largely on the Bengal Dooars for supplies. The result will be that provisions there will be scarce. At Cooch Behar itself, prices have risen greatly within the last year or two, in consequence of the silting up of the mouths of its rivers, owing probably to some trivial alteration in the general level caused by volcanic action; earthquakes being of frequent occurrence.

23. It would no doubt be necessary to hold the extreme posts in the first range of hills till we are satisfied that the Booteahs acquiesce in the new arrangements. By that time we would be able to determine what country and what posts we should retain, and what we may abandon.

24. I am of opinion that eventually one strong police regiment will suffice to protect the whole frontier, without addition to the present military force. A considerable reduction will be practicable in the Rungpore and Cooch Behar police, and also that of Gowalparah.

25. To

* The cavalry would not be called to enter the passes or hills, but to maintain connection between posts in the plains, and to pursue any marauders who might attempt to plunder in the plains.

25. To meet these extra expenses we have Fallacottah resumed (this is the amount of exemption of revenue to landholder granted when we ceded it in 1774) - 10,333

Immediate revenue of the dooars - - - - - 72,047

Allowances resumed in Assam - - - - - 10,000

Total - - - Co.'s Rs. 92,380

and I think there can be no doubt but the same results will follow our managements of these doars that we have experienced to the eastward, and that the income derivable from them will be doubled and trebled in the course of a few years. Marts for the produce of the country and for the interchange of the commerce of Europe and China will be established on the frontier. The lazy Booteahs, who have been so long and so largely dependant on the labour of the natives of the plains, will be compelled to exert themselves; and the result will doubtless benefit them as much as ourselves. They will no longer have leisure to spend on intestine quarrels, and they will not have the option of turning their arms against their weaker neighbours.

1.—DALIMKOTE OF KYRANTEE DOOAR.

The river of this dooar is the Durlah, which flows under the spur of the hill on which the stone enclosure stands, from which the dooar takes its name.

The territory attached to this dooar runs parallel to the Durlah and Teesta in a south-east direction.

The spur on which Dalimkote stands is estimated at 1,500 feet above the sea. There does not appear to be any well-defined boundary between this dooar and the next. The estimate of population and revenue is as follows:

	Rs.
Karjee Bosh Talook, 400 families, pay - - - -	18,177
Bhothautee Debotee and Julepeshur Deoran, 115 families -	5,764
Chengamaree, 120 families - - - - -	1,426
Tolls on Travellers - - - - -	400
Hauts or markets - - - - -	220
Plough Tax - - - - -	700
Bullock Tax - - - - -	200
Buffaloe Tax - - - - -	1,000
Timber - - - - -	500
Sundry sesses - - - - -	3,900
Gopalgunge and its taxes, 95 families - - - -	4,735

TOTAL - - Rs. 37,022

The abovenamed places are not considered as belonging to the dooar as they really do, being under separate revenue management.

The rest of Dalimkote yields about 19,260 rupees, and may be computed to contain about 400 families.

The entire population of the dooar is therefore about 1,100 families, and its revenues 56,282 Narainee rupees, or 38,080 Company's rupees. Hurgobind, a rebel, offered to pay for it to us in 1837, 40,000 rupees, or 27,200 Company's rupees. One of my informants, dispossessed by Hurgobind, asserted his father paid half a lakh of Narainees for a portion of the dooar, 27 talooks. The dooar abounds in all the productions of Rungpore, and is considered healthy all the year round. Dalimkote is recommended as a residence for Europeans.

2.—ZAMEERCOTE OF JAMRICOTE.

The last mission would appear to have crossed this dooar on its way from and to Dalimkote. The dooar is less populous than Dalimkote, but is said to contain very fine timber. The River Jerdeker or Juldeker flows through this dooar. Its inhabitants are reckoned at 1,000 families, and its revenue at 5,000 rupees; but both would seem over the mark.

3.—CHAMOORCHEE OF MARAGHAT,

Is the next dooar to the east; very little is known of this dooar; it is said to be very jungly. Its river is the Manchee, called lower down the Monsai. More than half a century ago Cooch Behar held the lands of this dooar up to an ancient mound road called the Baugamallee, which skirted the hills, running east and west; but the Booteahs in 1816-17 recovered much of it under an ancient decree of the Dinagepore Council discovered by Mr. Commissioner Scott. The Rajahs of Cooch Behar, however, have held continuously, and still hold, 22 isolated villages within the Booteah border. Chamoorchee Chang, or the head-quarters of the Soubah, is estimated to be 24½ miles from Geeladanga Thannah, on Cooch Behar frontier; estimated population, 300 families; revenue, 2,800 rupees.

4.—LUKEE OR BALA DOOAR.

Lukee or Bala is the next dooar east of Chamoorchee; through it the River Toorsha flows. It is believed to be somewhat better cultivated than Chamoorchee.

It contains the following 24 talooks, including about 300 families :—

Salbunny.	Deagong Meepara.
Bala Soonder.	Jamreejora.
Bhoolander Haut.	15 Toutpara.
Katal Balee.	Bandapane.
5 Groo Bar.	Tapabassa.
Dhoolagong.	Nipane (so called from want of water).
Deogong.	Bullalgoore.
Bhandany.	20 Namanee.
10 Kuraee Kote (here are the remains of a fort).	Ghongtang.
Burdolea.	Dhogere Chang.
Bagtookra.	Malsa Gong.
	24 Cheroo Gong.

Jyong is also in Lukee Dooar, but is assigned as "Pan Khawa," or for supply of pan-leaf to the Soubah.

The Soubah realises 8,000 rupees, and pays 2,800 rupees to the Dhurm Raja.

Formerly the assessment was by "Chellas," or the holding of one head of a family. A big Chella would employ 15 to 20 ploughs, and would pay as follows :

	Rs.	a.	p.
Malgoozaree	-	-	11
Irsal	-	-	7
Punchuk	-	-	2 8
Gora Chala and Gooa Chala	-	-	2

TOTAL - - Rs. 22 8 -

Besides rope for horses	-	-	8 bundles.
Thread	-	-	1 "
Rice	-	-	1 doon.

Sreenath, a Meech, is the zemindar or collector responsible to the Soubah for the revenue.

There is also a free settlement within the dooar belonging to Kheroo Jan Saheb, who is relied upon by the Booteahs as military commander in case of difficulties.

The distance from Fallacottah just across the Booteah frontier to Bella, the Soubah's Chang, is stated to be 34 miles, chiefly through jungle.

The ascent is said to be six miles, and very steep, barely practicable for a pony. One person who has visited the place asserts that water is conveyed a distance of two coss on men's backs for the supply of the Chang.

5.—BUXA, BASKA, OR PAKSHA.

Baska is in the plains, reputed the principal dooar or entry into Bootan. The dooar is very extensive, and is said to be bounded by its river, the Guddadhur or Tehinchoo, to the east, and the Toorsa to the west. No reliable information of the population or revenue of this district has been received. I am of opinion, however, that at the lowest it possesses 1,000 houses, and yields not less than 10,000 rupees. The route from Cooch Behar is described as free from all difficulty as far as the very foot of the hills.

The country is covered with high grass, with here and there patches of open tree jungle or of cultivation.

The distance from Chicheecotta to Buxa Chang, elevated 2,000 feet above the sea, is only 18 miles. The ascent is extremely gradual, almost imperceptible, to a place called Mynagong, where bullocks are, or used to be, unladen. It is said that the road thence has been recently improved. The ascent is, it is believed, not more than three or four miles, but must include about 1,200 feet in that distance. The village has about 20 houses, including one stone house of the Soubah. It is considered cold and salubrious. The entire distance from Cooch Behar is 35 miles. The old Hindoo Dooar Deo of the family of the Cooch Behar Raja, resides at Purwur Pae, where there is a revenue cutcherry. The persons who farm the revenue here are called Kotewals.

The principal places are—

Parwar.
Chicheecotta, the Chang of a Katma.
Bhootnee Bos.
Roocha Dabree.
Paro Kata.
Cholokee Bos, the Chang of a Katma.
Raiduk, residence of Khury Deb Kower, who is a Kotwal.
Huldeebaree.

6.—BEYGOO; 7.—BHULKA; AND 8.—GOOMA DOOARS.

These three dooars, it is believed, only afford one entrance to the country of Bootan, and are situated east of Baska and the Guddadhur, and west of Reepoo Dooar.

The tracts would seem to be more interspersed with low hills than the dooars further west, and less cultivated.

A man who travelled from Tassissudon backwards and forwards by different routes several times states his belief that the Beygoo route is the best, though but little used.

There is another route, which I suspect joins the former; it goes *viâ* Lotko, before reaching which point it is very steep, and has a river intervening called locally the Sunkoos (one of a dozen of the same name), and lower down Guddadhur, which I, therefore, suppose to be a feeder of the river so named in the maps.

There was formerly a Hindoo zemindar named Aurung Sing connected with the family of Cooch Behar in Gooma; he was carried off by the Booteahs before 1849, and has not since been heard of. His son was allowed to succeed, but has since been ousted; he paid 700 rupees to the Booteahs for big and little Gooma as annual revenue. The entire collections are now said to be 3,000 rupees, of which 850 rupees is remitted to Rajah.

Beygoo is supposed to have about 100 houses, and to yield about 2,000 rupees revenue.

Bhulka has about 100 houses. The Soubah (or Katma) realises 2,500 rupees, of which he is said to remit 1,000 rupees to the Deb Raja.

The Guddadhur admits boats of almost any size in the rains into this district, and in the dry season boats of 100 maunds are able to ascend to its border.

There is a considerable trade from the dooars in timber and canoes.

The inhabitants are Rajbungsees, Meechis, Mahomedans, and Domes; the latter are fishermen.

9.—REEPOO DOOAR.

This small dooar, and indeed also the two Goomas, touch the frontier of the Gowalparah district of Assam on the border of the estate of Purbut Jooar, the representative of which is by me while I write. His knowledge of anything beyond his frontier is very slight. He considers the Booteahs great tyrants, and is of opinion that every one not being a Booteah would be very happy to get from under their control. This is nearly the sum total of the information I can gather from one who, though not summoned to give it, having come in the hopes of obtaining a considerable favour for his family, has every interest in pleasing me. The dooar has more hills in it than those to the west, and is more jungly. It may be noted that here low hills on both sides of the Berhampooter tend towards it. Reepoo is estimated to contain a population of about 100 families, mixed Garrows, Rajbungsees, Mahomedans, and other tribes. The revenue may be safely set down as not less than 1,000 rupees.

There is a road up through this dooar to Cheerung, joining the more general one through Sidlee, which will be noticed hereafter.

10.—SIDLEE.

This dooar is next in order to the east. It comprises the Hindoo estate of the Raja of Sidlee and the access to the hills by the Cheerung Pass. There is very much plain country in this dooar, but it is poor. The ascent to the hills begins between Bissun Sing and Surun of Tassin's map of Bengal, and is described after passing Bissun-Sing as extremely steep, so much so that the Booteahs place wythes along the pass to aid ascent and descent. There are, it is estimated, 2,000 families in the dooar. How many of these are under the Sidlee Raja is at present not ascertainable. Sidlee pays about 700 rupees per annum in goods to the Booteahs, or rather loses about this sum in an exchange theoretically equal. The chief has no power, but is in reality almost entirely independent, owing no more than a nominal allegiance to the Booteahs, and none to us. I believe he would prefer British protection. Sidlee is bounded to the east by the pergunnahs Habraghat and Koontaghat of Bijnee within Zillah Gowalparah.

11.—BIJNEE.

East of Sidlee is the Bijnee estate, the holder of which has aimed at the dignity of Raja. The truth is, formerly every landholder was called Raja, which title gave him dignity simply corresponding to his landed possessions. From the earliest period of our connection with Bijnee the zemindar appears to have been treated simply as such. He held lands both in the Zillah Rungpore (now detached as Zillah Gowalparah) and also beyond our frontier. Whether these lands were within Bootan bounds or not does not appear, but before the beginning of the present century the Deb Rajah, on the murder of the zemindar, instituted the murderer as zemindar.

This nomination we entirely refused to acknowledge, but for some cause, which does not appear, eventually we acquiesced in the arrangement.

The zemindar pays for his possessions beyond our frontier 1,300 rupees to the Booteahs, and for those within it 1,770 rupees to us.

The Monass, called above by the Booteahs the Goomaree, forms the eastern boundary of Bijnee. The river is said to be navigable to the foot of the hills all the year round.

Bijnee is interspersed with hills almost to the Berhampooter in both its pergunnahs of Habraghat and Koontaghat, but it has much plain land beyond our border.

The Raja or zemindar is a minor, and the estate is said to be tolerably well managed by his mother, but it is only just becoming clear of debt, a benefit probably due to the fact that the two pergunnahs, Habraghat and Koontaghat, are under the management of the Court of Wards.

ABSTRACT of Population and Revenue of Dooars from Teesta to the Monass.

	Families.	Narainee Rs.
1. Dalimkote - - - - -	1,100	56,282
2. Zameerkote - - - - -	1,000	5,000
3. Chamoorchee - - - - -	300	2,800
4. Lukee or Bala - - - - -	300	8,000
5. Baska - - - - -	1,000	10,000
6. Beygoo - - - - -	100	2,000
7. Gooma - - - - -	200	3,000
8. Bhalka - - - - -	100	2,500
9. Reepoo - - - - -	100	1,000
10. Sidlee - - - - -	2,000	700
11. Bijnee - - - - -	2,500	1,300
	8,700	92,582
Add—		
Elephant Farm - - - - -		3,000
Sundry taxes on timber and taxes levied in kind - - - - -		10,000
TOTAL - - -		1,05,582

ROUTES FROM COOCH BEHAR.

No. 1.		Miles.	
Cooch Behar to Geeladangah Thannah	-	25	} Easy road.
" Choora Bundur	- -	8	
" Bhothaut	- - -	2	
" Mynagooree	- - -	6	
Total		- - -	41
No. 2.			
Cooch Behar to Geeladangah Thannah	-	25	} Four streams, all fordable in dry weather, crossed; road impracticable for beasts of burden for last eight miles.
" Shoreghat	- - -	24½	
" Huldeebary	- - -		
" Talook Banna	- - -		
" Bans Baree	- - -		
" Chamoorchee Chang	-		
Total		- - -	49½
No. 3.			
Cooch Behar to Geeladanga Thannah	-	25	} Fordable in dry weather.
" Talook Khetie	- -	28	
" Gelandee River	- - -		
" Luckpara	- - -		
" Katal Banee	- - -	Ditto.	
" Doodooa River	- - -		
" Burputtee River	- - -	Ditto.	
" Teleepara	- - -		
" Ballal Gooree Chang	-	Ditto.	
Stream	- - -		
" Bala or Lukee Dooar	-		
Total		- - -	58

No. 4.				Miles.	
Cooch Behar to Chicheecotta	-	-	-	18	Taken from Pemberton's report.
" Buxa	-	-	-	18	
" Murichom	-	-	-	20	
" Chuka	-	-	-	18	
" Chupcha	-	-	-	17	
" Semloo	-	-	-	17	
" Woolaka	-	-	-	9	
" Teelagong	-	-	-	14	
" Poonakha	-	-	-	8½	
Total	-	-	-	139½	

No. 5.					
Cooch Behar to Sookandigee	-	-	-	10	
" Goomanee Hât	-	-	-	8	
" Fallacottah	-	-	-	5	In Bootan ; reed and grass jungle.
" Mudaree	-	-	-	8	
" Namanee	-	-	-	8	Heavy tree jungle.
" Bullalgooree	-	-	-	6	Ascent commences.
" Santra Barree	-	-	-	6	
" Bala or Lukee	-	-	-	6	
Bala to Tazeegong	-	-	-	-	3 hours' steep ascent.
" Panree	-	-	-	-	3 ditto.
" Notakan	-	-	-	-	1 day.
" Doomgong	-	-	-	-	1 day. Tongso is visible from this.
" Muddukong	-	-	-	-	1 day.
" Napisa	-	-	-	-	1 "
" Papisa	-	-	-	-	1 "
" Bidee Chong	-	-	-	-	1 "
" Parogong	-	-	-	-	1 "

The ascents and descents in the above route are described as very steep in places, and occasionally barely practicable for Bootan ponies.

No. 6.					
Cooch Behar to Huldee Baree	-	-	-	1 day.	This route is said to be easy for ponies. Snow was met with beyond Chanam in November.
" Pookreegong	-	-	-	1 "	
" Dhool	-	-	-	1 "	
" Bighoo or Beagoo	-	-	-	1 "	
" Chanam	-	-	-	1 "	
" Gaidna	-	-	-	1 "	
" Tassissudon	-	-	-	1 "	
				8 days.	

No. 7.				Miles.	
Cooch Behar to Sareegunja in Bootan	-	-	-	12	Good road ; about 100 houses in village.
" Kam Sing	-	-	-	2	Large village.
" Sookool Takoorear Killa	-	-	-	2	{ There was a stockade here once erected by the farmer of elephants, Keddo Soopersad ; fifteen houses of Meech.
" Jaygong	-	-	-	8	{ Heavy jungle ; village now nearly deserted ; contains a few Meech.
" Cross Toorsa River into Bala Dooar	-	-	-	1	At all times crossed by bamboo raft.
" Doomgong	-	-	-	4	{ Toorsa has to be crossed twice on rafts capable of containing twenty persons. This village can be seen from below, and is three hours from foot of the hills. The village contains about twenty-five houses. Jungle decreases as the hill is approached.

No. 8.				
COOCH BEHAR.				
Cooch Behar <i>viâ</i> Bhalka to Cheerung.				
to Rampore.				
to Gossingong in Gooma	-	-	-	-
				Large Hindoo and Meech village.
to Janagong	-	-	-	-
				{ In the plains on the borders of Purbut Jowar People Meech and Garrow; large scattered village.
to Surul Bangha Nuddee	-	-	-	-
				{ Called lower down Gouranghee; fordable in the rains; no village.
to Kochoo Barray	-	-	-	-
				A Booteah Chang in the plains; no village.
to Bissun Sing	-	-	-	-
				{ A Booteah Chang half way up the hill to Cheerung. Elephants go thus far; path follows the course of the Surul Bangha, which is repeatedly crossed.
to Cheerung	-	-	-	-
				{ Head-quarters of soubah under Tongso Pillo; a few houses. The road from Bissun Sing to Cheerung is represented as extremely steep. Snow is met with after leaving Bissun Sing.

Hence to Tassissudon is six days' journey; ascents and descents said to be easy.

MEMORANDUM of different points of information regarding the principal places of importance on the South-west Frontier of Bootan, and further general observations on the Country at large.

DALINGKOTE (Dillamcotta) is the principal fortress of this portion of the country, and is connected by a hill road with Darjeeling, of a very passable description generally, but presenting some difficulties in the valley of the Teesta, and others of still greater amount on each bank of the Durlab, the river running at the base of the ridge of hills, on a lower spur of which the fort is built; another road leads from Julpigooree to this fort, which is practicable for elephants, bullocks, &c. to within about five miles from Dalimcote; at this spot the path leaves the plain, and runs up till it emerges on a small plateau called "Umbiok," about 1,000 feet below the fort, and affording an appropriate spot to encamp a force proceeding to invest the place. Water is procurable in abundance from a stream running close by, whilst the surrounding forest jungle affords an ample supply of firewood.

A third road runs through the hills to the north, whilst a continuation of the Darjeeling road leads *viâ* Sepethu, Trongbeh, Ha Paro, and Tilagong forts to the capital. It is to be observed, however, that the chief town, Poonakha (or Tassishujung according to season), would be reached with less difficulty from our territory, by proceeding from the southern boundary of Bootan through certain of the valleys lying north and south, such as Buxa, Cheerung, &c. The fort of Dalingkote stands on the top of a hill, and consists of several stone houses of one and two stories each, with single roofs, the whole being enclosed by a stone wall some 12 to 15 feet high, running round the edge of the flat top of the hill.

The fort is generally supplied with water from a spring in the valley, on nearly the opposite side to "Umbiok," the neck of land which connects the fort hill with a general range, being the line of separation.

Another spring appears to exist on an adjacent eminence to the south, at a much higher elevation.

The Soubah has a small supply of matchlocks and a few muskets of an old fashion, perhaps seventy or eighty swords and shields, and one or two catapults.

From "Umbiok" the road rises to the top of the neck of land already alluded to, and then branches into two, one descending immediately into the valley on the other side of the neck, and the other turning sharply to the right hand, and leading up in a winding manner to the fort gate. The hill is covered with jungle as high as the "neck of land," but above that the side has been laid bare with a view of discovering the approach of any besiegers. The main gate is in the ground story of the largest building in the enclosure, situated at the south-east corner, and containing the armoury and apartments of the Soubah; the passage after entrance is dark and tortuous, and capable of great resistance were it energetically defended.

The reduction of the place would apparently be best accomplished by a general escalade, as the defenders would not be numerous, and at one point or another an entrance would easily be obtained.

The point of greatest importance in any operation of the sort would be cautiously to guard against any casualties arising from the garrison rolling stones down the hill on the advancing troops. This would be best met by halting the force when it had reached the "neck," and throwing it into skirmishing order, so as to allow each individual to exert his own ability in procuring cover from missiles of the above description. The enceinte once entered, it is not probable that further opposition would be made.

The Dalingkote Soubah possesses a seignory over the different Katmas, Bundaries, &c. on this portion of the frontier, he himself again holding his commission from the court.

The portion of country under his sway is considered to produce more than an average amount of revenue, and its general resources and population are greater than the immediately neighbouring districts, though inferior to those of some of the villages lying nearer the heart of the kingdom.

Valuable forests are to be found here, and an increased and well-treated population is alone required to cause the production of cereals in any amount and of any description.

Portions of the district seem well adapted also for the cultivation of tea.

Water is generally abundant and pure, thoroughly irrigating the land by a number of small streams.

The larger rivers are, however, unfortunately unadapted for boats, owing to the impetuosity of the current, frequent shallowness and large number of huge boulder stones; but a moderate amount of labour would produce a good communication on one side with Darjeeling, and on the other with Julpigooree, through the two roads previously mentioned.

About two days' journey from Dalingkote, in an easterly direction, stands a fort called "Shrapsaparah."

The road to it is difficult, being merely a path through a dense jungle, but tolerably level, and crossing in its path the Dhollah river.

On reaching Shrapsaparah, a fortification consisting of one larger and several smaller houses of stone, surrounded by a stone wall, presents itself to view.

The fort is placed on the side of a hill, and is commanded consequently by the superior portion of the eminence, rendering the reduction of the place a matter of ease; water is procured by the garrison from a stream flowing from the top of the hill.

It is garrisoned by a moderate number of sepoys, perhaps 50, more or less.

There is little or no cultivation near, and hardly an inhabitant not belonging to the fort.

The Soubah keeps a Bengallee Baboo in his employ to translate letters, &c. One is also to be found at Dalingkote.

Both of these men might prove of considerable use if questioned as to the internal administration of the district. The Dhollah river is calculated to be about two coss from Shrapsaparah.

Zameercote, called by the natives Jamrikote, is the residence of a Soubah. There is not any fort, &c., but a grass and thatched hut of larger size, surrounded by others of similar material (but smaller), constitute the respective dwelling-houses of the official and his dependents.

The whole placed on the spur of a hill moderately high.

Water is found in springs on top of the hill.

A road leads from Julpigooree *viâ* Domohunee and Shahripakri to this place, whilst the distance from Julpigooree is perhaps about 40 miles. The last portion of the road leading into Jamrikote is very steep, but about five and six feet broad.

The whole road is very jungly, but practicable in the dry season for elephants and cattle.

This place is under the lordship of the Paro Penlow.

Nothing is produced on the hill on which Jamrikote stands; but the surrounding tract of low land, subject to the Soubah, is fertile, producing rice, &c., whilst the more elevated portions of the district abound in parts with makoi, jowar, &c. The ryots of this Soubah consist of Meechis, Bengallees, and Garrows.

The Soubah himself is a Booteah.

Much of the timber brought to Julpigooree comes from here, being seesoo, sal, &c.

The population is large for Bootan. There are no large landowners, but a ryot of considerable means, named "Shib-Ram," lives here, to whose house the Booteahs come to make the revenue collections.

Kyrantee, subordinate to Dalingkote, lies to the south of the latter place in the plains, on undulating ground. It is governed by a Bundaree (deputy) living at Domohunee.

There are no fortifications here, nor any sepoys.

The place is well watered by streams, and produces the usual crops. There is a comparatively large number of ryots. A road exists between it and Domohunee, but there is a great amount of jungle and water; elephants and cattle can traverse it in the dry season, but in the wet weather men alone can get through it. The distance from Domohunee would be about six or seven miles.

The revenue is not large; sal, kair, seesoo, and chopahal timber plentiful.

Domohunee, where the Bundaree in charge of Kyrantee lives, possesses a Chang, or bamboo stockade, built on a plain close to the river Teesta, and garrisoned by about 25 sepoys.

The revenue is good, and grain of most sorts is produced. Ryots number about 200; the present bundaree is a Bengallee named "Ram Chunder," and the principal man holding an influence over the ryots is a Bengallee of the name of "Durbaroo." The bundaree also holds a baree in "Pahar-pooree" under our Government.

Mynagooree is a village of some size with a bamboo fortification attached to it; here there is a katma with 40 sepoys when all called in.

There are three streams near, viz., the Bagzan, the Jurdah, and the Dhollah.

On the first mentioned stands the fort; revenue 3,000, and population 300. Good and large crops of dhan, kulai, churcha, wheat, barley, mokoi, kooshear, pata, pan, supyari, til, &c. are produced here.

The katma is a Booteah.

I doubt the existence of any thing that can be called a fort either in the passes or below.

J. C. H.

The principal men are Nazir, Ameen, a Jotdar, Joda Ameen, and Afal.

Mynagooree is only about seven or eight miles from Julpigooree.

The Chamoorchee Dooar contains many villages, but no forts.

The soubah of Chamoorchee has his residence at about two miles distance from the village. He does not possess any permanent sepoy. To Lukee Dooar, a road of small size, from Churabunder Haut, *viâ* Chantalbarree and Jargong, exists.

A few supplies could be procured in Lukee Dooar, but nothing is available at Jargong or Chantalbarree.

A road runs from Cooch Behar, *viâ* Chichakhata, to Pasakha (Buxa Dooar); a katma resides in Chicheecotta in a bamboo chang or fortification. The houses of the ryots are at a little distance away.

Dhan and most other grain is produced here; the road is here through thick jungle; elephant and bullocks could go as far as Sundook, about 20 miles or less beyond Chicheecotta. A soubah and sepoy reside at Pasakha.

The population of this part is about 300 or 400 with a revenue for the dooar of about 5,000 rupees.

This dooar is under the jurisdiction of the "Tingbo" (Governor of Tashishjung). At Cheerung Dooar there is a soubah, a vassal of the soubah at Ungdiforung (Wandipore); through this dooar is a road to Poonakha.

The revenue produces perhaps about 4,000 rupees; rice and some wheat are to be found as the general crops.

The population is scarcely more than about 400.

Further east lie "Dongsor" and "Noobashi;" the former under the Tongso Penlow, and the latter under the authorities at Poonakha.

Dongsar has a revenue of about 4,000 rupees.

Doonga Hât and Gopalgunge are two small places opposite Julpigooree, near the banks of the Teesta, with weak stockades of bamboo and 10 or 12 sepoy at each place as a guard.

ROADS.

The main roads from the interior follow the course of the different valleys. The principal are :—

1stly. That following the valley of the "Chinchee" from the summer capital, "Tassishjung," to the plains, either by the Buxa Dooar, by Doona, or by Dalingkote.

2dly. That leading down from Poonakha, *viâ* Ungdiforung and Cheerung, entering Bengal by the Cheerung Dooar.

3dly. That from Tongso running almost due south through the valley drained by the "Maleesam" stream, and leading out into the plains opposite Gwalparah.

4thly. A continuation of the road between Hlassa and Tassgong, which, pursuing a southerly direction from the latter place, reaches the plains opposite Gowhaty.

5thly. The route pursued by the late mission from Darjeeling to Poonakha, *viâ* Dalingkote, Paro, &c.

None of these roads will bear any sort of comparison with those of civilized states; repairs are seldom made to them except as far as regards the bridges.

There are numerous hill-paths from village to village, but only fit for a single foot passenger. In case of military operations, the greatest difficulty would be the want of supplies in the country itself.

On this account separate columns would be preferable to any massing of troops. Each column to consist of not more than 300 men, accompanied by sappers and a mountain train-gun and howitzer.

As little baggage to be taken as possible, and tents for the men to be dispensed with; an extra blanket to be issued in lieu. Such tents as are indispensable to be "pals."

Supplies and baggage would at first (in the country itself) have to be taken by coolies; after some repair by sappers, &c., ponies might be made available.

Depôts should be formed at convenient places as the columns advance, and stores forwarded from depôt to depôt by carriage attached to each.

One column might advance from Julpigooree on Dalingkote, and (if required), more to Paro, taking intermediate forts. A second might proceed either by the Buxa or Cheerung Dooar, reducing Pasakha, Tashishjung, Poonakha, Ungdiforung, as also Paro, if not allotted to the previous force.

A third column could pass to Tongso, and taking up the line where the second column stopped, near it and the place to the eastward.

A fourth column moving by the "River Monass" would take Dewangiri, Tassgong, &c. Cavalry cannot act in the country, but would prove useful in the plains, by protecting our borders from inroads, &c. The rivers of the country would cause some delay, but not otherwise materially impede the progress; cane or wooden bridges would always be thrown over, and material is produced everywhere.

The bridges are unfitted, as a rule, for anything but infantry; they can be easily destroyed.

There are no lakes, marshes, or canals; roads on rocks, sandy, capable of easy repair with the materials at hand. The hill roads have sudden ascents and descents, with abrupt turns. Really difficult points can often be avoided by cuttings above or below. The troops

would have to move along the hill roads generally in single file; water to be found in abundance. The arms of the Booteahs are—

1. Matchlocks in small quantity, used generally like wall-pieces, one man supporting and loading, and a second applying the match.

2. Bows of inferior strength with arrows of charred bamboo slips.

3. Slings.

4. A short strong sword.

5. A shield of buffalo hide or cane.

6. Metal helmets, and, in a few instances, armour and wadded coats.

Their powder is inferior in quality, and deficient in quantity.

Artillery they do not possess; but have a few rude catapults in their forts, of inferior power and clumsy construction. In advancing to take any of their forts, care and caution should be evinced to avoid large stones rolled down from the walls, a common means of defence with them.

The climate, at the higher elevations, is bracing and healthy.

In the valleys, the variation of temperature in the 24 hours is often very great.

Revenue is derived from a general tax on sand and crops, limited only by the capability of the ryot to pay it. Buffaloes pay a tax of 8 annas, cows 4 annas, for grazing, &c.

A tax is also laid on each hearth, also on each door used by "Meechis."

Iron, and perhaps copper, exist in the country: gold and silver are reported, but those are doubtful.

In the country are found:—

Dhan, bajrah, joar, makoi, wheat, barley, mustard, sugar-cane, wild strawberries, pumpkins, melons, turnips (very good), fish in some of the rivers, elephants towards south and west; there is but little game, however; and is productive, a black mould and clay.

Valuable forests cover many of the hills.

(signed) *E. H. J. Lance*, s. c.,
Assistant Commissioner, Cooch Behar.

(No. 421.)

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Foreign Department (Political); dated Simla, 26 August 1864.

READ a letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 1813 T., dated 25th July, forwarding copy of a Minute by the Lieutenant Governor, containing an expression of his views as to the course which should be pursued in the event of the Bootan Government failing to comply with the demands made on it by the Government of India.

Read the letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 403, dated 20th August, in reply to the above.

Observations.

The Bootan Government having failed not only to comply within the prescribed period with the moderate demands of the British Government, but having also as yet evinced no disposition to pay any attention to its just requisitions, his Excellency in Council is at length reluctantly forced to instruct the Military Department to prepare for the measures of coercion by which alone there is now any prospect of bringing the Bootan Government to reason.

Although it is not intended to act in any way offensively against the Bootanese until they have had full time to make reparation, it is necessary at once to decide on the plan of operations in the event of these chiefs failing to comply with our just demands. To this end it has been resolved not to make a regular invasion of the country, but to occupy, and, if expedient, permanently to annex, the Bengal dooars. By the execution of such measures the objects of the British Government may possibly be attained, and the Bootan Government compelled to atone for the insults offered to the late mission; and also may be forced in future to pay more attention to the obligations it incurred under the Treaty of 1774, and may thus be led to feel the necessity of absolutely refraining from the violation of peace and good order on our frontier, and from seizing the property and persons of British subjects, in order to appropriate the one and make slaves of the other.

The occupation of the Bengal Dooars will involve the taking possession of the following:—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Dalinkote. | 7. Bara. |
| 2. Zamurkote. | 8. Gooma. |
| 3. Chamoorchee. | 9. Reepoo. |
| 4. Luchee. | 10. Cheerung, or Sidlee |
| 5. Buxa. | 11. Bhag, or Chota Bijnee. |
| 6. Bhulka. | |

This occupation entails the advance of the British frontier from a varying depth of from 20 to 30 miles throughout a length of about 180 miles.

To

To hold these dooars securely, and to free them from the aggressive raids to which the Bhooteas are prone, it will be necessary that the passes by which these raids take place should be effectively under our command; and with this object in view, it will be essential that the dominant posts, whether in the plains or on the hills, which, from Dalimkote on the west to Dewangiri on the east, are the key-points of the frontier, and afford easy access to the plains of the dooars, be firmly held.

The Bhootea stations are represented as being usually on the summit of the outer ranges which border the dooars, and as at elevations of from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above the sea level, and also as salubrious and free from the malaria which for six months of the year affects more or less all the northern parts of the plains of the dooars, and renders them, especially the Sidlee and Bijnee dooars, very unhealthy from the middle or end of April to the beginning of November. The safe time in the plains of the dooars is from the 15th November to the 15th of April, during which period the Booteah raids and visits to the plains usually occur. It is the dread of the fevers and sickness of the plains which has led the Booteahs to place their permanent frontier posts on the tops of the outer ranges skirting the plains of the Berhampooter, and commanding the gorges by which the rivers draining the mountain tracts of Bootan break through and enter the level country.

The information as to the new line of frontier which it may be necessary to take up is very imperfect; so much so, indeed, that the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in a Minute of the 22d July, thus expresses himself:—

“Of the detailed arrangements necessary for the administration both of the dooars and of the valley of the Teesta, I shall be in a position to speak with greater accuracy and detail when I receive the confidential reports which have been called for from Colonel Hopkinson and Colonel Haughton; but I may say here generally, that the plan that seems to me to promise the best results, and to be in all respects most convenient, would be to add the hill country on the left bank of the Teesta to the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, which at present is of very moderate extent, and to divide the dooars into two districts, each under a Deputy Commissioner, placing them for the present under the control of the Commissioner of Cooch Behar. It may be premature to consider where the head-quarters of these two districts should be; but if no healthy place can be found in the plains, Pusakha, at the head of the Buxa Dooar, for the western district, and Cheerung, at the head of the Sidlee Dooar, for the eastern district; places which are now occupied by soobahs, which are at a considerable elevation, which are known to be healthy at all seasons, and which are tolerably central, will probably not be found inappropriate. Both these places would have to be occupied by a detachment of native infantry, and this would be a reason for making them also civil stations.”

Although Pusakha, at the head of the Buxa Dooar, and overlooking a bend of the Gurdadhur river, might not be an unfavourable position for a permanent post of occupation; yet his Excellency, judging from the very imperfect maps at our disposal, doubts whether Cheerung would not, as a station, be too far north of the edge of the dooars and encroach farther into the mountainous regions of Bootan than is either necessary or expedient.

Under our present remarkable ignorance of the exact conformation of the ranges which abut on the plains of the dooars, much would have to be left to the discretion of the officer in general command of the operations, who, in communication with the civil authorities on the frontier, would be best able to judge what position ought to be taken up, and what posts it will be necessary to hold in order to attain the following objects, viz. :—

1. Security of the Bengal Dooars from Booteah raids.
2. A good healthy line of sites for frontier posts, from the Sikkim frontier above the point where it strikes the Teesta River, *via* Dalimkote, Zamarkote, Luchee Dooar, Pusakha, to Dewangiri, skirting the tops of the highlands which overlooks the plains of the dooars.

With respect to this latter point, it is palpable that if the posts were too deeply entangled in the mountain region, communication with such posts must be difficult, and their supply with food and stores occasionally troublesome; whilst their connection with the plains would be indifferent, and their utility for the watch and control of the gorges opening upon the plains would be much diminished, if not paralyzed.

Though, therefore, it might be advantageous, as regards the protection of the dooars, to take up a commanding position on the hills, that consideration must be held subservient to the still more imperative condition that we do not take up a line beyond what is actually necessary for the object in view. It is politically desirable that as far as possible our occupation does not extend beyond the watershed of the lower range; but in any case no absolute decision on this point should be come to without reference to the Government of India.

The Lieutenant Governor, in the Minute before quoted, states that, “For the occupation of the dooars the present frontier force at its full strength, with the addition of a regiment of Sikh infantry (the 25th Native Infantry now at Alipore), the company of artillery now at Cheera, and perhaps a squadron of the 17th Bengal Cavalry now at Segowlee, will amply suffice. Even if the head-quarters of the 18th Native Infantry, now at Julpigoree, were ordered to Gowhattee, where it could be joined by the left wing now stationed at Tezpor; and if a wing of the 17th Native Infantry, now at Bhaugulpore, were brought up the Julpigoree, while the 25th Native Infantry took up a position at Cooch Behar, the passes might all be seized and held in force within a few days, while the police would preserve order in the plains, and the cavalry patrolling there would afford the most complete protection against any hostile invasion.”

"In this view I am supported not only by the opinions of Major General Showers and Lieutenant Colonel Haughton, but by the experience of 1772-74, when the dooars, including the passes into Bootan, were occupied and held for three years impregnable by two battalions of native infantry, and were only relinquished at the intercession of the Regent Llama of Thibet. When the submission of the Bootan Government was accepted, its promises of future good behaviour were believed, a treaty was concluded with it, and the dooars were restored. At that time neither Darjeeling nor Assam was British, and our strength, resources, and position, were in every way inferior to what they now are."

Formidable neither in numbers nor in arms, distracted by civil war and the contentions of rival parties, the means of the Booteahs are represented as being quite unequal to any serious contest with small British columns; and as it is not intended to plunge these into the interior of the mountainous regions of Bootan, the main difficulty for columns engaged in operations in hill country—viz., that of supplies—would not be encountered.

It is a question for military consideration whether the force should consist of one body which should occupy each dooar in succession, and establish our position securely, or enter them in force simultaneously. If the latter plan be considered feasible, his Excellency would suggest that the objects of Government may be attained by the simultaneous march of three properly equipped columns composed of native troops.

To the first and main column, which might be assembled at Julpigoree, might be entrusted the duty of occupying Dalimkote and Zamurkote; which being effected, the column might take up posts eastward as far as the debouche upon the plains of the Guddadhur River. It would thus have to secure the heads of the Dalimcote, Zamurkote, Charmoorchee, Luchee, and Buxa Dooars; that is, the five westernmost Bengal Dooars.

To the central column, which might assemble north of the Berhampooter at some favourable point rather westward of Gowalparra, might be given the duty of occupying the heads of the Reepoo and Sedlee, or Cheerung Dooars, and of thus connecting the operations of the first column with those of the third.

To the third column, which might assemble opposite to Gowhatty, might be assigned the occupation of Dewangiri as its easternmost, and the gorges of the affluents to the Monass as its westernmost posts.

A glance at the map will show that to the first or main column would fall the occupation of posts in a portion of the new line of frontier to be taken up, which measures about double the extent of frontier line assigned to each of the other columns.

It is not intended by his Excellency in Council that the posts taken up by the several columns shall be held in permanence by the native troops engaged; on the contrary, after the occupation is effected, it is proposed that most, if not all, of these posts shall be held by an armed police, organized for the watch and ward of the frontier posts and passes, the military being withdrawn to such positions as will enable them to move up promptly in support in case of emergency. But this point cannot properly be decided on until the dooars are in our possession, and we can satisfactorily decide what may be the best arrangement for holding them securely. As the police to be thus employed will be of moderate strength, it is essential that the posts selected for permanent occupation be few, defensible by a small party, and in safe and easy communication with the plains, when not in them. Thus situated, the mounted police of the dooars might, during the six months that it can patrol, be in effective connection with the advanced posts watching the passes.

As the several columns would have but short distances to move before reaching the foot of the hills in their front, his Excellency in Council anticipates that there would be no difficulty in the movement being tolerably simultaneous, and on each column being suitably equipped and supplied.

With respect to the strength of the columns and the artillery to accompany them, his Excellency would suggest that the first or Julpigoree column should not be of less strength than that of two native regiments of infantry, four guns, and a squadron of irregular cavalry. The other two columns should each not be less than the strength of one regiment of native infantry, two guns, and a troop of irregular cavalry.

This would involve the employment of from four to five corps* of native infantry, eight guns, and one corps of irregular cavalry, besides details of sappers with each column properly prepared for blowing in fort gates, stockades, &c., and to assist in surmounting difficulties of route, and in preparing defensible posts.

Although the action of the columns would necessarily be independent, his Excellency in Council is of opinion that there should be one controlling head, and that the officer charged with the general direction of these operations should be an officer of experience and judgment. As it is within the command of Major General Showers, an officer not only accustomed to native troops, but having already considerable knowledge of the frontier which is to be the scene of operations, and otherwise an officer of tact and military experience, his Excellency in Council contemplates ordering the Major General to take the control and direction of the operations, as a duty falling within the sphere of his command, and entrusted to him in communication with the superior civil authorities on the frontier.

His Excellency in Council does not apprehend that there would be any risk of check or failure in these operations, though on a very extended scale, and involving the isolated action of independent columns on distinct lines of operation; but it would be important that the officers in command of the three columns were men of experience, and in whom the Major General in command had confidence.

As

* This is allowing for posts left in rear with sick, spare baggage, &c.

As before stated, however, it must be a matter of military consideration whether the employment of a single column be deemed preferable. Under such a plan of action, the operation of taking up the new line of frontier would be slower, and the Booteahs, less distracted, be better able to combine for an effort on the line of attack; but, on the other hand, somewhat fewer troops might be employed, and yet the column, as it presented itself at successive points of the frontier, be really stronger than the independent columns, which, on the other plan, would move on the central and eastern sections of the new line of frontier to be occupied.

Whatever the strength of force at Darjeeling, it should be held in readiness, in case of necessity, to co-operate at the requisition of the Major General in command, though any such call on its assistance will probably not have to be made.

Whichever course is adopted, the troops should be ready for a forward move by the end of November at latest, and if possible even earlier.

Ordered, that a copy of the foregoing observations be sent to the Military Department for information, and the issue of necessary orders.

(Political.—No. 2629T.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Sir,

Darjeeling, 29 August 1864.

IN continuation of my letter, No. 2508T, dated 23d instant, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, authenticated translations of the communications noted in the margin,* and to state that those from Bootan are the answers to the duplicate letter sent, *viâ* Dalimgcote, and are of a date earlier than the letter sent before, *viâ* Chembi.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Dalimgcote Soubah to the Lieutenant Governor.

Sir,

YOU sent a letter to the Dhurma Rajah through me, and I sent it on to the Rajah with all care. The reply to that letter reached me on the 5th of this month (August), under the charge of five zinkaffs, who informed me that the Rajah is deeply offended with me, and blames me much regarding the Ambaree Fallacotta revenue, and for allowing Mr. Eden to go to and return from the Durbar, and for making friendship with him. The Dhurma Rajah doubts my loyalty, and says that I favour the British Government, and that I correspond with them, and encourage them to come to Bootan. These zinkaffs are here, and are spies upon me, and they bother and threaten me about the Ambaree revenue, and will not go away without it.

Some time ago five other zinkaffs came from the Durbar to Dalimgkote, and they made demands for the revenue of Ambaree Fallacottah, and were so pressing that I had to sell some property and pay 2,000 rupees to them. I have already written regarding this to the Lama Sahib and the Honourable Eden, and they must have acquainted you about it.

For all this I am very sorry, and beg of you, with my hands joined, to help me, and send me 2,000 rupees, that I may send the money to the Durbar and send away these zinkaffs. If you do this, I will be greatly assisted and deeply grateful. I cannot suffer more. All I had I gave to the Rajah; but do what is pleasing to you. However, so long as I am at Dalimgcote, and you wish to send more letters to the Dhurma Rajah, send them through me, and I will forward them carefully. I respect your orders and opinion. The Dhurma Rajah's letter will acquaint you with everything.

You would gratify me by informing me of the state of your health.

August.

From the Dalimgcote Soubah to Cheebo Lama.

I. FORWARDS letter saying that he encloses certain letters received on such a date, and forwarded on such a date.

(Enclosed in this was a private letter.)

II. The Deb Rajah is oppressing me, because he says that I let the Sahibs come into the country; and because letters are now sent through me, he accuses me of intriguing with

Abstract.

* From the Dalimgcote Soubah to the Lieutenant Governor.

From the Dalimgcote Soubah to Cheebo Lama, with translation of Enclosures.

From the Council of Bootan to Cheebo Lama, with translation of Enclosures.

From the Dhurma Rajah to Cheebo Lama, with translation of Enclosures.

From the Dhurma Rajah to Governor Bahadoor.

with the English. I did what I thought was best and would lead to good results; it is no fault of mine that things have turned out otherwise. The Rajah and amlahs have posted a number of zinkaffs (messengers) over me. You know my secret thoughts, and I look on you as a friend. From what the Deb Rajah has written to me about the Sikkim Dewan having come with the English into the country, I think that they are plotting at the Durbar to attack your maharajah. I write these few words to warn you therefore. Try and get my wishes carried out. Pray send no more letters to the Durbar through me; please send them by some other route.

The Tassishujung Governor writes to Cheeboos a few words of friendship, and asks for some tea seed and some Darjeeling tea.

From Gantoke Kajee, a relative of Cheeboos, who governs the North-East Frontier of Sikkim, to Cheeboos Lama.

I HAVE to-day received a letter from my son at Chombi (in Thibet). In this he says, that the Deb Rajah and the Para Penlow are every day writing to the Lhasa Government and to the Chinese *Umpha* there stationed, for assistance against the English, and for powder and lead, and they have sent Chingpen Aphoo* as a vakeel to Lhasa for this purpose. The Booteahs are all day examining the almanack to see what course is most auspicious, whether to send a force into the Plains, or to proceed, *viâ* Santoke and Sikkim to Darjeeling, or to attack Darjeeling, *viâ* Dhumson. All the Bootan authorities are together preparing for war, except the Dalingcote Soubah, and what he will do I can't say! The Kajee adds on his own account, "I am on the frontier; if the Booteahs come I don't know what will happen to me. The Dalingcote Soubah's men have brought letters to send by *dák*. But the case seems to me of great urgency, I therefore send in a special messenger."

* A trader who was very friendly to us in Bootan.

The Acting Dewan of Sikkim writes to Cheeboos Lama.

THE Booteahs are always committing outrages on our frontiers, and are now greatly annoying our Rajah and also our amlah at Chombi, and are always sending men to commit violence at Dikeeling, Pathing and Rhinok. You must come for a few days to the Durbar, and we must all collect and make some preparations, and let our maharajah and the English Government know what we think best to be done.

Dated 17 August.

From the Council of Bootan to Cheeboos Lama.

THE Governor General's letter has been received, *viâ* Dalingkote. In this it is written that the Tongso Penlow and the amlah insulted Mr. Eden. We did not understand the Sahib's language, and he did not understand us. You were the go-between. The matter as regards the Tongso Penlow is this. His low lands are quite distinct from ours, and we could not interfere in the discussion about them; but excepting this question of his Dooars, with which we had nothing to do, all the other matters were discussed between us. We did nothing so very bad. At the present time, the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs are very angry with us because we did not treat you better. As to outrages, there have been many on our territory committed by the Rajah's (Cooch Behar?) people, and in this respect the faults on both sides are equal. If we have done any other wrong you know it, and we talked over the matter and settled it with you. Why, for the sake of the wrong-doing of one or two men, should there be a war between the Company and Dhurma Rajah? If the Sahib says that the agreement was extorted by force by the Penlow, the answer to this is, that the Tongso Penlow has gone away from the Durbar to his home; therefore, let gentlemen be now sent again, and we will do what is honest and straightforward. If there is any difficulty about the Sahib coming, let us know, and we will as soon as the cold weather sets in, send an officer to treat. Don't let the Bahadoor Sahib be angry; nothing irreparable has yet been done. What has been, has been; now we can make friends; why should there be fighting about trifles? You are the go-between with the Dhurma Rajah and the Feringhees; why let there be war? Represent the matter properly to the Sahibs. They have taken all the Dhurma Rajah's old lands, and if they want to stop the revenue too, let them do what they like.

24 July.

To Cheeboos Lama.

IN the cold weather you and Mr. Eden came here. At that time I was new in office. You and the Sahibs and the amlah consulted together, and came to terms of your own accord; we did not force you. We have got the Governor General's letter, *viâ* Dalingcote; in that it is written that when the Sahib was in Bootan he was insulted by the Tongso Penlow. The Sahibs did not understand what we said, and we did not understand them. You were the go-between at that time; if the Sahibs did not agree, why did you not tell us?

us, we wished to agree. I thought that everything had been settled voluntarily between the Council and you, and let the Sahibs go. If that agreement is not approved I am now on the throne, and since I have been Rajah there has not been much dispute with the Company and the Rajah; they have been friends. Why should we fight about a small matter? As to dacoites and murders, the Company has been just as bad as we have; the faults are equal. There should be no dispute between them. Whathas been, has been, and let that matter be settled. You are the go-between with both sides. The Tongso Penlow has gone off on his own business, and for what happened I am willing to make a settlement. I will do whatever is for the best, and you must represent this to the Sahib.

In October send a full-power envoy; I will be merciful to him, and having done what is right will send him away. If there is any difficulty about the Sahib coming, no one can travel just now because of the heat; but in the cold season I will send a full-power envoy if it is wished, and if I am told where to send him, You are the go-between; do what is necessary to prevent war between the two states.¹ The Sahibs are wrongfully taking Fullacotta and the Assam Dooar money. These are not lands we have lately seized; we have had them for a long time, and have devoted the proceeds to the worship of the gods. If the Sahibs take this, it will be very bad for them. This is the property of the Dhurma Rajah for years; if they like to take the land and then the revenue, very well, let them please themselves.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Dhurma Rajah to Governor Bahadoor.

MAY you always remain well, and may God protect your power and authority.

On the day of July* I received your letter sent through the Dalingcote Soubah, in which it is written that my subjects have committed robberies and other outrages on British subjects, and that you sent Mr. Eden to me to inquire into these matters. When Mr. Eden came to my Durbar I was then only newly appointed Dhurma Rajah; when the Sahib arrived I told my Council, "See, these gentlemen have come a long journey, and are tired, therefore try and receive them well, and do all that they want." After the Sahib had rested I met him, and asked him for what purpose he had come; and he answered, "I have come to inquire into robberies and other outrages committed by your people on British subjects." Regarding this, I have given orders. You write that you have seized the revenue of the Assam Dooars and of Ambaree Fallacotta, and that you will not give it back unless I comply with your demands. You say that the Tongso Penlow has shown violence to Mr. Eden; this is true, but the Tongso Penlow has gone away to his country. To settle all, if this you wish, to send some Sahibs again to me, I can't object; but this will give the Sahibs much trouble; if the Sahibs come all this will be settled before them, and I will explain everything to them, and then you will know the truth. If the Sahibs do not come, I will, if you want to inquire into the matter, send my amlah in the winter season to any place where you may wish them to go, and then you can decide what is wrong and what is right, and do what is proper; don't send the Sahibs or write on this matter to the other side.† The Bootan country belongs of old to the Dhurma Rajah, and you may pay the revenue which you have seized or not as you please. You are master to give or not to give.

* 21 Srabun.

East Bootan.

Always write to me about your health.

(True translation.)

(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 480.)

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Bengal Government.

Sir,

Simla, 12 September 1864.

I HAVE had the honour to receive and to submit to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, the letters noted in the margin.*

2. In your letter of the 23d August, his Honor the Lieutenant Governor calls attention to the fact that the Deb Rajah, in whose name all communications to the British Government are usually addressed, has carefully avoided replying to the Governor General's letter, whilst that of the Dhurma Rajah is of an extremely unsatisfactory character.

3. It was with regret that at the expiration of the time prescribed in the khurreetaah of 9th June, for compliance with the moderate demands of the British Government, his Excellency in Council received, as the only acknowledgment of that khurreetaah, the evasive communication from the Dhurma Rajah which forms the subject of your letter of the 23d August. The desire entertained to avoid, if possible, a recourse to stringent measures has led his Excellency in Council to consider with most earnest attention this the only notice vouchsafed by the Bootan Government to the solemn and deliberate warning which the Governor General's khurreeta was calculated to convey; and it is with dis-

* No. 1813 r, dated 25 July.
No. 2508 r, dated 23 August.
No. 2523 r, dated 24 August.

appointment, though not with surprise, that his Excellency in Council finds nothing, either in the spirit or in the substance and proposals of the answer from the Dhurma Rajah, to encourage the hope that the Bootan Government may yet awake to the necessity of complying, however late or reluctantly, with the just requisitions of the Government of India.

4. After the treatment which the late mission received at the hands of the Bootan Government, it is out of the question that the latter can for a moment have seriously supposed that the Government of India could entertain the proposal for the dispatch, by the Governor General, of another envoy. No apology is offered for the indignities to which the late envoy was subjected, and no security is given against their repetition were another officer deputed as the representative of the British Government. It is very improbable that the Bootan authorities could, under such circumstances, have really had any expectation that the British Government would be weak enough to listen to such a proposal.

5. The Bootan Government may, however, have entertained the hope from the experience of our reluctance to resort to coercive measures, that the offer on their part to depute an envoy might possibly be acceded to, under the impression that such a mission would in itself have the air of an act of deference if not of submission, and might be accepted as being charged with the duty of making suitable apology and satisfaction, though the Dhurm Rajah is careful to commit himself to no promise of the kind. Moreover, the consent to receive such a mission would cause delay, and enable the Bootan Government to protract negotiations, and to gain time. Their previous experience in their relations with the British Government may probably have led to the expectation that if time could on any pretence be gained, the chapter of accidents might again intervene to give immunity to Booteah aggressions, and to secure the Bootan Government from any retributive measures on the part of the British Government in defence of its subjects and of its own outraged dignity.

6. Although insufficient as an official communication from the Bootan Government from being unaccompanied by any reply from the Deb Rajah, yet had the answer of the Dhurm Rajah taken up the several demands of the British Government, and evinced a sincere intention as far as possible to comply with them, his Excellency in Council might, after receiving proof that an honest endeavour was being made to fulfil our requisitions, have entertained the proposal for the dispatch of a Booteah envoy; and the re-establishment of friendly relations would then have depended on the degree of reparation actually in progress or made by the Bootan authorities, and the nature of the representation with which the envoy might have been entrusted. But his Excellency in Council has as yet received no intimation from the Bengal Government that any steps have been taken, even by a show of attention, to the fulfilment of the conditions laid down as the price of its forbearance, to appease the displeasure of the British Government. Unfortunately, the silence of the letter from the Dhurm Rajah on this all-important subject tends to confirm the practical neglect and rejection by the Bootan Government of the moderate terms on which it was still open to them to avoid an open rupture with the Government of India. There is no distinct and positive refusal of requirements, but it is implied both by the way in which these demands are contemptuously ignored, and also by the failure practically to pay them the least attention.

7. Under these circumstances, his Excellency in Council feels that, however much it is to be deplored, no option is left but to enforce the reasonable demands of the British Government by active measures of coercion, taking care that these be limited to what may be absolutely indispensable to attain the objects in view.

8. Upon this question his Excellency the Governor General in Council has perused, with the attention it deserves, the Minute of the Lieutenant Governor, forming the enclosure to your letter, No. 1813 T, of the 25th July 1864, and which contains an expression of his Honor's views as to the course that should be pursued in the event of the contingency which has happened taking place, namely, that by the 1st September the Bootan Government refused or failed to comply with the requisition "that all British subjects and subjects of Cooch Behar and Sikkim, of whom there are said to be more than 300 who are now held captive by your chiefs and in your monasteries, or are detained in Bootan against their will, must be released, and that the property which has been carried off from British territory, or Cooch Behar or Sikkim, within the last five years, must be restored."

9. It was hoped by his Excellency in Council, that whilst on the one hand the resumption of annual payment heretofore made on account of the Assam Dooars and Ambaree Falacotta, and the formal announcement of the annexation of these tracts to the British dominions, would convince the Bootan authorities that they had overstepped the limits of our forbearance, and had exhausted by their provocations and insolence the patience of the British power, yet that, on the other hand, it might at the same time be observed by the Bootan authorities that the British Government, when passing from a system of remonstrance and patient endurance to a more energetic mode of insisting on the fulfilment of treaty obligations and on respect for the security of the persons and property of its subjects, was still disposed, notwithstanding the long unchecked course of Bhooteeah violence and rapine, to press these just demands in a spirit of extreme moderation. Whatever the motives which may have influenced the conduct of the British Government during the protracted period from 1772 to content itself, as a general rule, with empty
menaces

menaces and continual remonstrance, his Excellency in Council did not feel justified, though compelled to relinquish a peaceful attitude by the inexcusable proceedings of the Bootan Government, to pass suddenly from a policy of endurance of wrongs to a policy of repression of wrongs, without giving the ignorant and presumptuous Government of Bootan fair warning of the change, at the same time affording them an opportunity, without exacting more than they might reasonably be considered able to perform, by liberation of captives and restitution of property, to place themselves in a position in which the re-establishment of friendly relations with the British Government would be compatible with the dignity of the latter, and with no greater sacrifice on the part of the Bootan Government, either as to means or authority, than it could easily bear. Such a course seemed consistent with the consideration due from a powerful Government to a weak and barbarous one; and though it may have been misunderstood by the latter, yet his Excellency in Council, not feeling himself called upon to resent the accumulated injuries of the past 90 years, cannot but regret that the moderation shown has failed to elicit from the Bootan Government a response indicative of some appreciation of the forbearance exercised by the British Government, and of some disposition to act in a way that should render the condonance of past offences and the undisturbed maintenance of amicable relations possible.

10. It remains, therefore, to prepare for the execution of such measures as may seem adequate to restrain the Bhooteahs in future from committing depredations on British territory and on that of our dependencies, Cooch Behar and Sikkim, and sufficient to convince the Bootan authorities that our frontiers cannot in future be insulted with impunity, but must henceforth be respected.

11. The measures calculated to secure this object should be such as may prove equally efficient in controlling the two Penlows and their superiors, the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs. Whatever the comparative independence enjoyed by the Penlows in the rule and management of their districts, it is clear that they are subordinate to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, and that they are held responsible by these high authorities for the periodical payment of certain fixed amounts of revenue and tribute. Any pressure, therefore, which may be brought to bear on the Penlows in charge of the frontier tracts is sure to act upon the Bootan Government, whatever the state of its parties and the share in their intrigues and conflicts which the Penlows may severally be taking.

12. His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, in the Minute here adverted to, proposes the occupation of the Bengal Dooars, and of the small tract of hill country north of Dalinkote, on the left bank of the Teesta, and that it should not be a mere temporary occupation, but that the territory thus taken should be annexed at once and for ever to British India.

13. The proposal, in effect, amounts to the advance northward, for a distance of from 20 to 30 miles from our present boundary, of a length of 180 miles of our line of frontier. This is exclusive of the narrow tract from the affluents to the Monas to Dewangiri, which comprises the passes of the Assam Dooars, and the occupation of which would but little advance our existing line of frontier, though it might greatly increase the security of our Assam Dooars. His Excellency in Council has very gravely considered this proposal, which contemplates an addition to our possessions which, although comparatively insignificant, is of much greater relative value to Bootan. Had it been possible, consistently with the security of our line of frontier, his Excellency in Council would have preferred confining our occupation to a less extended strip of country; but as this could only have been done by leaving in the hands of the Bootan feudatories some of the Bengal Dooars, and would thus inevitably have involved serious addition to the length of line of frontier to be guarded, besides rendering nugatory the system of defence based on the command of all the passes into the plains being retained in our own hands, his Excellency in Council resolved, upon administrative and military considerations, that it was necessary to secure the effectual control of the passes from Dewangiri on the east to Dalinkote on the west. It will, however, be observed that, in the instructions to the Military Department, copy of which is enclosed, his Excellency in Council has been careful to enjoin that, in taking up the posts necessary to assert an effectual command of the passes into the plains, it is essential that the situation of these posts be not pushed forward into the hill country in a way to affect quick and easy communication with the plains. It would, from every point of view, both political and military, be exceedingly inadvisable that the detachments engaged in taking up the new line of frontier should at all entangle themselves in the difficulties and inconveniences attending positions far up in a mountain country. Moreover, it is not the wish of his Excellency in Council that there should be any serious encroachment on what may be considered as Bootan territory proper, but that the occupation should be confined to setting free from a hated and desolating tyranny the tract of country peopled by a race which has no affinity with the Booteeahs, but is closely allied with our Bengal and Cooch Behar population, and upon whose sympathies and interests reliance may be placed to lead them cordially to co-operate with the British Power and its functionaries in the renovation of the Dooars. His Excellency in Council has therefore so far concurred with the views of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor as to direct preparations to be made for the occupation of the proposed new line of frontier, but accompanied by the strictest injunction that, in carrying into effect this measure, the posts selected to be held as affording command of the passes into the plains shall not be pushed

further northward than may be imperatively necessary to attain the objects of security for the Dooars and health for our small garrisons, whether composed of troops or police. The maps are meagre and inaccurate; but it was with reference to the position of Cheerung, as laid down in the map which accompanied your Despatches, namely, above 20 miles north of the general line proposed for the new frontier, that his Excellency in Council, in the instructions to the Military Department, has objected to "Cheerung, at the head of the Sidlee Dooar," as carrying the line of frontier too far to the north, inconveniently entangling it in a difficult mountain country, and encroaching too much into the Bootan territory. The place Cheerung, according to the map forwarded with your Despatches, is close on the 27th degree of latitude, whereas the new line of proposed frontier posts, in healthy sites on the summits of the outer range, and of easy access from the plains, lies about 20 miles in direct line south of the 27th degree of latitude. It is needless to observe that if the position of Cheerung be at all correctly laid down, it would be very inadvisable that from Pusakha the line of boundary should strike off in a salient angle to Cheerung. If, however, the position of the place is wrongly given, or there be another place of the same name near to the debouche of the river into the plains, the objection raised to so advanced and isolated a post would not then apply. In few words, the aim must be in carrying out the occupation of the Bengal Dooars, and of the posts essential to secure the tranquillity of this narrow strip of country, that there must be as little encroachment on the mountain country of Bootan proper as possible.

14. With respect to the Memorandum addressed to the Military Department, his Honor the Lieutenant Governor will observe that two different modes are suggested for carrying into effect the contemplated occupation of the Dooars. The one is by the simultaneous march of three columns, the other by the march of a single column. As soon as the question is decided, in communication with the military authorities, no time will be lost in intimating to his Honor the Lieutenant Governor what has been determined as the preferable course to be pursued; but in the interval his Excellency in Council is of opinion that the Lieutenant Governor in communication with the local authorities, and the Commissariat Department, should make every preparation that depôts of stores and provisions and means of carriage may be ready by the time that active operations should commence. His Excellency in Council confidently relies on the foresight of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, and the cordial co-operation of the local authorities and of the Commissariat Department, that there shall be no failure on this indispensable preliminary.

15. The detail of the force to be employed will hereafter form the subject of separate communication from the Military Department.

16. The arrangements for the administration of the Dooars and of the valley of the Teesta sketched out by his Honor the Lieutenant Governor seem not unsuitable; but his Excellency in Council will defer pronouncing any opinion upon this subject until the new line of frontier is in our possession, and what is necessary for its proper administration is better known. As a temporary arrangement for the management of the country, the Governor General in Council would not object to the disposition of charges contemplated by the Lieutenant Governor.

17. Were the Bootan Government to awake to a sense of the justice of our demands, and were they seriously to set about compliance with them during this month, his Excellency in Council would still feel inclined to accept such tardy and reluctant reparation; but if compelled to carry into effect the occupation of the Bengal Dooars, his Excellency in Council does not contemplate their restoration to Bootan, and concurs with his Honor in the opinion that it would be better to abstain altogether from any such advance of our frontier line, than to do so with the intention of hereafter relinquishing the acquisition, and handing over its inhabitants to the resentment of the Booteahs. As the annexation of the Bengal Dooars would doubtless press heavily on the limited means of the Bootan authorities, his Excellency in Council, in the event of the Bootan Government taking after they have lost these Dooars, effective steps to liberate the British subjects held in bondage, to restore plundered property, and to act up to treaty obligations, would not be averse to allow the Bootan Government a moderate fixed grant from the surplus revenue of the Dooars, on conditions to be prescribed by the Governor General in Council. The periodical payment of such a grant direct into the coffers of the Bootan rulers would materially strengthen their hands and increase our influence. As the latter would only be exercised in support of good government, it would tend to give stability and strength to the ruling authorities, and gradually to foster an improved internal administration. Whilst to the people of Bootan the facility and security with which they would be able, under our rule, to traffic with the Dooars would far more than compensate them for any occasional profit they may derive from lawless exactions from the sparse population that still clings to the soil in spite of misrule and oppression. Upon the question of such a grant, however, much must depend on the conduct of the Bootan Government, and the degree to which the contemplated measure of coercion shall have the effect of humbling their arrogance, of bringing them to a just estimate of their weakness, and of convincing them that their safety and interests consist in respecting our power and in abstaining from affording it just cause of offence.

18. His Excellency in Council would fain trust that such a blow as the occupation of the Bengal Dooars may bring the Bootan Government to reason; and that as it will at first

first cripple their means and opportunities for mischief, it will prevent their having recourse to measures calculated to provoke a more signal exhibition of the power of the Government of India. In the course of time the advantages which the State may derive from a freer intercourse with our provinces may lead both chiefs and people to the adoption of more friendly and peaceable conduct and feeling towards our own border subjects; and such an improved condition of affairs on the frontier must tend to encourage the rulers themselves, namely, the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, to entertain more amicable relations with the British Government.

No. 337 of 1864—Military Department.

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*; dated
19 September 1864.

Sir,

WE have the honour to forward for your information copies of instructions and correspondence in the Military Department regarding the measures to be taken in view to occupying the Bhootan Dooars, should such a proceeding become necessary.

2. We have addressed you in the Foreign Department as to the general line of policy we propose to pursue.

We have, &c.
(signed) *J. Lawrence.*
H. Rose.
R. Napier.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.

From Colonel *H. W. Norman*, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quarter-master General (No. 430); dated Simla, 31 August 1864.

I AM directed to enclose, for submission to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, copy of an extract from the proceedings of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, in the Foreign Department, No. 421, dated the 26th August 1864, laying down the course which the Government of India propose to pursue should the Bhootan Government fail to comply with the demands made by this; and I am to request you to move his Excellency to favour Government, as soon as practicable, with proposals for giving effect to the measures desired to be carried out.

From Colonel *J. S. Paton*, Quarter-master General, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Simla (No. $\frac{1}{\lambda}$); dated Head Quarters, Simla, 3 September 1864.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 430, of 31st ultimo, forwarding the proceedings of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, in the Foreign Department, No. 421, dated 26th August 1864.

2. I am directed by the Commander in Chief to respectfully submit to the Government, that he observes it stated that the ignorance is remarkable of the exact conformation of the ranges which abut on the plains of the Dooars, and on which are situated the different positions required to be in the first place taken possession of by the troops; and the whole tone of the communications now submitted to his Excellency is entire unacquaintance with the foreign territory now considered hostile, and which is to be occupied by a portion of the army under his command.

3. His Excellency is aware that the Bhootas made a most determined resistance at Chichacotta, in 1772, and that the fortifications of that place are said to be the same now as they were then; and moreover, that Basakha (Buxa Dooar), 20 miles beyond it, is not only in the mountains, but the approach to it, after passing Santarabar, is very steep, narrow, and rugged, and the place itself is thus described: "A place of great natural strength, and being a frontier station of these mountains, has been rendered still stronger

by the aid of art, which has been most ingeniously employed to strike off the summit of the hill, and to level an extensive space capable of affording accommodation to a body of men sufficiently numerous for the defence of this difficult pass against all assault."

4. The Commander in Chief further observes that the best authority on this part of the country thus describes the country and climate of the Dooars to be occupied by the troops:—"At the foot of the Bhootan mountains a plain extends, of about 30 miles in breadth, choked rather than clothed with the most luxuriant vegetation. The exhalation necessarily arising from the multitude of springs which the vicinity of the mountains produces are collected and confined by these almost impervious woods, and generate an atmosphere through which no traveller ever passed with impunity." It is therefore evidently similar to the Teraie, so that the force is liable at any time to be entirely prostrated by sickness.

5. Again, his Excellency observes, that all authorities on the character of the Bhooteas, attribute to them extreme expertness in ambuscade and surprises, and that the force even at Chichacotta in 1772 "were so harassed that it became a post of considerable danger."

6. The Commander in Chief further ventures to observe, that the troops allotted for this duty have no carriage, and no special arrangements seem to have been made to provide them with any, and he need not state, that it would not only be inexpedient, but absolutely useless to send them on service for operations without the means of moving; and further, his Excellency is not informed whether any arrangements have been contemplated to supply them with the necessary reserve of commissariat supplies.

7. Having noted these points of essential importance, his Excellency ventures to observe, that in his opinion the troops named by the Government for this operation are not the best adapted by their present location for the purpose, and moreover, had the Commander in Chief been consulted on this essentially military question, his Excellency would have had the honour to submit, that regiments nominated to march in relief should have been employed in the projected operations; and besides, whatever may be the unfavourable opinion which the Bengal Government may entertain of the military qualifications of the Bhootanese, his Excellency would venture to observe, that it is always dangerous to undervalue an enemy, especially mountaineers in their own, and that in the present case a remarkably unknown country.

8. Sir Hugh Rose would respectfully submit, that the proposed plan of operations sketched by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal does not contemplate any reserve whatever for the force placed so much in advance in an attitude of defiance to the Bhootanese in their own territory, and 18 or 20 marches from any supports.

9. His Excellency must venture to think that, from the difficult nature of the country, and our ignorance of the resources which the Bhootanese might bring to bear upon points of the projected advanced and exposed line, the force proposed to be employed, even had they reserves, is very exiguous, particularly as regards cavalry, so necessary for the safe guard of convoys, and protection of the inhabitants of the Dooars from inroads of Bhootanese marauders.

10. Sir Hugh Rose is most anxious, in the interests of the Government, to avoid a repetition of the very serious disadvantages, embarrassments and delay which resulted from the want of proper preparation and information in the late Sitana expedition; and, should the Government of India, under the present circumstances, be pleased to sanction his Excellency's submitting a military plan of operations, Sir Hugh Rose has maturely considered the subject, and is prepared without loss of time to do so.

From Colonel *H. W. Norman*, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quarter-master General (No. 80); dated Simla, 5 September 1864.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter dated 3d instant, No. $\frac{1}{2}$, in reply to my Despatch of the 31st August 1864, No. 430, communicating the remarks and observations of the Commander in Chief on the course which it is proposed to pursue in the event of the Bhootan Government failing to comply with the demands made by the Government of India.

2. The Right Honourable the Governor General in Council directs me to request you will explain to his Excellency, that the object of sending the Foreign Department Memorandum was to elicit from his Excellency a plan of the military operations that seemed proper to the Commander in Chief, in view to carrying out the object of Government as expressed generally in the Memorandum in question.

3. Though certain corps have been indicated by the Bengal Government, it rests with his Excellency to propose the employment of other regiments, should his Excellency prefer to do so, and to take advantage of the movements of corps in relief to such extent as may appear expedient.

4. Arrangements

4. Arrangements for carriage and supplies cannot be ordered in detail until the whole plan of operations has been sketched out, nor until the troops to be employed have been fixed upon, but the Bengal Government has already been directed to commence preparations for collecting supplies.

5. I am to request, therefore, that the Commander in Chief may be moved to furnish Government with a plan of operations proportioned to the end in view, for the consideration and approval of Government, at as early a period as possible.

From Colonel *J. S. Paton*, Quarter-master General, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Simla.

Sir,

Head Quarters, Simla, 8 September 1864.

IN acknowledging the receipt of your Despatch No. 80, dated 5th September 1864, I am directed by the Commander in Chief to submit his Excellency's plans for the occupation of the Bengal Dooars, and if expedient to permanently retain these Dooars in the event of the chiefs of Bootan failing to comply with the just demands for satisfaction of the Government of India.

2. Considering the naturally difficult nature of the country to be operated in, and our ignorance of that country, Sir H. Rose would never have ventured to recommend to the Government of India the employment of so many weak and detached columns, unable, on account of the nature of the country, to communicate with each other, had not all the information furnished him by the Government, dating from so far back as 1772, as well as that derived from other sources, represented the Bootanese as a pusillanimous, unmilitary, and ill-armed race.

3. The occupation of the western and most difficult part of the Bootan country, now directed to be taken possession of by the Government, was effected by Captain Jones in 1772 with four companies of Sepoys and two guns.

4. However, for a perfect appreciation of the case, it must be borne in mind, that the Bootanese are said on that occasion to have made a determined resistance at Chichacotta. It must also be remembered that the Bootanese of 1864 may be an improvement on those of 1772.

5. In our entire ignorance of that part of the world and its politics, it is impossible to say whether neighbouring savage and more warlike tribes than the Bootanese, such as the Aboors, Akbas, the Tibetians, and Goorkhas, may not sympathize with their neighbours in their resistance to a policy which they consider British, of subduing every race within our reach, and who consider that the case of the Bootanese may one day be theirs.

6. As regards the left of our line of operations, it should not be forgotten that the Sikkim borders on it, and that only two years ago we had to send a hostile expedition to subdue this country; the report of Colonel Gawler, who conducted with so much cleverness this successful expedition, shows that from Tumloong a road goes from this capital to Thibet through a pass near a frozen lake, where he saw a guard of Tibetan or Chinese soldiers; we cannot vouch that the Tibetians might not bring by this road assistance to Bootan.

7. As regards Nipal, the latest accounts from the British agent there are to the effect that there is nothing at present in Nipal at all menacing or indicating any military movements; on the other hand, it would not be wise or argue a knowledge of native character to suppose that the Prince of Nipal can look upon the approaching aggressive movement against Bootan without a certain amount of disquiet. His states are only separated from our border by a narrow strip, the Sikkim territory, and nothing is more natural than that his Highness should reason, that if the British can overcome the mountains of Bootan they might some day operate with equal success against those of Nipal. Jung Bahadoor's sympathies are therefore probably with Bootan, but whether they will lead him so far as to give secret assistance to that state, the Government are of course far better able to judge than his Excellency.

8. His Excellency would preface the detail of projected operations by a general sketch from the best available information (which is most imperfect) of the country to be operated in. Such information represents the Dooars, the scene of operations between the Teesta River and Bor Nuddee, as most convenient for military operations, to be divided into four districts.

9. The most eastern or right division being the country between the Monass River and the Bor Nuddee, known as Kamroof, resting on the Berhampooter, where Gowhatty forms a most excellent base, being connected by water on which steamers ply to all the principal towns on the Berhampooter, as well as to Calcutta.

10. The right centre division is that portion of the Gowalparah district which lies between the Godadah and Monass Rivers, resting on the Berhampooter, and on which Gowalparah forms a similar convenient base for this division that Gowhatty does for the right.

11. The left centre division lying between the Jerdecker and Godadah Rivers, forming the northern boundary of Cooch Behar, and through the centre of which runs the main line of communication and traffic from India to Panakha and Tassisudon, the capitals of Bootan, and to Thibet, and central on which stands the town of Cooch Behar, a convenient base for operating by this main road against Pasakha (or Buxa Dewar), which may be denominated the capital of the Bengal Dooars.

12. The fourth division comprises the country between the Jerdecker and Teesta Rivers, for operating in which our station of Julpigoree on the Teesta offers a convenient and happily situated base.

13. As stated, Gowhaty and Gowaiparah are in direct communication by water with Calcutta.

14. Cooch Behar is in communication with Carogola Ghat on the Ganges by the Dinagpore and Purneah road, as also by the Berhampooter, at Bujwah, and by Julpigoree, from which it is distant 60 miles, by a short and bad road, and by a circuitous and fair one by Runjpoor.

15. Julpigoree is in communication with Carogola Ghat by the Darjeeling road, which is metalled as far as Fitalya, and with Darjeeling by a road, said to be a good one, passing through Punkabarree.

16. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal proposed that numerous points in the Bootan country should be militarily occupied, but so unknown and difficult is the greater part of the country, especially towards the left, intersected with large rivers, so unknown that their name is not given, as shown by Major Larkin's report, as well as smaller streams and vast swamps, that his Excellency does not consider it prudent to operate with very small, numerous, and detached columns against the whole of those points, situated as they are in a foreign territory; so many commanders with so many small bodies in such a country would be sure to get into difficulties, were they only those of ground. Such being the case, his Excellency would propose to limit offensive movements against four of the principal points indicated by the Lieutenant Governor, because they communicate with the four bases above-mentioned by known roads, and because the four positions in the Bootan territory, Dewangiri, Sidlee, Pasakha, and Daling are places of note and strategical importance, which if once occupied would inspire awe into the Bootanese, and probably secure the possession of the other points indicated by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal by means of armed police.

17. The column for operations in the right division, which will be styled the right column, and might be composed of the troops as per margin,* would, according to the account of Dr. Griffiths in 1837, have to traverse as far as Ghoorgaon, the last village in our territory, a distance of 58 miles, over highly cultivated plains, intersected by bamboo jungles and large grassy uncultivated tracks, while from Ghoorgaon to Dewangiri, a distance of eight miles, the route is for the greater portion up the bed of the Durunga, a stream which makes its exit about one mile to the west of Ghoorgaon. After ascending its bed for some time, the ascent becomes steep for perhaps 800 or 1,000 feet, when it reaches a portion of Dewangiri; but 200 or 300 feet below the ridge on which the village is situated the hills bounding the watercourse are very steep, many quite perpendicular, owing to having been cut away. Dewangiri is 2,231 feet above the sea. The view to the north is confined to a ravine of 1,500 feet deep, at the bottom of which runs a considerable mountain torrent. The village itself contains about 60 houses and four temples. The hills adjoining are considerably diversified and remarkable, and for India over picturesquely wooded.

"The Soobah has a house on the west of the village, described as capacious, the central room of which is used as a guard-house; arms were fixed round the walls, but they seemed to consist chiefly of spears, swords, and bucklers."

18. Undoubtedly the description of Dr. Griffiths of the ascent to and country about Dewangiri shows it to be very difficult, and the operation against it depends entirely on the character and power of the enemy defending it. There seems to be no fort at Dewangiri, the difficult nature of the ground constitutes its strength; although the ground about Dewangiri is very strong, we have an advantage in its being seven or eight miles removed from our own border.

19. The force in possession of Dewangiri (while the cavalry below protected from aggression the Kamross villages) would threaten Tassgory and upper Eastern Thibet, as also Punakha, by the main road of Jongar and Jallsa, and thus materially divert the Bootanese from any general gathering for the protection of the Western Dooars, while at the same time the force at Dewangiri would, it is intended, protect our right and general lines of operations from any aid which the Akba and Meechoo tribes neighbouring on Bootan might feel inclined to give their Bootanese neighbours; and further to develope

our

* 3 Mountain Train Guns, Eurasian Company of Artillery.

2 Squadrons 7th Bengal Cavalry.

43 Light Infantry.

1 Company Sibundy Sappers.

3 Companies 12th Native Infantry, to occupy Gowhaty in support.

our power and keep these tribes in check. His Excellency would have the wing of the 18th Native Infantry now posted at Teypoor further to the right, and in communication by the Berhampooter with Gowhatty and Dibroogurh in position there.

20. The right centre column in the Gowalparah division, composed as per margin,* would have to operate in a country of which we have the most imperfect and contradictory information; but the following is an account of this tract by Major General Jenkins, late Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General, who had personally visited it:—

“The nearest to the Monass River is another, Bijnee Dooar, generally distinguished by the name of Buxa Bijnee; west and north of this Dooar is the Sidlee Dooar, and further west Goonab Dooar; these are all in front of the Gowalparah division; they comprise plains of very large extent, most of grass and reeds; they are very thinly inhabited now as far as I have seen of them; there is very little forest jungle, at least on all the southern frontier; further north, under the hills, there is probably a good deal of forest land interspersed with low hills. There are well-frequented passes from Bijnee and Sidlee into the hills, and one known as the Banj Dooar Pass. In the occupation of the Gowalparah Dooars, I should think it would suffice to send out a party to the residence of the Bijnee Rajah, just beyond the Ayr Nuddy, and at the junction nearly of this stream with the Monass, in the early part of the season; this should be a strong party with two European officers; a detachment would have to proceed thence to take possession of the Sidlee Dooars. The Sidlee Rajahs have repeatedly requested we would take possession of the country, as the Bijnee Rajah has done, but the latter is Rajah in the Dooar, and a rich zemindar of the Gowalparah Division, now a minor under guardianship of our Government at Sidlee. I think, at least at first, you should have a tolerably strong party of horse in addition to the infantry, for there will be a very large tract of country to cover, and I believe the country is more favourable for cavalry than any other part of the western Dooars.”

21. The Commander in Chief would therefore recommend that in the first instance, at all events, as the country passes and ground in front of the right centre division is so imperfectly known, that Sidlee and Bijnee be taken possession of, and the cavalry patrol right and left from the Godadha to the Monass, and information be gained of the routes into Bootan by Cherun, and preparatory to eventual occupation of this portion of the Bengal Dooars.

22. Although the Gowalparah column would halt at Sidlee and Bijnee, this is not the extent of the advantages to be gained from the movement; it would act, in the first place, as a diversion to the real forward movement of the right and left centre columns, attracting the attention of the Bootanese, causing them to divide their forces and resources; and lastly this column would act as a connecting link between the other columns on each of its flanks, and protect these Dooars from Bootanese raids, which his Excellency is informed are much to be apprehended.

23. The left centre column at Cooch Behar composed as per margin,† would be the main column, and consequently the strongest, and designedly so, because a determined resistance was made at Chichacotta to the British troops in 1772, and moreover because, as is seen from the following account of Captain Turner, the natural difficulties are very great:—

“We departed from Cooch Behar, and travelled near the banks of the Toorsha for upwards of three miles; the land was low and marshy, and interspersed with thick woods and with many nullahs or rivulets having not more than three feet depth of water. The vegetation was coarse, the ground being almost everywhere clothed with rank grass, reeds, and fern; we crossed some creeks whose water was chin deep; a rainy day would have rendered them absolutely unfordable.”

In nine hours from Cooch Behar Captain Turner's mission reached Chichacotta, as thus described:—

“Chichacotta is famous for having been an object of contest between the first detachment of our troops and the people of Bootan, in the war carried on upon the frontier in 1772; as

* Right centre column.

Half Mountain Train Battery (Eurasian).

1 Squadron 7th Bengal Cavalry.

2 Squadrons 14th Bengal Cavalry.

1 Company Sebundy Sappers and Miners.

Wing 44th Native Infantry.

Wing 12th Native Infantry.

2 Companies 12th Native Infantry, in support at Gowalparah.

A large force of cavalry is allotted to this column, because the ground is favourable, as stated by Major General Jenkins, for the movements of cavalry.

† Half Armstrong Mountain Battery.

2-8 Mortars.

1 Company Sappers and Miners, with 3 pontoon rafts.

3d Goorkhas.

Wing 11th Native Infantry.

Wing 30th Native Infantry.

1 Squadron 14th Bengal Cavalry.

Pontoons are allowed to this column, owing to the numerous water obstacles said to be on the route. Two mortars are also attached to it, as they are indispensable, should the Fort Chichacotta, which has once resisted, and that of Pusakha, offer resistance.

1772; as a fortification, it was then, what it is at this day, a large oblong square, encompassed by a high bank and thick stockade. The Booteahs defended it with obstinacy, and a battle was fought in its vicinity, in which they displayed much personal courage, although it was impossible they could long contend against the superior advantage of firelocks and cannon over matchlocks, the sabre, and the bow; but, though compelled to give way, they made Chichacotta for a considerable time after a post of danger and alarm, which we were alternately obliged to possess and relinquish, till they were finally driven back and subdued beyond Buxa Dooar.

"The road onward to Buxa Dooar was bad for the first eight miles, and through high grass jungle, but flat until the foot of the Buxa Dooar hills. Here we found the ascent at first very easy and conveniently accessible for a palanquin half-way up the hill, as far as Santarabarry: here the road became more steep, narrow and rugged, being perpetually intersected by large masses of coarse marble. As the road winds the hills, it sometimes becomes a narrow ledge, hanging over depths which no eye can reach; and were not the horror of the scene in some degree softened by the trees and climbing plants which line the precipices, the passenger would find it impossible to advance. Proceeding, however, with hesitation and difficulty over this tremendous path, we arrived at a small hut.

"Buxa Dooar, called also Pusakha, is a place of great natural strength, and being a frontier station of these mountains, has been rendered still stronger by the aid of art, which has been most ingeniously employed to strike off the summit of the hill, and to level an extensive space capable of affording accommodation to a body of men sufficiently numerous for the defence of this difficult pass against all assaults.

"A range of temporary sheds thrown back to some distance from the edge of the eminence are designed to shelter a garrison that may be stationed to defend it. A deep ravine divides this from the opposite hill, which is steep, and has a narrow road formed on its side not capable of admitting the passage of two persons abreast. It winds in a semi-circular form round the jutting eminence immediately opposed to it, which stands high above, and within reach of their common arms, the bow and arrow, for a great distance, till the road is at length connected with, and leads to Buxa Dooar by a very steep ascent.

"Such is the nature of this pass, which, however it may have been strengthened and improved by art, does real honour to the judgment of those who originally selected it as a post of defence."

24. The object of the left centre column would therefore be, in the first place, to take possession of Chichacotta, and there establishing a depôt for sick, wounded, and stores, and leaving for its protection, and in support of the advanced column, and connecting it also with Cooch Behar, a wing of infantry, proceed 20 miles further on to attack the most important post of Pusakha, leaving on each flank of the road a troop of cavalry to assist to protect our communication, and cover the country between the Godadaba and Toresba rivers.

25. The left column at Julpigoree would consist of the troops as per margin.*

26. The object of this column is to occupy Daling, which in itself is a place of note amongst the Bootanese, and has a fort; and it is of strategical importance, as forming the left of our line of operations, and protects our flank from being turned from the direction of Sikkim or Thibet. The column, like the others, as a diversion, confuses the councils of the Bootanese, and divides and weakens their means of defence.

27. A part of the cavalry of this column will proceed and reconnoitre up to the foot of the hills, and to cover the villages in Zameerkut, Chamoorchee, and Lucki Dooars, operating between the Teesta, Darla, Gurdenker, and Toresba rivers. The duties of the cavalry of the four columns will be—

1stly. To keep open the communications of the advanced line with the bases: escorting provisions, &c.

2dly. To patrol, as much as can be done with safety, to their right and left, to prevent raid into the Dooars and our own territory.

3dly. Should it be possible, to effect a communication between the different columns; but his Excellency apprehends that the distance of the columns from each other, and the nature of the country, will prevent the fulfilment of this desideratum.

28. The importance of Darjeeling in the coming operations must be studiously kept in view; it is a sanatorium, a military station, and we have there civil, military, and commercial interests. It was only two or three years ago that Sikkim, without any provocation, carried away British subjects from the very precincts, if not the bazaar, of Darjeeling; and these outrages, as they had been formerly the cause of an expedition, which did not succeed very well, against Sikkim, necessitated the second and successful one under Colonel Gawler. All these populations, whether of Sikkim, Bootan, &c., are perfidious—in fact, Chinese in their modes of dealing; and it is quite possible, when we make

* 2 Armstrong Mountain Train Guns.
2-8 Mortars.
1 Company Sappers.

Wing 11th Native Infantry.
Wing 18th Native Infantry.
5th Bengal Cavalry.

make this aggressive movement against Bootan, the Booteahs and their co-religionists may, as they have done before, make an attack which would be a diversion on Darjeeling. It is therefore prudent to strengthen Darjeeling, and the doing so would strengthen also Julpigoree and our left. His Excellency, therefore, would propose to move to Darjeeling the three companies of the 80th Regiment, which are to relieve the three companies of the 48th, now stationed at that place, leaving, until the operations are over, the three companies of the 48th now there, the carriage of the three companies of British Infantry being retained at Darjeeling, and the whole six companies supplied with service ammunition.

29. It seems relevant to observe here, his Excellency would venture to think, that it would be politic, and even indispensable, that the civil authorities of the Government, and the commanding officers of columns, should, from the first entry into the Bengal Dooars, announce by proclamation that the Dooars are to be permanently confiscated, and form for the future a portion of the British dominions. The inhabitants of these Dooars are said to be friendly to us; but unless they can reckon for certainty on future protection from Bootanese aggression and cruelty, they will not give us that aid and information, together with supplies, which would so materially assist in the occupation of the country. This was proved in Sikhim, as is known to the Government.

30. The Commander in Chief would recommend that a superior commissariat officer be at once nominated to proceed to Sahibgunge, the nearest railway station, where troops would diverge from the rail to Caragola Ghat, to make arrangements for the carriage of the left and left centre columns, as also for such as may be required for the two regiments of cavalry required to operate with the right and right centre columns, while the civil authorities at Gowhatty and Gawalparah be required to collect the necessary carriage for the right and right centre columns, as also provisions for those columns for three months, and making arrangements for a further supply; should it be required, with transport to convey such provisions to the front.

31. That the nature of the country renders it necessary that the following transport should alone be employed—elephants, mules or ponies, and pack bullocks.

32. Three months' supplies, with means of transport to the front, should be also collected by the civil authorities at Cooch Behar and Julpigoree for the respective columns operating from those bases.

33. The Commander in Chief would beg most especially to draw the attention of Government to the general unhealthy character of the country to be traversed, especially that the right centre division, Sidlee and Bijnee, a tract similar in its character to the Terai, and to respectfully impress the necessity for an extra medical establishment to accompany the troops, as also that an ample supply of quinine, and an amount far beyond the usual allowance to Native troops, with other medical requirements, be provided.

34. In order to produce an effectual moral effect on the Bootanese, the movements of the fourth columns should be kept as secret as possible, and the columns should move simultaneously, *i. e.*, on the same day, to their destinations to the front; and his Excellency would solicit the sanction of Government to move the troops already named, so as to allow of the forward movement of the columns of operation to take place on the 20th November.

35. To prevent confusion, the Commander in Chief would suggest that the usual practice be followed, of giving a denomination to this force, and he would suggest it designated, "The Dooar Field Force."

36. His Excellency would further recommend that, as soon after occupation as possible, a broad road tract be traced along the whole border, from the Teesta to the Bor Nuddee. This might be effected by the labour of the villagers, paid for by Government.

37. Sir Hugh Rose having now, with the very limited means of information at his disposal, had the honour of submitting to his Excellency the Viceroy in Council a plan of operations the best suited, as he conceives, to the circumstances of the case, would beg to add, that he would not, for obvious reasons, wish that his opinions—or, should the Government be pleased to approve of them, that the instructions to the officer in command of the Field Force—should be in any way considered compulsory; that is, that he should not be obliged to carry them out in any case in which better local information, or occurring events, should induce him to come to the conclusion that those instructions are not applicable to the existing state of things.

38. Having recommended the officer whom his Excellency thinks best suited to direct the operations, and on which point the Government will be fully communicated with by the Adjutant General, he thinks that it would be very inadvisable to tie his hands, and hamper him by binding him down to a particular course of action, which experience may show to be suited neither to the country nor the special requirements of the case.

39. His Excellency has stated the desideratum of Government, and the means which he at a distance, and with imperfect information, believes to be the best adapted to give

that desideratum effect; but he thinks a full latitude should be left to the discretion and local experience of the officer in command.

40. The Commander in Chief has carefully kept in view the financial interests of Government, and the military arrangements are based as much as possible on that important consideration; for this service the movements caused by the relief have been made use of for bringing into the field the troops required for the operations.

From Colonel *E. Haythorne*, Adjutant General, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department (No. 922 E); dated Head Quarters, Simla, 9 September 1864.

WITH reference to your letter, No. 430, of the 31st ultimo, to the address of the Quarter Master General, the Commander in Chief would beg most respectfully to point out to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, that there are so many important duties to be performed at the Presidency as to render it inconvenient for the service that the general officer commanding that division should be removed from his post. On this account his Excellency does not consider it advisable to recommend Major General Showers for the command of the expedition to Bhootan, and the more especially as, during the present season, there are, in addition to the two Royal Horse Brigade batteries of the late Bengal Horse Artillery, now for the first time going home, and two Royal Horse Brigade batteries coming out, an extraordinary number of British regiments coming to and going from Calcutta.

2. As there is no longer a brigadier general at Barrackpore, who used to superintend all embarkations and disembarkations of troops at the Presidency during the absence of the major general commanding the division on his tours of inspections in Assam, this duty would now devolve on the senior officer in Calcutta, who, from the continual arrival of troops, would be always changing, a result not desirable, as tending to a doubtful supervision of a matter which so greatly affects the comfort of the soldier, such as arrangements on board of ship and those attending on his first arrival in India.

3. Under these circumstances his Excellency would venture strongly to recommend that Brigadier General W. E. Mulcaster, commanding the eastern frontier brigade, should take charge of the operations against Bhootan. This officer is specially qualified for this duty. One of the reasons which induced the Commander in Chief to recommend him for the command in Assam was, that he had formerly served in that province: besides, he enjoys deservedly the reputation of being an officer of good and sound judgment, who has gained useful experience in Afghanistan and in the Sutlej and Punjaub campaigns; he also commanded for some time at Julpigoree, and is now commanding the troops at Gowa-hatty and Gowalparrah, a circumstance which has given him valuable information with respect to the country to be operated on. Under all these circumstances Sir Hugh Rose considers that he could not recommend an officer so well qualified for the command of this field force as Brigadier General Mulcaster.

4. The Commander in Chief is anxious also to have the benefit on this frontier of the experience and superior military qualifications of Colonel H. F. Dunsford, C.B. It is the more necessary to have the services of this officer on account of the number of columns which are to operate. His Excellency would propose to give charge of the whole operation to Brigadier General Mulcaster; but, on account of the very extended line, 180 miles, he would wish that Brigadier General Mulcaster would more especially superintend the operations of the right and right centre columns, while Colonel Dunsford directed those of the left centre and left.

5. As the earliest information is of the greatest importance, Sir Hugh Rose is anxious that these commanding officers should proceed without delay to their respective scene of operations, accompanied each by a selected staff officer, and establish as soon as possible an intelligence department, make themselves masters of the country to be operated in, its resources and the feeling of its inhabitants, and superintend the preparatory arrangements for the force.

6. In conclusion, I am to add that if his Excellency the Viceroy in Council would be pleased to associate two selected civil officers with Brigadier General Mulcaster and Colonel Dunsford, it would be very advantageous to the object in view, a thorough acquaintance with the country, inhabitants, and districts to be operated in.

From Colonel *H. W. Norman*, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Adjutant General (No. 189); dated Simla, 11 September 1864.

HAVING submitted to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council your letter, dated 9th instant, No. 922 E, I am directed to acquaint you that his Excellency sanctions the appointment of Brigadier General W. E. Mulcaster, commanding Eastern Frontier Brigade, to the charge of the operations connected with the seizure of the Bhootan Dooars, as proposed by his Excellency the Commander in Chief.

2. The Governor General in Council further approves of Colonel H. F. Dunsford, C.B., being employed on the service in question, in the manner proposed by his Excellency; and, should his Excellency desire it, the Governor General in Council will be prepared to confer

confer on Colonel Dunsford the temporary rank and position of a Brigadier General of the 2d class, but in subordination to Brigadier General Mulcaster while engaged in these operations.

5. With reference to para. 5 of your letter, the Governor General in Council approves of these commanding officers proceeding at once to the scene of their operations; and I am to request you to move his Excellency to submit any proposals he may have to make for their respective staff, in order that the sanction of Government may be given.

6. A telegram has been to-day dispatched to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, requesting him to attach two selected civil officers to Brigadier General Mulcaster and Colonel Dunsford respectively.

(No. 190.)

From Colonel *H. W. Norman*, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Quartermaster General.

Sir,

Military Department, Simla, 11 September 1864.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 5, Bootan, dated 8th September 1864, submitting the plans of his Excellency the Commander in Chief for the occupation and, if necessary, permanent retention of the Bootan Dooars.

2. On a full consideration of the subject, the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council approves of four columns, composed as proposed by his Excellency, being employed on this service, and in the manner suggested.

3. It is considered by the Governor General in Council to be probable that a smaller force would suffice, but as the columns will be widely separated, and as supports could not readily reach them, it is prudent to have them rather stronger than may seem absolutely requisite.

4. I am, therefore, to request that you will move the Commander in Chief to issue the necessary orders for the movement of troops towards the points of assembly, so that the various columns may advance as soon after the 1st November as possible, for the Lieutenant Governor considers it important that the advance should not be delayed much beyond that date.

5. Instructions will be sent to the Medical, Commissariat and Ordnance Departments, and to the Bengal Government, for the proper equipment of the force in every respect, and for the collection of supplies. Copies of these instructions will be communicated for the information of his Excellency.

6. The Governor General in Council quite approves of the proposal of the Commander in Chief to retain the companies of the 48th Foot at Darjeeling, as well as those of the 80th until the operations are over, all the companies being supplied with service ammunition, and the carriage brought by the 80th being retained at Punkaharri.

7. With reference to your 29th paragraph, I am to state that a proclamation will be issued prior to the occupation of the Dooars, but its exact terms will be settled hereafter, on more full information than is at present possessed by the Government.

8. The Governor General in Council will also hereafter communicate his views as to the limits of the territory to be occupied; but it is the desire of his Excellency not to extend our occupation into the hills beyond such points as may be requisite on considerations of salubrity, and for military security.

9. The Governor General in Council desires to inform his Excellency that the Darjeeling Sebundy Sappers and Miners are at his Excellency's disposal for employment on this service, and that it will be desirable to attach to these companies two competent officers.

10. I am to suggest for consideration, whether 5½-inch mortars might not, as more readily moveable, both as respects the mortars and their ammunition, be used in substitution of the 8-inch mortars proposed by his Excellency, or even in addition to the 8-inch mortars, should the Commander in Chief think the latter essential.

11. Looking to the jungly nature of the country in which the cavalry will have to act, I am to remark that it seems desirable that all the troops of this branch engaged should be armed with carbines.

12. I am to suggest, for the consideration of the Commander in Chief, whether the presence of a wing or other small force of British troops might not be useful at Julpigoree or other point during the operations. It seems to the Governor General in Council that this would be useful, both as a reserve, and to produce a good effect upon the people on our border.

13. It seems desirable, in addition to equipping the troops with a full proportion of service ammunition, that two small depôts of the same should be established at Gowhatty and Julpigoree or other points, and if his Excellency concurs in this, the necessary orders will be issued.

14. In conclusion, I am to request you will favour the Government, as soon as practicable, with a copy of the instructions that may be issued to Brigadier General Mulcaster, for his guidance and that of officers commanding columns.

(No. 191.)

From Colonel *H. W. Norman*, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Darjeeling.

Sir,

Simla, 12 September 1864.

IN continuation of my telegram of yesterday, I am directed to enclose, for the information and guidance of his Honour the Lieutenant Governor copy of a communication from the Foreign Department, No. 421, dated 26th ultimo, together with a letter from the Quartermaster General, No. 5 of the 8th instant, and of my reply thereto.

2. I am to beg you will move the Lieutenant Governor to take all necessary measures to ensure that the columns are properly provided with supplies, and with carriage suitable to the country in which the troops will operate, and on these points there should be free communication between the local Government and the Commissariat Department.

3. There will be a superior officer of the Commissariat Department at Sahibgunge, who will eventually move forward to the scene of operations, and a commissariat officer will be attached to each of the four columns employed; but it will be necessary that these officers should receive every possible assistance from the local civil officers.

4. I am to request that the description of transport best suited to the service, in the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor, may be collected without delay, and that if necessary a body of coolies may be organized for service with each column. It will, of course, be requisite to give these men such rates of pay as will suffice to secure their willing services.

5. It has occurred to the Governor General that it may be necessary, in consequence of the leeches in the jungle, to provide dooly bearers and coolies, and other public followers with gaiters; if so, the Lieutenant Governor is requested to give the necessary orders for their preparation.

6. It may be desirable to substitute dandies for doolies to some extent for the transport of the sick; if so, I am to beg that orders may be given for them to be made up, in the proportion of two per company of the troops to be employed.

7. I am to request the particular attention of his Honor to obtaining accurate information as to the several lines of advance proposed, and as to the nature of the country generally in the Dooars. It is very undesirable to divulge the routes proposed, but without doing this, doubtless people may be procured who know the country, and who can be sent to explore all possible routes.

8. All information that can be gained should, I am to state, be at once communicated to Brigadier General Mulcaster, and his Excellency the Governor General has already telegraphed to the Lieutenant Governor to attach two selected officers to the Brigadier General, who will command the whole force, and to Colonel Dunsford, who will direct the two left columns.

Military Department.

Sir *Charles Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council; dated
23 November (No. 371) 1864.

Sir,

I HAVE considered in Council your military letter, No. 337, dated 19 September 1864, with its enclosures, relating to the measures which you propose to adopt in view to occupying the Bhootan Dooars, should such a proceeding become necessary.

2. The general military arrangements proposed with this view by his Excellency the Commander in Chief, and sanctioned by your Government, appear to Her Majesty's Government to be judicious and well adapted to the end which you have in view.

3. I observe with satisfaction that you propose to make special provision in the Medical Department against the too probable effect of climate upon the troops engaged in this service.

4. In my Despatch, No. 39, of the 18th July last, in the Political Department, I communicated to you the views of Her Majesty's Government upon the general line of policy to be pursued on this occasion.

(No. 88.)

The Governor General of India in Council to *Sir Charles Wood*.

SIR,

Foreign Department, Political, 5 October 1864.

In continuation of the correspondence forwarded with our letter, No. 86, dated 19th ultimo, relating to Bootan affairs, we have the honour to transmit for the information of her Majesty's Government copies of further papers.

We have, &c.

(signed)

*J. Lawrence.**H. Rose.**R. Napier.**H. S. Maine.**C. E. Trevelyan.**W. Grey.**G. N. Taylor.*

(No. 2978 T.)

From the *Honourable A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

(Political.)

SIR,

Darjeeling, 8 September 1864.

IN continuation of my letter No. 2523 T., dated the 24th ultimo, I am directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter* from the Commissioner of Assam and Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, regarding the Bootan Dooars, and to state that, though the Reports are in many particulars very inaccurate, it has been considered best to send up the papers complete. The letter No. 126, dated 25th July, from Mr. T. A. Donough, Deputy Magistrate of the Julpigooree Sub-Division, to which he refers in his No. 130, dated 1st ultimo, is not forwarded, as it will be found appended to Colonel Haughton's Report submitted with my letter above referred to.

* No. 56, dated 23d ult., with one memorandum and four Appendices.

2. Colonel Hopkinson's account of the Dooars would lead to the supposition that they are unhealthy, and though this is undoubtedly the case with the Terai portions during the rains, yet the portions which will probably have to be held by the troops, viz., Dalingkote, Buxa Dooar (Pasahka), Cheerung (or rather Bissa Sing Thannah, for Cheerung is perhaps too far in the Hills to make it necessary or expedient to occupy it), and Dewangari are all at a considerable elevation, and all, with the possible exception of Bissa Sing Thannah, about which there is no certain information, are perfectly healthy all the year round.

3. The question of the revenue settlement which may have to be made should be left quite open, as its nature would depend upon the demand that there is for the land when it comes into our occupation, and upon the tenures that may be found to prevail. The Lieutenant Governor has already recommended that, as a temporary measure, a settlement should be made with the zemindars where there are zemindars, and with the ryots where there are no zemindars, and his Honor would not make the first settlement either with zemindars or ryots for more than from year to year until the whole tract can be surveyed and settled in detail on proper principles. An officer of the Forest Department should proceed this cold season with the occupying force to report on the timber growing in the Dooars, which is undoubtedly of great value and would afford a plentiful supply to the whole of Bengal.

4. The proposal to give any portion of the Dooars to Cooch Behar is objectionable, and would place the government as protector of that state in a worse position than at present; for without being able to control the people of the frontier we should be involved in all the disputes between the two states. The Rajahs of Sidlee and Bijnee will become ordinary zemindars, and the system of native government should cease in the Dooars altogether.

5. The Lieutenant Governor has no doubt Colonel Haughton's views, as quoted by the Commissioner of Assam, are sound, and that the best and indeed only feasible plan will be to occupy the Dooars and maintain posts at the pass heads, especially Dalingkote, Buxa, Bissa Sing Thannah, and Dewangiri; this latter post would keep the Tongso Penlow in check. Buxa again is not, the Lieutenant Governor believes, unhealthy, as represented by Major General Jenkins, and it is accessible for laden bullocks. Seizing the plain lands of the Dooars only would entail petty warfare systematically carried on every year, while occupation of the passes will enable us to cut off supplies from the Booteahs, and would break up the bands of adventurers who are now collected in the forts. The posts themselves could be placed at any elevation that would be most convenient. It is not necessary to take the precise sites of the present Booteah forts, and if they are found unhealthy higher elevations are always available in the neighbourhood.

6. The Commissioner recommends a force from Pokki Hagga securing Bissa Sing Thannah, and thence marching to Cheerung. This assumes that our forces would have to fight step by step. The simple plan would be to take Cheerung at once if necessary, but, as before observed, it will probably not be found advisable to advance so far into the Hills. The Lieutenant Governor approves of a detachment of police being stationed at Dotmah, in Koontaghaut, and Bijnee when the military force marches to Pokki Hagga.

7. The estimate of the force required to occupy the Dooars east of the Sunkers is, in the Lieutenant Governor's opinion, altogether excessive, but mountain guns should accompany the force wherever employed.

8. The Commissioner is not quite correct in his description of the relative position which the Bootan Dooars bear to one another; they are merely separate pergunnahs as in our own territory, and as they all adjoin one another and are only divided because they are under different officers, the Lieutenant Governor can see no reason why the same plan of military operations, or the same system of civil administration, would not answer for the whole of the Dooars; but his Honor concurs in the Commissioner's opinion that military operations in the Western should not be allowed to hamper or interfere with those in the Eastern Dooars.

From Lieutenant Colonel *H. Hopkinson*, Commissioner of Assam and Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; (No. 56), dated 23 August 1864.

Sir,

ADVERTING to your letter to my address, No. 521 T. of the 12th June 1864, I have the honour to submit herewith a memorandum on the Bootan Frontier, containing my opinion as well upon the subject of the military occupation of the Assam and Bengal Dooars, as upon the system on which they should be administered, and remarks upon their fiscal prospects and various other points more particularly relating to the Gowalparrah Dooars, on which it seemed to me the Government were likely to desire information.

2. In a separate packet I also forward appendices to my Report, being copies of papers on the Dooars, from Major General F. Jenkins, late Commissioner of Assam; Colonel R. Campbell, Commanding the 43d Regiment at Gowhatty, in Assam; Captain Morton, Deputy Commissioner, Gowalparrah; and Mr. Donough, Deputy Magistrate and Collector of Julpigooree, and my best thanks are due to all these gentlemen for the assistance they have rendered me in preparing my Report.

NOTES ON THE BOOTAN DOOARS.

IN the course of compiling these notes I have had occasion to consult the following authorities:—

"Narrative of a journey through Bootan and part of Thibet by Captain Samuel Turner." The book is, I presume, accessible to Government, and among their records will be found the original papers of Turner's Embassy, which must contain some useful information. Turner's account of Chuhacotta, approach to Buxa Dooar, ascent of the Peacherkon mountain, and approach to Murichom may be consulted with advantage.

2. "Pemberton's N.E. Frontier," and "Pemberton's Bootan," with Appendix and Maps. Scarcely any real addition has been made to our knowledge of Bootan since this book was published.

3. Copy of "Colonel Haughton's Memorandum on Bootan," lately submitted to Government.

4. "A paper on the Western Dooars of Bootan by Mr. T. A. Donough, Deputy Magistrate, Julpigooree," copy of which is herewith appended, Annexure A.

5. Notes by Major General F. Jenkins on the Bootan Dooars, Annexure B.

6. A Memorandum by Colonel R. Campbell, Commanding the 43d Regiment N. I., on the military positions to be occupied on the Dooars, Annexure C. Report on the Bootan Dooars by Captain Morton, Annexure D.

1.—*General Description of the Country with its probable Resources, Revenue, Population, and Trade.*

Pemberton's account of the country, "Section 2d of the Bootan Dooars in Assam," page 47, and "Section 3d of the Bootan Dooars in Bengal Frontier" (page 72), though published so far back as 1839, contains nearly as much information on the subject as can even now be given. Colonel Haughton's explanation of the term Dooars appears to me to be an apt and correct one.

The aspect of the country outside of the Bengal Bootan Dooars, as I conceive it, is that of a low marshy expanse of chur or sandy land closed abruptly along the North by the ranges of the Bootan mountains, a tract for the most part uncultivated and covered with
coarse

coarse vegetation of rank grass, reeds, and fern; here and there there are thick woods and a belt of dense forest intervenes at the foot of the Hills.

The sandy nature of the soil, and the infinity of streams by which the country is intersected, having no precisely defined limits, constant to no permanent course, but ever changing their channels and seeking new ones, with water everywhere within a few feet of the surface, suggest the idea of one vast river-bed. The outlying lands of the Assam Dooars are more consolidated, and are probably higher in level; we hear there of gravelly soils, and plains of short grass admirably adapted for cavalry evolutions extending close to the Hills, cooled by refreshing breezes, and agreeable and salubrious in appearance, yet in effect deadly in the extreme: no stranger can withstand the miasmatic poison that exhales from them. The country of the Dooars or passes themselves is rugged and impracticable in the extreme. I have never heard of any table-land anywhere existing on any of the lower ranges of the Bootan Hills immediately overlooking the plains of Assam; such plains as Buxa and Dewangiri (not Deewangeeri) are most limited in space, and occupy nothing more, I imagine, than the narrow rounded crests of mountain spurs.

The Dooars to the West or near Julpigooree are the most populous and best cultivated. It should be easy to ascertain full information as to their resources at Julpigooree, and their administration might be organized and superintended from Julpigooree; Dalingkote and Zameercote might be attached for a time to Rungpore. In the same way an inquiry into the resources of Chamoorchee, Luckee or Bala, and Buxa Dooars could be best prosecuted from Cooch Behar. The Dooars best known in the Gawalparrah district are the Cheerung and the Ripoo Dooars.

The Cheerung Soubah, as the Governor or Commissioner of Cheerung is called, claims control over the plains of Sidlee and Chota Bijnee; the latter is rather a tributary than a subject State, and is a lordship of the Rajah Kumood Narain, a British subject and a minor, whose estates of Koontaghaut and Habraghaut are under the management of the Court of Wards. The Rajah of Sidlee, Gowri Narain, is a Rajbunsee by caste; the Sidlee Raj is hereditary, but the Deb Rajah assumes the power of changing the succession; a good many of the Koontaghaut ryots migrated some years ago to Sidlee. Little is known of the Ripoo Dooar; it is said to be an appanage of the Dagga Pillo.

REVENUES.

Mr. Donough is able to give a very good account of the resources of the Western Dooars; they are by far the most populous and best cultivated; the Gawalparrah Dooars, and those to the East of the Monass, are scantily peopled, and therefore slightly cultivated. Jute is grown to some extent in the Bijnee, Chuppagooree, and Bhуска Dooars. Cotton is also cultivated on the slopes of some of the hills.

The Gawalparrah Dooars, Ripoo, Bhulkah, Gomah, Sidlee, and Chota Bijnee, are not continuous with one of our oldest possessions as are Dalingkote and Zameercote, nor do they adjoin even a country as well settled and cultivated as Cooch Behar; they lie at the "back or beyond," as I have heard a Scotchman describe a very remotely situated place, that is, the dismal region of Parbut Joar and Koontaghaut intervenes between them and the Berhampooter, and to their inaccessibility it may perhaps be attributed in part that we know so little about them. Then, besides being inaccessible, they are unhealthy; there is nothing in them to tempt the cupidity of the trader, or to fire the imagination of the traveller; they lead nowhere. I cannot add in any way to the information Captain Morton has given of these Dooars, and I beg therefore to be allowed to refer to what he writes as to their resources, population, and trade.

2.—*In the event of Annexation, how far ought it to extend?*

It will be seen from the paper by Major-General Jenkins that he is averse from going in the first instance beyond the Dooars, and in fact he would even still leave a margin under the Hills to the Booteahs.

But on my again referring to him whether he would not at least occupy Buxa and Dewangiri, he answered me as follows:—"With regard to your question about Buxa and Dewangiri, I can only briefly reply regarding the former place as I know nothing of it; but if Turner and Pemberton concur in speaking well of it I would certainly occupy it, for it would make a multitude of small posts on the border unnecessary, but I should be rather afraid that it is too far advanced in a difficult and perhaps unhealthy country;" and as regards Dewangiri:—"We know that Dewangiri is perfectly accessible from the plains at all times, the country being clear, close up to the foot of the Hills, and I would certainly take possession of it in the commencement of our military operations, and if it be found practicable I would maintain a post there permanently."

Captain Morton again, it will be observed, writes to the same purport as Major General Jenkins, and would have no steps taken to annex any portion of the Hill-country. He remarks that the occupation of the Dooars would be easy and profitable, and would be almost unopposed by the Bootanese, whereas an entrance into the Hills would be resisted, and expense, harassment, and bloodshed ensue.

Colonel Haughton advocates a bolder policy. He points out that, so far from the Bootanese allowing us to assume dominion over the plain lands of the Dooars unmolested, they would come down and ravage them. He would therefore occupy the Dooars and maintain posts at the pass heads; at all events he would take possession of Dalingkote, Buxa, Cheerung, and Dewangiri.

Upon the whole I would venture to side with Colonel Haughton in opinion. I would annex the whole of the Bengal Dooars, and seize and hold the passes into them and those into the Assam Dooars, or at least the four passes mentioned by Colonel Haughton, Dalingkote, Buxa, Cheerung, and Dewangiri; but Dewangiri first and above all, because it shuts up the Tongso Pillo, always the most dangerous member of the Bootan Government, and because it is easy of access and is said to be salubrious. Dewangiri is 2,150 feet above the level of the sea; Buxa Dooar, 1,809 feet.

I do not make much account of Captain Morton's objection that we must fight for the possession of the passes; if we have to fight for them, the fighting will be over and done with once and for all so soon as they are taken; but the acquisition of the plain lands of the Dooars only may entail upon us a perennial system of petty warfare. I do not agree with Captain Morton that the Bootanese would leave us in unmolested possession of the plain lands of the Dooars. I should think the state of affairs Colonel Haughton anticipates would be more likely to come, and that the Bootanese would certainly continue in the Dooars the series of outrages and insults which they have so long practised along the Cooch Behar and Gowalparrah frontiers. If we are to prevent the Bootanese from annoying us, we must stop their earths; and it is to the urgent necessity we are in, as past experience has shown, of preventing a continuance of their depredations, that any action we take against them must be referred. The Mission to Bootan sustained most outrageous insult, for which we should be justified in exacting ample atonement, if the people who inflicted it were not almost below contempt; but though we may play the part of being indifferent to their insults, we must not lose sight in our indifference of the object and origin of the Mission. It is not because our Envoy was outraged that we are now called upon to attack the Bootan Dooars, but because the Bootanese failed to take advantage of the Mission to make terms to avoid the consequence of their past misdeeds, and induce us to forego the material guarantee we had determined to exact from them so far back as 1857, indeed even from the time when Lord Dalhousie was Governor General. In short, if we resume the management of the Dooars—I use the word “resume” advisedly, for the Dooars originally constituted no part of Bootan, but were wrested by the Bootanese from the Government to whose rights we have succeeded,—it is not because we can desire to acquire a most unprofitable accession of territory, not because some wretched barbarians have behaved after their nature to our Envoy, but because the Bootanese have left us no other way of protecting our subjects and allies; and this protection I believe we can only adequately secure by taking it into our power to bar the Bootanese having access to the Dooars; in other words, by holding the passes by which they can enter and waste our possessions. Indeed, not to hold the passes, while we annexed the Dooar plain lands, would be simply to give greater provocation than ever to the incursions of the Bootanese, and to extend the area of our duties, while adding to the difficulty of discharging them.

When Major General Jenkins, therefore, objects that if we do not allow the Bootanese a proportion of the population of the plains, they will find it very difficult to get their supplies, I answer, this is the very difficulty we require to be able to press against them, to keep them in their good behaviour.

But it is much more difficult to dispose of the other objection made by the Major General, that taking up posts in the hills will bring us into a very unhealthy tract of forest with little or no population, where it might be difficult to supply our detachments with stores and provisions. I do not think these difficulties would be found to be serious in the case of Dewangiri. Dewangiri is said to be healthy, and the way to it is clear to the foot of the hills. As to Dalingkote, I have no information; but Cheerung and Buxa are impracticable in the extreme, and both have to be reached through a dangerous Terai country; at the same time, it is possible that both these posts might be garrisoned from Cooch Behar. To sum up, I would recommend the taking possession of the Dooars of Dalingkote, Zameercote, Chamoorchee, Luckee (or Bala), Buxa, Bhulkah, Gomah, Ripoo, Sidlee (including Cheerung), and Chota Bijnee, together with the passes of Dalingkote, Buxa, Cheerung, and Dewangiri.

3. *A Detail of the Posts to be occupied by one description or another.*

Under this head I propose to indicate only posts that should be established as we now stand, and as precautionary, or preparatory, either to meet any movement on the part of the Bootanese against us when the season opens, or to facilitate any counteracting operations on our part. I cannot pretend to propose any general distribution of posts or detachments for the defence of the Dooars, should we assume possession of them; so much will then depend upon the circumstances in which we may find ourselves, the disposition and the ability the Bootanese may show to contend with us, the nature of the country as we may acquire a knowledge of it from actual experience, for, after all, we have little information of it now, and the views and plans of the military authorities; nor shall I refer to posts to be established on the Rungpore or the Cooch Behar frontier, which can better be reported upon by the local officers of those districts; but I shall confine my remarks to the Gowalparrah and Assam frontier. Cheerung, then, is the point to which attention has to be directed from Gowalparrah. The road from Poonakha *viâ* Cheerung is supposed to be the best road from Bootan into the plains. It is a road therefore which the Bootanese would be likely to select were they to attempt any offensive movement against us. From Cheerung to Dotmah, at the north-western corner of

Koontagant

Koontaghaut (marked in our revenue survey map), is said to be seven marches; from Cheerung to Bijnee, nine marches; at a place called Pokki Hagga, possibly the Cuchba Bari (a point where the hills cease) of Pemberton, four marches on this the Assam side from Cheerung, or three marches from Dotmah in Koontaghaut, just mentioned, the road branches off into three roads, one road going into the Ripoo Dooar past Dotmah in Koontaghaut, one road going to Sidlee Dooar, and one road going to Bijnee Dooar. It seems to me, therefore, that it is only necessary for us to seize and hold Pokki Hagga to get the command of the three roads, and cover all Gowalparrah. Afterwards, an onward movement from Pokki Hagga would secure Bissa Sing Thannah, the cold weather residence of the Soubah of Cheerung; and, having established ourselves at Bissa Sing Thannah, the next step would be to acquire Cheerung. The base of operations on and from Pokki Hagga would be Gowalparrah or Togeegopa, on the other side of the Berhampooter, immediately opposite to Gowalparrah. The force sent to Pokki Hagga would be military, say a hundred infantry, with five and twenty or thirty sowars; at Pokki Hagga the force would be able to see what it required to go on to Bissa Sing Thannah and Cheerung. Detachments of police, twenty-five or thirty men in each detachment, should be stationed at Dotmah in Koontaghaut and Bijnee when the force marches to Pokki Hagga. The 100 men I have proposed to place at Pokki Hagga would not, of course, suffice in case of an advance to Bissa Sing Thannah and Cheerung, but are merely to be considered as an advanced guard in those operations. Of what the main body should consist, must be left to the military authorities when the time comes.

This is all I would propose doing for Gowalparrah. I now come to the Assam Dooars. Dewangiri is to the Assam Dooars what Cheerung is to the Gowalparrah Dooars.

But, proceeding in due course from west to east, and after leaving Bijnee, we come to Soobankhata. This, as Colonel Campbell has pointed out, is a very important post; it is the site of a great mart to which thousands of Booteahs annually flock, and is on the high road to Hajoo, a place of pilgrimage of much repute and resort. One company, at least, ought to be stationed there. Next, the Koomeekhata guard should be advanced to Gooroogaon, to watch the Eastern Dewangiri pass; fifty (50) men might be required for this duty. Sixteen miles from Koomeekhata, Deochung, situated on the spur of the hills, offers a most eligible position for a guard. There should be 30 men at Deochung, and this guard could watch the adjoining Dooars of Ghurkhool and Kalleng. I would further recommend the maintenance of a strong reserve at Koomeekhata, say of a couple of companies, supported by a small detachment of cavalry not exceeding 50 troopers; this reserve would be available to execute a *coup de main* against Dewangiri. The original base of operations would be Gowhaty.

I might have spoken of the Kamroop Dooars rather than of the Assam Dooars, since the most eastern Dooars, Kooreeparah, Char Dooar, and Nao Dooar, are not concerned in our relations with Bootan.

To be sure, if the Thibetans were to become the allies of Bootan in a quarrel with us, the Kooreeparah Dooar, which is held by the Tawang Rajah, a tributary of Lassa, would have to be looked after; but we already maintain a strong guard at Kooreeparah, with a reserve at Tezpor, and this is all we require for the present.

4. *An Estimate of the Cost of Military and Police necessary to hold the Country at first.*

To hold and occupy the Dooars east of the Sunkers, that is to say, the Gowalparrah Dooars, and for the more perfect occupation of the Assam Dooars, including the acquisition of the Cheerung and Dewangiri passes, I should assign a regiment of Native Infantry, two troops of cavalry, and two companies of sappers. I am doubtful whether any artillery will be required.

The Native Infantry regiment should be one inured to the climate. I would recommend that the Gowhaty Regiment, the 43d, now partially employed, should be wholly employed in the Dooars, and its place at Gowhaty taken by the other wing of the 11th Native Infantry, one wing of the 11th being already under orders for Tezpor. No Hindoostanee Infantry should be employed in Dooar operations; their health is quite unreliable there. It is all very well to say that the Dooars are healthy enough in the cold weather; so they may be, so long as no rain falls; but if that happens, and it very often does happen about December, malaria is immediately disengaged. I think it will be further desirable to provide for an addition of 100 police constables. I have said I do not think that any occasion will offer itself for the employment of artillery; but if wanted, the Eurasian Battery, from the Cossiah Hills, or a portion of the detachment of Native Artillery at Debrooghur might be sent for. I shall not attempt to make any estimate of the military requirements along the Rungpore and Cooch Behar frontier; the local authorities there can alone advise upon them.

Perhaps at this place I may take the opportunity of insisting on the necessity of remembering that, when we speak of the Bootan Dooars, we do not express a unity, a single tract of homogeneous country, but these Dooars are what their names imply.

Dooars of ingress or egress from and to Bootan, and from various parts of Assam or Bengal, as the case may be, and that they belong to the parts on which they open, and with which alone they have any intimate connexion geographically, politically, or socially, while as regards one another they are in a state of insulation. Thus the Bhushka Dooar

depends upon Kamroop and knows nothing of its right or left hand neighbours, Bijnee or Kooreeparah.

The Buxa Dooar again is simply the prolongation of Cooch Behar to the hills, and has nothing to say to Dalingkote.

It follows from this that it would be irrational to propose either a single plan in military operations or a single system of civil administration to have effect right along the length of the Dooars; but that whatever has to be done in the Dooars, whether of a military or civil character, must be determined on at various parts, with reference to the country the different Dooars have at their backs, or intervening between them and the River Berham-pooter, so Dalingkote and Zameercote must follow the fortunes of Rungpore; Chamoor-chee, Luckee, and Buxa Dooars will be the care of Cooch Behar; Bhulkah, Gomah, Ripoo, Sidlee, Bijnee will coalesce with Purbut Jooar, and Koontaghaut in Gowalparrah, and the Assam Dooars will remain as they are with Kamroop or Durrung. A further corollary from these observations is that military operations in the western should not be allowed to hamper or interfere with those in the eastern Dooars. It is not even necessary that the commanders on the line of the Dooars should be in military communication, for they can neither assist nor compromise one another. A check at Dalingkote might have serious consequences for Rungpore, but would neither advance or retard operations against Dewangiri; on the other hand if the Bootanese were capable of making a descent in great force from Dewangiri a military force in the Buxa Dooar could do nothing to prevent their ravaging Kamroop. I have marked in the map of Bootan, herewith returned, the places in Assam and Gowalparah at which I propose posts should be established.



5.—*Future Administration of the Dooars.*

Upon this point I am rather inclined to quote the cookery book, and say "first catch your hare;" first reduce the Dooars into possession, and then let it be determined how they shall be administered. I really do not think that sufficient is known of the Dooars to determine their mode of administration.

From all I can learn I entertain now the impression that they will not be found to require any separate or special system of administration; that if they are annexed to the districts to which they severally belong the administration of those districts may be readily and naturally extended to them; and that existing establishments will hardly need any reinforcement to admit of such extension being efficiently carried out. I should think that the deputy magistrate and collector at Julpigooree could do all that has to be done for Dalingkote and Zameercote. On the criminal and police side he would probably find that he has less to do than he has now, the criminal classes ceasing to have such encouragement as the refuge they find now in Dalingkote affords them.

The Cooch Behar Dooars might be attached to Cooch Behar, and yet leave Cooch Behar as a district a very inconsiderable one. In regard to the Gowalparrah Dooars, Gomah, Bhulkah, Ripoo, Sidlee, and Bijnee, I cannot imagine that they will require any special administrative machinery. Bhulkah and Gomah are khas estates of the Deb Rajah's. There is said to be only one village in Gomah consisting of some sixty houses. Bhulkah has several villages; but Ripoo Dooar again is nearly all a waste. Sidlee and, Bijnee are tributary States having their own administrations under their own rulers, and in the first instance at any rate, it would not be wise, even if it did not seem contrary to our present declared policy, to supersede the native Governments of these two States.

6.—*What Establishments would be required?*

As I consider that the annexation of the Bengal Dooars cannot really need any special, separate or additional administrative machinery, so of course I have no additional establishments to recommend. Let Rungpore and Cooch Behar answer for themselves, however, on these points. The Gowalparrah Dooars will certainly not require, I think, any extra establishments to be maintained beyond a few police constables, which I have already proposed, and perhaps for a short time the services of a deputy collector, as a settlement officer might be required.

In negating the notion of establishing a separate Dooar district or districts, with all its or their administrative apparatus, I have on my side the manner in which the Assam Dooars were annexed, and the experience of its results. They were occupied with a few police, and then they quietly coalesced and became incorporate with Kamroop and Durrung. Before quitting this part of my subject I may mention that the mode and distribution of the management of the Dooars, which I have above indicated as, in my opinion, the most natural, happen to be that which will best satisfy the demands of political justice and equity in redressing the usurpations of the Bootanese. The more western Dooars belonged to the Julpigooree Rajah, and Julpesh is the temple of the family. The Dewan Deo again, a member of the Cooch Behar family, was the hereditary manager of the Dooars which I have called the Cooch Behar Dooars until the Bootanese wrested them from Cooch Behar. Lastly the Dooars I have assigned to Gowalparrah have for ages been connected with that district through the Rajahs of Bijnee and Sidlee, and the Arung of Gomah, all Koches.

7.—*What would be the proper Revenue and Judicial Arrangements to introduce?*

I have not the knowledge that would enable me to answer these questions as regards the Julpigooree and Cooch Behar Dooars. In regard to the Gowalparrah Dooars, Sidlee and Bijnee would, I presume, be required to pay the same tribute to the British Government which they have heretofore paid to that of Bootan. The tribute paid annually by the Sidlee Rajah used to be "500 rupees, some oil, dried fish, and coarse cotton cloths." The whole of the tribute by the Bijnee Ranee is paid in kind, oil, dry fish and cotton cloths, to the value of some 500 rupees annually. The Bijnee Ranee is not supposed to derive an annual revenue of above 3,000 or 4,000 rupees from Nij Bijnee. She owes her position to the two fiefs of Habraghaut and Koontaghaut, which the Bijnee family hold of the British Government by a Nalbundee tenure originally of two elephants, but now commuted to a money payment of 2,000 rupees annually. The revenues of Bhulkah, Gomah, and Ripoo are very trifling. In the event of these Dooars coming under our management, an adaptation to them of the revenue system of British Burmah as it was in its early form would probably answer best, viz., a moderate capitation or hearth tax, and a plough tax. It would seem that such taxes are pretty much what the people of these Dooars pay now. I should not, however, expect them to realise any considerable sum, something less certainly than 10,000 rupees.

The Gowalparah Dooars would not therefore be a very desirable acquisition in a financial point of view, unless I am altogether wrong in my estimate of their revenue capabilities. I must not forget to mention, however, that they may prove of some value to the State in respect to the abundance of valuable timber they are said to possess. From the accounts I have received I might suppose that the finest saul forests in India were to be found in these Dooars. It would probably be worth while that no time were lost in sending a competent officer of the forest department to examine these forests, and who from experience could tell us pretty exactly what their working capabilities really are.

In regard to judicial arrangements, I should continue the Sidlee and Bijnee chiefs in the exercise of their present powers and function, regulating them in the way we do those of the Cossyah Hills chiefs. Ripoo, Gomah, and Bhulkah would fall into our general system.

8.—*A General Statement of the Climate of the Dooars, Malaria, Healthy Situations.*

Turner quaintly but with truth speaks of the province of Assam as "a region hardly suited to human habitation, but which indeed a beneficent Creator has planted with inhabitants adapted to its nature."

This description is, if possible, more appropriate to the Dooars, but let me again quote Turner himself. He says:—

"At the foot of the Bootan Mountains a plain extends for about 30 miles in breadth, choked rather than clothed with the most luxuriant vegetation.

"The exhalations necessarily arising from the multitude of springs which the vicinity of the mountain produces are collected and confined by these almost impervious woods, and generate an atmosphere through which no traveller ever passed with impunity.

"Its effects were fatal to Captain Jones and to a great part of the troops that served under him in 1772."

From the beginning of December (I say advisedly December, November is a month too early, especially if the rains, as they promise to be this year, are late) to the end of February is the only period of the year when military operations can be carried on without much danger to the health of both Europeans and Hindoostanees.

The plain at the foot of the Bootan Mountains is not, however, always choked with jungle; there are tracts free from woods where a high, dry, gravelly soil does no more than nourish a short, crisp grass, yet sometimes such tracts are as deadly as the fatal valley of the upas-tree, and we have cases on record of whole detachments being swept off almost in the course of a single night as completely as was the army of the Assyrian in the days of King Hezekiah. Dewangiri is the only place I have yet heard of (for we have not sufficient information about Cheerung) at which a European could live all the year round.

APPENDIX (A).

From *T. A. Donough*, Esq., Deputy Magistrate of Julpigooree, to Colonel *Henry Hopkinson*, Commissioner of Assam and Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier; (No. 126), dated 25th July 1864.

Sir,

WITH reference to your demi-official letter of the 30th ultimo, I beg to submit the following information respecting the Western Dooars of Bootan, which I have collected from several sources. I believe its general correctness may be relied on. I am preparing a rough sketch map of the country from the foot of the hills down to our own frontier, which I shall send to you as soon as it is ready.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

The country from the foot of the hills extending southwards to its junction with our territory has numerous streams running through it (from the north) in a south-easterly direction. Many of these during the dry months have little or no water in them. The largest are those named below:—

The Shonkosh شونکوش.—Lower down this river is called the Monass مناس.

The Guddadhur گدادھر.—This river is narrow, but exceedingly deep, and somewhat rapid.

The Raedak راي دڪ.

The Deema ديمہ.—Lower down this stream is called the *Kalijan* كاليجان and is navigable during eight months of the year up to a place called Chichakhata چچاڪھاتا.

The Torsha تورشا.—Navigable during eight months of the year for small boats up to Bala بالا.

The Joldhaka جلدھاکا.

There are no roads, and yet there are no serious impediments to troops passing through the country from south to north. The nullahs and rivers are all fordable during the dry season.

The country undulates from the foot of the hills in a southerly direction, and as it extends south the undulations gradually cease and the country becomes flat.

The greater portion of the country from the foot of the hills down to within a few miles of the British frontier is covered with what may not be properly called "jungle." It consists of long coarse grass, reeds (including a kind of wild sugar-cane), and wild cardamums. These are all known to the natives as Bhabni بهابني, Pharah پھارا, Moonja مونجا, Khagrah کھاگرا, Nickrah نڪرا, Tara تارا, or Poondee پونڈي.

There are no extensive swamps. There are Mydans امليا, Kiranti کيرانتي, Chacklah چاڪلا, Sharipokhary شاري پوکھري, Domohonee دوموھني, all in the Dalingkote Dooar دالینگ کوت دوار.

At Pooran Tondo پوران توندو, Ramshah رام شاہ, in the Jamrikote Dooar جامري کوت دوار.

At Deopani ديوپاني, Bonarchang بونارچانگ, Bosharchang بوشيرچانگ, in the Chamoorchee Dooar چامورچي دوار.

At Bancha Mech بانچھا ميچ, Shena Thakoor شينا ٹھاڪور, Madaree مداري, Dhopgooree دھوپگوري (where there is a bamboo stockade), in the Bala Dooar بالا دوار.

At Shookoor Thakoor Bary شوڪور ٹھاڪور باڑي, Roop Thakoor Bary روپ ٹھاڪور باڑي, Chichakhata چچاڪھاتا, where there is a bamboo stockade. There is a sandy plain at a place called Pareaparah پاڑاپارا or Nepaniah نپانيا, but there is no water procurable there. Dooardarerbary دوار دارير باڑي, these are all in Buxsha Dooar بخشا دوار.

In this Dooar where it enters the hills there is a place called Theliagaon تھيلياگان situated either on a hill or the spur of a hill, which overlooks a pass through which the Booteahs descend to the plains. It is well situated for an ambuscade and many fights have occurred there.

There are numerous forests of valuable timber in the country, extending from the foot of the hills a considerable distance into the plains. These forests, as well as those portions of the country covered with the long grass, reeds, &c., are overrun with wild elephants, rhinoceros,

rhinoceros, wild buffaloes, tigers, bears, pigs, wild dogs called by the natives Koolok کوہوک, deer of various kinds, and other animals too numerous to detail.

Under the head of *Probable Resources* of the country, I may state every description of agricultural produce, dhan, jute, mustard, kalai of every kind, bajrah, joar, wheat, sugar-cane, pyrah (a sort of wheat), mokai, cheenah, marwah, cotton, pan, betel-nut, bamboos, pumpkins (some of a magnificent size), oranges, melons, wild strawberries, wild raspberries, wild pears, &c. &c., all of these the soil is capable of producing; but only about a quarter (if even so much) of the country is under cultivation.

REVENUE AND POPULATION.

On these points it is impossible to obtain any but very limited information. That which I have obtained is in respect to the country under the rule of the Soubah of Mynagooree and the plains, Gopalgunge, Chengmaree, and Dalingkote.

There were in Karzibosh Talook attached to Mynagooree 700 families paying land rent. Of these 300 families absconded or deserted, and the lands they cultivated are now lying waste. The remaining 400 families pay annually rupees 18,177 Narainee.

In Bhothati Debootee Talook there were 280 families; and in Julpeshur Deoran (Chakran) there were 35 families; total 315 families. Of these 140 families have absconded, 175 families remain, and they pay annually 5,764 rupees Narainee.

In Chengmaree there were 150 families, 30 absconded, leaving 120 families, who pay annually 1,426 rupees Narainee.

A sort of toll-bar tax is levied at Bhothati in the Mynagooree Elakah on travellers; it yields annually about 100 rupees, and at Karzibosh about 300 rupees; total, 400 rupees Narainee.

The tax levied at Hâts, viz. :—

	Rs.
At Bothati Hât - - - - -	30
„ Poobdebor Hât - - - - -	60
„ Mynagooree Hât - - - - -	100
„ Ramshah Hât - - - - -	30
Total - - -	<u>Rs. 220</u>

Then there is a tax on ploughs, 18 annas each, which yields about 700 rupees Narainee yearly.

Tax on bullocks, eight annas each, which yields about 200 rupees a year.

Tax on buffaloes, and grazing tax, eight annas a pair, which yields about 1,000 rupees yearly.

Tax on carts conveying timber, 10 annas per each cart, yields about 500 rupees a year.

The total revenue of Mynagooree is about 27,487 rupees Narainee per year, but a very great deal more is screwed out of the ryots on the most trivial pretences. For instance, the Deb Rajah sends down a piece of cloth, or a pony, or a few baskets of oranges, to the ryots of each talook every year, and the amount collected from them in return is 3,900 rupees; this is fixed.

	Rs.
Gopalgunge yields as land-revenue per year about -	4,135
Doongarhaut tax - - - - -	100
Plough tax - - - - -	500
Total - - -	<u>Rs. 4,735</u>

Mynagooree and Gopalgunge are not attached to any of the Dooars.

	Rs.
The land revenue of Dalingkote is annually -	15,000
Dangerghat (tax) - - - - -	1,200
Hal piâl (plough tax) - - - - -	2,000
Moish piâl (buffaloe tax) - - - - -	200
Timber piâl - - - - -	700
Bullock piâl - - - - -	60
Domobaree hât tax - - - - -	100
Total - - -	<u>Rs. 19,260</u>

TRADE.

There is no trade properly so called carried on in the plains of Bootan. Traders dare not venture into Bootan. Even the adventurous Kayah who may be met with everywhere in

India dares not venture into Bootan. The people come into our territory and supply themselves from the traders residing in the villages along the frontier with whatever they may be in need of. This they obtain usually in barter for the produce of their fields, &c. The surplus produce they dispose of at the markets (hâts) as rapidly as possible by retail.

Salt of a very good kind is said to be manufactured at a place called Gepgaon گیب گاون eight days' journey beyond Poonakha.

The social, political, and administrative features of the country are of the worst possible description; freedom is unknown, the people are ground down and oppressed in every possible way till one cannot help wondering that there should be any people remaining in the country, nor would there be if they could go elsewhere. There is no room for them on our side of the frontier, where the teeming population occupies every inch of ground, and absorbs every available source of livelihood. Under British rule, or even protection, tens of thousands of our surplus population would swarm over into Bootan, and the country, which is now tenanted with wild beasts, would, in the space of an incredibly short time, be so changed as not to be recognisable. The wonderful, truly wonderful, fertility of the soil would yield a comfortable maintenance to almost any amount of population.

The punishment in Bootan for homicide is six score and six rupees (126 rupees). Any man killing his neighbour has but to go to the Soubah, declare his guilt, and pay down the above amount and his guilt is expiated.

The man who is fool enough to seize a thief has to pay the Soubah 18 rupees. The thief may get off if he can pay a few score rupees. If he cannot, his goods and chattels, his property of every description, and even his wife and family, are seized and sold. If he should not have any property or family, he is imprisoned at the will of the Soubah, or is sold as a slave.

The following, which is a true story, may illustrate one feature of Bootanese administration:—

A man named Bujrah Moolick, who was Gooroo of the Soubah of Mynagooree, had no less than 18 wives! Two of them went astray, or in other words they had love intrigues; one with Gour Hurry, son of Godah Sirdar, and the other with Pooantoo Bhandary. Bujrah complained of this to Nando Ameen, a person of some authority under the Soubah and possessing more than ordinary wealth. Bujrah suggested to Nando Ameen the propriety of plundering Godah Sirdar and Pooantoo, who were both men of substance, but the Ameen would not consent. He expressed himself thus to Bujrah:—"You and the two women are more to blame than the men. You for having more wives than you can manage, and the two women because they are thorough budzats." Bujrah's ire was kindled at this; he went to the Soubah, and told him that the Ameen having been bribed by Godah Sirdar and Pooantoo had refused to punish them. The Soubah thereupon seized Nando Ameen and imprisoned him, and levied a daily fine of 400 rupees on him till he realized 12,000 rupees, besides which he seized 60 of Nando's buffaloes. Whilst Nando was still in prison this Soubah, named Kottra Kat-ham, being superseded, had to fight for the Soubahship with his successor, Doopshee Kat-ham, who defeated him, assumed the Soubahship of Mynagooree, released Nando from confinement, and reinstated him as Ameen.

The entire population is for us; they would rise to a man and drive out the Bootanese to-morrow if they had any encouragement from us to do so. We cannot for obvious reasons expect any assistance from any of the chiefs; indeed there would be no need of such assistance, the people though would help us in every possible way. They would at first be probably a little afraid, but they would soon gain confidence with a little judicious management on our side. They would even act as pioneers in clearing the jungle before our advancing columns.

What Places or Positions should be occupied, and where?

Dalingkote should be occupied.

Jamrikote should be occupied.—(This is the right name and not Zameerkote.)

Chamoorchee should be occupied.

Bala should be occupied:—Above Bala is a place called Tajaygaon, which should be occupied, as it crowns or covers a pass.

Buxa Dooar should be occupied, where there is a stone fort on a hill commanding the pass. East of this is Theliagaon, which I have alluded to before; it should be approached cautiously and the jungle shelled before the troops ascend or enter the pass.

Ripoo should be occupied.—East of this is a place called Kochoogaon کوچوگاؤن which should be cleared by shelling, as it affords a capital ambushade.

Where Civil Officers might be placed?

Dalingkote.—Kiranti, Mynagooree, Boleshur (said to be a very nice place).

In the Chamoorchee Dooar.—Dhobgooree, where there is a fort (bamboo stockade).

In the Buxa Dooar.—Chichakhata.

What

What Police wanted, and where to be placed?

A Thannah at Kiranti Chaklab, one at Amliah, and one at Domohonee, Dalingkote Dooar.

A Thannah at Boorah Tondco, one at Mynagooree, one at Ramshah, in the Jamrikote Dooar.

A Thannah at Bansherchang بانشيرچانگ, one at Dholgooree, and one at Shena Thakoor, in the Chamoorchee Dooar.

A Thannah at Madarifalakatah, one at Roop Thakoor Bary, one at Chichakhata, Jongloo Kotwal Bary, Dooarerbary, Bhulkah, and Gomah (some of these may be simple police faries) in the Bala and Madar Dooars.

A Thannah at Kochoogaon in the Ripoo Dooar.

The Climate of the Dooars.

Generally the climate of all the Dooars is good, and especially that of the Bala Dooar. It is said to be cool and pleasant, and remarkably fit for Europeans.

Dalingkote is also said to be very good.

Jamrikote is also said to be very good.

Chamoorchee is also said to be very good.

Buxa, cold, quite an European climate.

The climate of the plains in Bootan is also said to be remarkably good. It is much cooler over there than on our side. My informants know of no Terai existing at the foot of the Bootan hills. From all I can understand it seems that the tract of malarious jungle known to us as the "Terai," does not extend beyond the foot of the Darjeeling Hill in this direction. My informants know of no malaria, no unhealthy seasons, and no epidemics. Cholera is unknown to the people.

The deep, dense, swampy jungle of the "Terai" does not extend to the foot of the Bootan Hills.

In the dry season the country is easily cleared of its jungle by fire; portions of it are burnt down every year for the sake of the fresh tender grass that springs up immediately after; were it necessary the whole might be cleared in one season. A great deal more of rain falls over in the Bootan plains than on our side; this is probably why the temperature there is so much lower.

I have above named several places where there are mydans. I have done so to show that cavalry may be of use, and can be used if necessary. The Bootanese have a great dread of cavalry; half a troop of cavalry would in the plains scare away any number of Booteah soldiers. The greatest and probably the only use to which cavalry might be put in the Bootan plains would be to occupy the entrance of the passes, and to keep open the communication with our base of operations. There will most probably be no fighting in the plains, or if there be, it will be so very little as to hardly deserve the name.

What Carriage will be required for troops invading Bootan?

The country is virtually without roads, and therefore carts or hackeries would be of no use; but as fodder of the richest description covers the whole expanse any number of elephants, tattoos, and pack bullocks would subsist and thrive in it even without an ounce of grain being given to them.

Tattoos and pack bullocks may be hired in and about Kishengunge, in the Purneah District, and about Titaleah. Elephants must be furnished by Government to carry heavy baggage and camp equipage. Light guns and howitzers with their carriages and ammunition should also be carried by elephants. Tattoos and pack bullocks would suffice to carry the provision for the troops. These means of carriage would do up to the foot of the Hills. I know nothing of anything beyond, but I have been told that pack bullocks and tattoos can and do penetrate into the interior of these Hills. If this is correct, coolies may be dispensed with.

How are the Booteah Soldiers armed?

Very badly. Their principal weapons are the bow and arrow (the latter poisoned), and the straight, short, flat sword. Their fire-arms are of a very inferior description, old, rusty muskets and matchlocks, and of these they have very few; they have no cannon.

The lower ranges of Bootan Hills, about which I have made particular inquiries, are reported to be in respect of climate and fertility admirably adapted to the wants of European settlers.

Two months' notice at the utmost will be required to collect russud for troops at this place.

An Intelligence Department should be organized to accompany the troops.

If you require any further information from me, I shall do my best to obtain it for you. Underneath, I give you a list of the names of some of the principal Bootanese officials:—

Bhitor Jump.
 Bahir Jump.
 Deb Jump.
 Jopay.
 Talay Saheb.
 Tapay Saheb.
 Doorgah Saheb.
 Kalen Saheb.

Dhoomdhap Saheb.
 Patro Saheb.
 Dhoom Chapah Saheb.
 Chepah Saheb.
 Shonkop Saheb.
 Bhandari Saheb.
 Boldia Katham Saheb.
 Lopay Saheb.

From *T. A. Donough*, Esq., Deputy Magistrate of Julpigooree, to Colonel *H. Hopkinson* Commissioner of Assam, and Agent, Governor General, North-East Frontier (No. 130); dated 1st August 1864).

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter, No. 126, dated the 25th ultimo, I beg to submit underneath a detailed statement of the population of the Dalingkote (Kiranti) Dooar, from the Damsham Hills down to the Teesta. This statement, I believe, approximates the truth.

2. There are on the Damsham Hills, south-east and north-west of Dalingkote, about 1,500 Booteah families. North-east of Dalingkote, on the Tasiting Hill, there about 100 Booteah families. East of Dalingkote there is a hill called Chakam, where there are about 40 Booteah families. North-west of Dalingkote, at a place called Mora Choba, on a low hill, there are about 30 Booteah families. West and east of Chakam there is a hill called Chel, where there are 20 or 25 Booteah families. At Amliah there are two Booteah families; there were five, but three have lately removed to Dalingkote.

3. South of Dalingkote, at the foot of the hills (in the plains), there are 50 or 60 families of a tribe of people called Joldhas. South of them there are 25 or 30 families of mongrel Hindoos. South of these there are 40 or 50 families of Meches, and on either side of Dhoolia Nuddee there are 40 or 50 families of Garos located; here there are also some 30 families of Hindoos, and 15 or 16 families of Mussulmans. At this place there is the dwelling place of a man named Oopashoo Dass Boshtum, of considerable wealth; he died about a year ago, and has been succeeded by his son. West of Oopashoo's dwelling there is the dwelling of the Chakladar of the province, where there are about 80 or 90 families of Meches. East of the Chakladar's dwelling there are, in a valley, about 30 or 40 families of Meches; and west of the Chakladar's dwelling there are 50 or 60 more families of Meches. South of the Chakladar's dwelling there are, still more about 80 or 90 families, of the same tribe in a village.

4. East of this village there are 40 or 50 Mech families. South of them there is a dwelling of a wealthy man named Mech Gaboor, at or near Chengmaree. Here there are about 80 families of Hindoos, and some 50 or 60 families of Meches. East of Gaboor's dwelling there are about 80 or 90 families of Hindoos, and some 50 or 60 families of Meches.

5. South of the above there is the dwelling of Dump Gaboor's sister. Here there are a great many Hindoo families estimated at between 300 and 400. East of this place there is a saul forest, and east of this forest there are 80 or 90 Mech families, and 250 or 300 families of Hindoos. Further east of this there are 30 or 90 more families of Hindoos, about 100 Mech families, from 150 to 200 families of Joldhas, and 80 or 90 families of Garos.

6. North of these there are about 400 or 500 families of Joldhas. North of the Joldhas there are 80 or 90 Mech families; and east of these there are between 500 and 600 Mech families. Here there is a very wealthy Mech, but I have been unable to ascertain his name.

7. West of the "great unknown's" dwelling there are 40 or 50 Mech families, 15 or 16 Garo families. North of these are more Joldhas, about 40 or 50 families, and about 80 or 90 families of Meches. East of these there are 80 or 90 more Mech families, and 25 or 30 families of Garos, with some 60 or 70 families of Joldhas.

8. East of this village there are 60 or 70 families of Hindoos, 80 or 90 families of Meches, and 25 or 30 families of Joldhas. South of these there are 80 or 90 families of Hindoos; and further south of these again there are 80 or 90 families of Hindoo carpenters, and 60 or 70 families of Karis (a tribe of Hindoos), also 15 or 16 families of Meches. West of these there are 40 or 50 Hindoo families, and 20 or 25 families of Mussulmans.

9. West of Natagoree Haut there are 40 or 50 Hindoo, and 30 or 32 Mussulman families. South of Natagoree there are 25 or 30 families of Hindoos, and 15 or 16 families of Mussulmans. East of this village there are 15 or 16 Mech families. Here it may be observed that

that this tribe diminishes in number, as it extends southwards, and Hindoos and Mussulmans increase. There are in this locality 15 or 16 Kari families, and 15 or 16 Mussulman families.

10. South of the above are Khairbarry and Sharipakhooree, where there are about 100 or 150 Hindoo and 40 or 50 Mussulman families. East of Sharipakhooree there are 100 or 125 Hindoo families, and 15 or 16 Mussulman families. West of Sharipakhooree there are 200 or 250 Hindoo families, and some 30 or 40 Mussulmans. South of Sharipakhooree there are some 600 or 700 Hindoo families, and some 20 or 25 families of Mussulmans. The above extend down to Bidoordangah.

11. At Bidoordangah there are about 300 families of Hindoos and Boshtums, and 80 or 90 families of Mussulmans. West of this there are about 150 families of Hindoos and Boshtums, and 40 or 50 Mussulmans. East of this there are about 150 families of Hindoos and Boshtums, some 80 or 90 families of Koomhars (potters), and 30 or 40 families of Mussulmans.

12. North of Bidoordangah there are about 100 or 150 families of Hindoos, 80 or 90 Koomhars, and 20 or 25 Mussulman families. Further south; down to the Domohonee stockade, on the Teesta, there are about 300 families of Hindoos, and 80 or 90 Mussulman families. East of Domohonee there are about 200 or 250 families of Hindoos, 80 or 90 families of Mussulmans, 30 or 40 Harees, and 60 or 70 Sooree families. South of these, extending to Dangar Haut, there are 100 or 150 Hindoo families, 15 or 16 Mussulman families, and five or six Sooeë families. South-east of Gopalgunge there are about 250 or 300 Hindoo families, and 60 or 70 Mussulman families.

13. Annexed is a tabular statement of the above, from which it will be seen that the entire population of the Dalingkote (Kiranti) Doears does not exceed 10,000 families.

14. Since writing my last letter I have ascertained that some little trade exists between this part of the country and Bootan. The imports from Bootan consists of the following: viz., wax, munjit (a red dye), ox-tails, blankets, musk (a very small quantity indeed), and a few ponies. In exchange for these, the Booteahs obtain from our traders cotton, piece goods (principally consisting of stout longcloth and jean), broadcloth, dried fish, tobacco, and goor.

15. Justice is administrated at Dalingkote (I am told by a trustworthy person who has just come in here at my request from Dalingkote) in the following manner:—

When a serious case is brought up for trial, the Soubah makes the accused person bathe himself; he then gets a large earthen vessel filled with water, into which he drops two stones of equal size and shape; one is a white stone and the other black; the accused is then made to plunge his hand into the jar and take out one of the stones; if he should happen to get hold of the white stone he is declared innocent, and released; but if he should unluckily get hold of the black stone, he is considered guilty, and punished by being put into prison, which consists at Dalingkote of a gorge between two hills, which is built or roofed over, and has only one entrance or doorway to it; this is locked on the prisoner, and opened only once a week for a moment, when some food is given to the prisoner. The term of imprisonment awarded is generally from two to three months, and frequently it happens that the prisoner dies before the period of his incarceration expires. My informant witnessed two cases of this description; in one, the accused was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, but he died before the end of that time; in the other case, the accused was sentenced to two months' imprisonment; he survived the period, and was released.

16. In less serious or trivial cases the punishment is generally by fine only. In such, witnesses are examined on oath. The witness, if a Hindoo, is first made to bathe, and then to swear by touching the Mohākâl (or representation thereof) that he will speak the truth. If the witness be a Mussulman, a hole is dug in the earth to represent the "House of God." The witness is made to enter the hole and say what he has to say. The examination is *vivâ voce*, and never reduced to writing.

17. The principal men at Dalingkote are Jopay Saheb, the Soubah; he is said to have been superseded, but he does not intend giving up his Soubahship without having a struggle for it: Jump Saheb Naib, the Darogah of Tassiting (name unknown); and Dompô DebKait, who is a sort of secretary.

18. You will perceive by the map which I send you, that there are roads in the hills from Dalingkote, Jamrikote, Chamoorchee, Bala, Buxa, Ripoo, and Cheerung Doears to Poonakha. From Dalingkote to Poonakha the road is direct or continuous in one line. From Jamrikote the road goes across and joins the main line from Dalingkote at the Nichna Hill. From Chamoorchee the road joins the main line from Dalingkote at the Beesgaon Hills. From Bala, one road joins the main line from Dalingkote at the Doongaon Hill, and another road from the Tajaygaon Hill, near Bala, joins the main line from Dalingkote at the Parogaon Hill. There is yet another road from Tajaygaon (east of the first one) which joins the main line from Dalingkote east of the Parogaon Hill. From Buxa, one road goes to Parogaon and another goes direct to Poonakha. From Theliagaon, near Buxa, a road goes to the Ookha Hill, about midway between Theliagaon and Poonakha. From Ripoo Doear a road winds round about the hills there, *viâ* the Thempoo Fort to Poonakha.

At Themppoo Fort the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs reside occasionally. From Cheerung Dooar a road, which winds along the course of the Chundun Mookhee Nuddee, goes direct to Poonakha.

19. The Teesta River is navigable for boats of burden only as far as Julpigoree; further up the current is too rapid. The Dhurlah River is not at all navigable for such boats up in these parts.

P.S.—I have sent the map alluded to in 18th paragraph to Colonel Haughton, Commissioner of Cooch Behar. I had intended sending a copy of it to you, but I regret that I cannot spare time to make a copy. I have begged Colonel Haughton to have the map copied in his office, and to send the copy to you.

TABULAR STATEMENT of the Population in the Dalingkote (Kiranti) Dooar.

TRIBE OR CASTE.	Families. Number of Each.
Booteahs - - - - -	1,692
Joldhas - - - - -	835
Mongrel Hindoos - - - - -	25
Meches - - - - -	1,620
Garos - - - - -	170
Hindoos - - - - -	3,935
Mussulmans - - - - -	661
Karis - - - - -	80
Koomhars - - - - -	170
Harees - - - - -	35
Soorees - - - - -	70
TOTAL Families - - -	9,293

APPENDIX (B).

I WILL take up the subjects in Mr. Beadon's letter in the order I find them there noticed, and give you what information and advice I can on each.

As to the extent of annexation: this will probably depend much on circumstances, but I would not propose, in the first instance, going beyond the Dooars. Attempting to take up posts in the hills might bring you into a very unhealthy tract of forests, where it might be difficult to supply your detachments with the necessary supplies. I should rather be inclined to give up to the Booteahs a wide margin under the hills for any use they would make of it, allowing them to hold as subject villagers any ryots who may voluntarily choose to remain under their authority. In tracing a boundary in the Assam Dooars, I gave a line from promontory to promontory, leaving all the villages within it. If you do not allow them a proportion of the population, they will find it difficult to get their supplies, and the people living close under the hills will be a sort of half savages, who have been principally employed as porters and never paid any regular rents. On the Assam frontier such go-betweens are called Bohôteahs, who are not taxed by us.

The number of posts necessary to be kept will much depend on the disposition shown by the Booteahs on the occupation of the Dooars, and this must depend on the judgment of the head civil and military authorities on the spot.

Generally, one would advocate a few large posts, having, if possible, the advantage of navigable streams for their supplies, and to drop down the invalids to stations and hospitals below.

I believe the Dooars to the west, or near Julpigoree, are by far the most populous and best cultivated; those to the east, near the Monass, the Gowalparrab Dooar Gomah, Sidlee, and Bijnee, have a very slender population, and are very little cultivated, except by our own ryots, who make a bargain with the local officers for the season's crops. They grow principally rice, but further east the cultivation is much more varied, and jute appears to be the great article of export. When I first went to Cooch Behar, there were offers made by the Katmah of Mynagooree to pay a rent to Government of 5 lakhs rupees (Narainee, I presume) if our Government would take the country, and in 1857 the heads of districts made an offer to Mr. Halliday of 2½ or 3 lakhs rupees, on the same understanding. Mr. Halliday said he could not entertain any proposition of the kind.

As to the expense of holding the Dooars, I do not see how any one can say what that may possibly be, as it will depend so much on events and on the views of the military authority in command; but I should think there was almost a certainty that the revenue would cover all the expenses from the first. But it would be politic to remit all revenue for the

the first year. It is almost certain the Booteahs will have exacted the revenue in advance everywhere, and it would be the easiest way of settling any claims on this account to give the ryots one year of grace.

Hindoostanee regiments of any kind would suffer very greatly in any part of the Dooars, and I should recommend the immediate raising of a local corps, such as the Corps of Guides in the north-west, or the Darjeeling Pioneer Corps, for service in the Dooars. This latter corps is, I believe, entirely recruited from the Meches, the inhabitants of the Dooars. If raised in addition to the Darjeeling regiment, it would be fit for service almost immediately, though of course requiring at first the support of detachments of regular Sepoy Infantry. I would make this corps of very considerable strength; it can easily be reduced afterwards, but their services would be invaluable at first in opening roads and saving from exposure our regular infantry.

Young, active men from the Hindoostanee and Punjaub Corps could be selected as native officers, and for the promotion they would risk the 'unhealthiness, but throughout the Dooars there are a good number of Hindoostanees employed as traders, &c., but chiefly as elephant hunters, and some of these might be usefully engaged, from their local knowledge and from being hardened to the climate; many may be refugee Sepoys and to be guarded against.

The Dooars of Gowalparrah I certainly think should be administered from that station. The Dooars might be given in settlement to the Rajahs of Bijnee and Sidlee, and the Arung of Gomah, all Koches, and their connections have been for ages with Gowalparrah. No persons could settle there so advantageously as these, the hereditary proprietors of the Dooars.

The next Dooars in succession to the west, across the Sonkosh, would best be administered from Cooch Behar, with which they have so long been connected, and over which the Cooch Behar Government has strong claims, for we surrendered them, or some of them, to the Booteahs in a very arbitrary manner. There is still a branch of the Cooch Behar family, the Dewan Deo, who was the hereditary manager of the Dooars, and holds records regarding them to this day.

The more western Dooars did belong to the Julpigooree Rajah; Julpesh is the family temple of himself and other members of the family, and they might be settled with him, having the present local officers as his subordinates. Mynagooree was under the charge of a family related to that of the Cooch Behar Rajah, and when I was at Julpigooree, the heads of the villages wished for his restoration; the present Katmahs are, I think, Rung-pore people.

With regard to unhealthiness and the country. The Dooars, I conceive, are much on a par with the Nepal Terai, of which Mehals it is a continuation. From the beginning of November to the end of February is the only time of the year when military operations can be carried on without much danger to the health of both Europeans and Hindoostanees.

We had occasion once to send a party of sepoy, in the beginning of April, unto Bay Doar, and though only staying a very short time, the Soobadar and nearly all the detachment died of fever when they came in.

I have no doubt but cavalry would be found most useful in the Dooars. Plunderers, stealing down through the jungles and uncultivated parts, would care very little about being apprehended by sepoy; those they would avoid, as far as possible, of course, but they would hesitate greatly before they ventured into the neighbourhood of mounted troops, for, like all hillmen, as the Nepalese, they have the greatest dread of horsemen, and exaggerate greatly what cavalry can do.

I do not see how you can arrange posts and detachments. All this will depend so greatly upon circumstances and the opinions of the officer commanding, and to him all such arrangements must be entrusted. I do not know what force there is at Julpigooree; only a corps of cavalry, I think, but to commence the occupation of the Dooars there will be required, I should suppose, at least two native regiments in addition to the force already on the frontier. This regiment is already completely absorbed in its present duties, and not a man would be spared for the other side of the Monass, and therefore the native force to be employed must be drawn from Bengal or Hindoostan, and they should be ready for work by the 1st of November.

(signed) *F. Jenkins.*

APPENDIX (C).

You ask me about the Dooars in Assam and Bengal. Regarding the latter, I am simply unable to give you any information, as, although I have been from the Guddadhur River to the Teesta, along the whole line of border between Bootan and Cooch Behar, I never saw the hills once, they were so far off, consequently I could not possibly suggest localities for out-posts there.

Ponditree and Pelta are too far from the hills to be of any use as far as closing the Dooars are concerned. I have only once been in the Gowalparrah Dooars, and then only for two or three weeks in Sidlee Doar. Since I joined the regiment there has been no out-post west of Soobankhata.

There we ought to have a very strong guard, as it is a most important Doar, thousands

I may say of Booteahs resorting annually, in the cold season, to the haut there for the purpose of trading. It is also the high road to the great place of pilgrimage, "Hazoo" temple. The guard (when there was one there) was well up towards the gorge of the pass, and in the best possible position; one company at least ought to be stationed.

The site of the guard at Koomeekhata ought to be abandoned and the post advanced close to the hills to Goroogaon, close to the eastern Dewangari, past 12 miles from Soobankhata. Here I think 50 men would be enough, with a reserve at Koomeekhata for both the above posts. Next in order comes Devepang, 16 miles distant, a most eligible site for a guard on the spur of the hill on the left bank of the "Bor Nuddee." The guard here could look after both the contiguous dooars of Gurkolah and Kalling. It is not a much frequented pass, and I should say thirty men would suffice with a reserve at Sengnebaree, seven miles in the Dooar Kalling, in support for the protection of the rich country to the south of it.

Booree Gomah Dooar, east of that, the richest of the dooars, is but seldom visited by Booteahs; though the pass traders resort thither from Kooreeparah Dooar, still I think it would be perfectly advisable to post a guard well up to the hills on the "Bholla" Nuddee, say 30 men. Next close to that is Kooreeparah Dooar, where the great fair is held annually. The military post ought to be advanced from Oodalgooree to where it formerly was at Goomgaon within three miles of the hills.

Further east there is Char Doar and Baleeparah, but I'll reserve my say about them, as you don't require any information regarding them. The troops to be employed should be natives of the province, they not being liable to sickness in such localities, and I can confidently state that it would simply disorganise a western province regiment to employ them. Let them be kept in reserve on the Berhampooter at Chota and Tezpor. Police will not answer for frontier protection till they have been longer trained.

All the out-posts I have named are well supplied with water, and are well selected; Soobankhata, Goroogaon, Deochung, Boree Gomah, Goomgam; in the neighbourhood of Deochung there is a good deal of grass jungle, but at the other posts the country is generally speaking clear, open, and well adapted to the movement of mounted men, a body of whom (mounted on ponies), say 50 or 60, would be most useful, as knowing me and them; the Booteahs would hardly like to risk leaving the hills any distance and having their retreat cut off. Kooreeparah, I omitted to say, ought not to be occupied by less than a company. Until we see what the intention of these Booteahs are towards us, we cannot tell whether artillery will be required or not. My idea is, that artillery will not be required unless indeed they make a military demonstration, which however I don't think they have the means of doing. On the occasion of the "gillongs" taking refuge with us they threatened us with an invasion, and actually brought a large body of fully armed Tartar troops to "Nareegoomah," three good days from Kooreeparah, but they never ventured out of the hills. The commissariat of those troops too (dried beef and a kind of biscuit) had to be carried by coolies; and at the rate of one coolie to each fighting man you may imagine they could not bring much, and those same Tartars can't live on rice.

(signed) R. Campbell.

APPENDIX (D).

NOTES on the Bootan Dooars, and the Plains of Sidlee and Chota Bijnee.

1. *A General Description of the Country, with its probable Resources, Revenue, Population, Trade, and so forth.*

THE term "dooar," strictly applied, means simply a pass through the hills to the plains. The dooar best known in Gowalparrah are the Cheerung Dooar and the Ripoo Dooar. The former is presided over by a Soubah, known as the Cheerung Soubah, who has two residences, one at Cheerung in the hills, which he uses during the hot weather and rains, and the other at Bissa Sing Thannah, one march from the foot of the hills, where he lives during the cold season.

Cheerung is said to be three marches from Bissa Sing Thannah, seven marches from Ondipoor, the residence of a Jompe, or Booteah general, and about nine marches from Poonakha and Tassisjung, the residences, respectively, of the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs, the secular and spiritual heads of Bootan.

The Cheerung Soobah claims control over the plains of Sidlee and Chota Bijnee and a few small khas estates. Chota Bijnee may be said to be more tributary than subject to Bootan. The infant Rajah, Koomud Narain, whose estates of Koontaghaut and Habraghaut, in Gowalparrah, are under the management of the Court of Wards, is the present lord of Chota Bijnee. He pays a tribute of dried fish and such other commodities to the Booteahs, more in token of fealty than anything else, and receives an equivalent in the shape of ponies, hill clothes, &c. The Rajah's guardian, the Rani Kantessuri, has supreme authority within the limits of Chota Bijnee. The Rajah of Sidlee, Gouri Narain, is a Rajbungsee by caste. His residence is at a village called Nehatgaon, on the Kanibur, an affluent of the Champa Motti. The village is not marked on our maps, but is, I am told a short way east of Bassorparah, and to the south-east of Sam Singh Killah on the northern boundary of Koontaghaut.

The

The Sidlee Raj is hereditary, but the Deb Rajah has the power of changing the succession. The Cheerung Dooar and the plains subordinate form, it is said, a favourable specimen of the country under the Booteah rule. The population is probably larger and the land better cultivated in these plains than in those attached to the Ripoo Dooar. The reason of this, in a great measure, is that a large exodus of ryots from Koontaghaut took place on the settlement of that Pergunnah a few years ago. The ryots threw up their holdings in Koontaghaut owing to the assessments, which they found too heavy.

With a view to comparison I remark those rates were—

4 annas	a beegah	high	land.
9	"	"	low "
1 rupee	"	"	home "

It is impossible to form any but a rough estimate of the revenue at present derived from the plains subordinate to the dooars. The Sidlee lands are said to be best cultivated towards our frontier, nothing but dense jungle being met with for two days' journey south of the hills. The chief tax levied in Sidlee is a somewhat arbitrary one, called Bor Bangi, varying from Rs. 1. 8. to 3 rupees per head of a family. The felling of timber is also taxed; there is besides a nominal tax on ploughs: so much land as can be brought under cultivation with one plough and two bullocks is liable to be taxed at rates varying from one rupee to seven rupees Narainee. I very much question whether this tax is generally enforced.

The population of Sidlee and Chota Bijnee may be put down at about 8,000 males. After making allowance for evasion of tax, I estimate the revenue at present derived from this population at about (15,000) fifteen thousand rupees, exclusive of course of the cost of unpaid labour, and the value of such things as are appropriated by the collectors of the revenue and other underlings of the Booteah Government on their visits to the plains.

The trade with the hills is not very brisk. The imports consist of hill salt, wax, musk, pepper, species, chowries, Booteah cloths and blankets, knives, ponies, and occasionally cattle stolen from other dooars. The hillmen take in return betel-nut, pan, cotton, and India cloths, dried fish, mustard oil, and a little rice. I have said little of the Ripoo Dooar, as my inquiry has not been completed. Its presided over by the Dagga Pillo, who lives in the hills some three or four days' journey from Dotmah, a village on the north-western boundary of Koontaghaut and our nearest point to the hills; subordinate to the dooar of Ripoo are two plains of Ripoo and Goura.

2. *In the Event of Annexation, how far ought it to extend.*

I am strongly of opinion that for the present at least no steps should be taken to annex any portion of the hilly country. It will doubtless be necessary to take up posts a short distance within the hills to command the passes, but the occupation of these should be temporary. The annexation of the plains would be easy and profitable. We should meet with scarcely any opposition from the Booteahs, whereas an advance into the hills would be accompanied with much expense and harassment, if not bloodshed, without, as far as I can see, any immediate advantage. Our Government is so situated that once a false step is taken it is difficult to retrace it. After annexing the plains if it were found necessary to enter the hills there would be no greater difficulty than at present exists. Indeed, if whilst occupying the plains we cultivated the friendship of the hillmen, we should at a future date advance into Bootan proper with the good will of the people.

3. *A Detail of the Posts to be occupied by one Description of Force on the other, with especial Reference to the Cheerung Dooar.*

I premise by stating the stages along the only route known from Tassisujung to Chota Bijnee on the east and Ripoo on the west.

From Tassisujung to the plains of Chota Bijnee, Tassisujung, residence of Dhurma Rajah and a Jhompe.

1. Andipore, residence of a Jhompe.
2. Beappoo.
3. Berga, residence of an inferior Pillo.
4. Jhalla.
5. Richunna.
6. Hurrassoo.
7. Majja.
8. Cheerung, residence of Soobah.
9. Dooblong Thannah.
10. Baroh Bangaller Pookri.
11. Bissa Sing Thannah.
12. Pokki Hagga; at this point the hills cease.
13. Banks of Dhulpani.
14. Dhibbur Gaon.
15. Popporra Gaon; this stage is in Bijnee.
16. Soobai Jorra Thannah; this stage is in Bijnee.
17. Bijnee.

The route from Tassisujung to the plains of Ripoo and the West is the same as the above as far as Pokki Hagga; and from that as follows:—

12. Pokki Hagga.
13. Dewur Gaon.
14. Tanna Gaon.
15. Dotmah in Koontaghaut.

None of the above places are marked on the maps, excepting Dotmah on the north-west of Koontaghaut. I may remark that Tassisujung is said to be north-by-east of Dotmah, and Poonakha or Polluka, the residence of the Deb Rajah, some three days' journey to the north-by-east of Tassisujung.

I am of opinion that three regiments of infantry, with cavalry to keep up communication, and a few 12-pounder howitzers, would form an ample force to take and keep possession of the Bootan plains from Julpigooree to Bijnee. The following posts would, I think, be found advantageous in the first instance with reference to the Cheerung Dooar:

1st. Head-quarters of a regiment with cavalry and howitzers at Dhibbur Gaon in Sidlee. This village is on the Debburrdoo stream, not far from the Ai River. It is said to be a short day's journey north of Dholagaon, a village on the northern frontier of Koon-taghaut, and therefore not far from the residence of the Sidlee Rajah.

2nd. One hundred men at Bissa Sing Thannah, where there is flowing water all the year round. This is, as I have said, the cold weather residence of the Cheerung Soubar. The thannah is on a hill about 500 feet above the level of the plains. It is one day's journey from the foot of the hills at Pokki Hagga, which again is two marches from Dhibbur Gaon. Pokki Hagga lies north-by-east of Dotmah.

3rd. Fifty men half way between Dhibbur Gaon and Pokki Hagga on the Dhulpani River.

4th. Fifty men at Makra, a large village in Bijnee, inhabited by meches and rajbungsees, midway between and at a distance of half a day's journey from Dhibbur Gaon, and the Monass River; the latter the boundary between Chota Bijnee and Assam. Makra is not far from the hills, and there is said to be a good supply of water there.

5th. Small detachments of 25 or 30 men each would probably be required at Dotmah, on the north-western, and the bank of the Monass, on the north-eastern frontier of Koon-taghaut, and at Janna Gaon in Sidlee, said to be three days' journey south of Bissa Sing Thannah, one day's journey north of Dotmah in Koontaghaut, and two days' journey west of Dhibbur Gaon. I understand that small sorronga boats can go all the year round as far as Janna Gaon by the Sunkosh and Gungeed. I presume that the occupation of Bijnee would be friendly, and that posts on the proper left of the Monass would be taken up from Kamroop.

4. *An Estimate of the Cost of Military and Police necessary to hold the Country at first.*

I have stated that, in my opinion, to annex and keep the dooars, in the first instance a force of three regiments of infantry, some cavalry, and howitzers would be required.

When the country becomes settled, probably 300 constables, with their complement of officers, will be sufficient to maintain peace. Between Julpigooree and Bijnee I do not think police would be of much use until the Booteahs acquiesced in our proceedings, and even then the withdrawal of the military would be gradual. I am not in a position to estimate the cost of either the military or police. The question of police posts should for the present, I think, be left open. I must not forget to remark that the troops would have to be supplied from our own plains. With the Berhampooter as a base there would be no difficulty in the matter. Owing to the jungly nature of the country cavalry could not keep up their communications efficiently until roads were cut; a few pioneers would therefore not be out of place. I fancy Muniporee horsemen would answer admirably for the service.

5. *Should the Dooars North of Gawalparrah be attached to that District as to Cooch Behar?*

To do justice to the entire dooars, I considered they ought to be formed into a separate district, with the head-quarters of the Deputy Commissioner either in Sidlee, on the banks of the Ai River, or in the plains of Buxa, according as it may be determined to place him under Cooch Behar or Assam. In either case he would require an assistant at the other end of the district. There is no doubt that the officer for the dooars must be an officer of experience, quite equal to that of any Deputy Commissioner. To place him under a Deputy Commissioner, or to visit him with the mere powers of an assistant, would, in my opinion, be unnecessarily to trammel him.

6.—*What Establishment would be required.*

The establishment of the dooar district officer and his assistant should consist of copying and routine clerks. I suppose 350 rupees per month would cover the cost. The actual work should be carried on *vivâ voce*, and the entire proceedings of his court should be written by the district officer in his own hand.

7. *A General Statement of the Climate of the Dooars when healthy for Europeans, and when, owing to Malaria, the reverse. What, with reference to Health, would be the best Posts for Officers.*

From our experience of the Tezpoore Dooars, there can be no doubt that the climate under the Bootan hills is exceedingly dangerous to Europeans between the 15th March and the 15th November. It is impossible, with the present scanty knowledge of the country, to say what spot would be, as far as health is concerned, the best for the residence of the district officer. I dare say high ground, sufficiently distant from swamps, low jungle, and worse than all, putrifying rice fields, might be found in Buxa Dooar, or on the bank of the Ai River.

The Booteahs consider the low hills and the plains beyond most unhealthy during the season I have specified.

8. *What would be the proper Revenue and Judicial Arrangements to introduce in the first Instance?*

I am of opinion that for some time after the annexation no attempt should be made to assess the lands. The inhabitants of the dooars are for the most part a wild restless people, to whom the measurement of their fields would be extremely distasteful. I think an effort should be made to ascertain the average rates at which the ryots have been hitherto assessed, under whatever description of tax, and to demand a lump sum from each head of a family or house. It would be necessary, probably, to have two or three rates, according to the circumstances of the payers.

The collection might be left to heads of villages or communities, who would be paid by commission for their trouble.

I would introduce the whole Assam rules, with a few modifications, in both civil and criminal departments. They answered well for years in Assam, amongst people of somewhat similar origin as those to be found in the plains subordinate to the dooars of Bootan.

B. W. D. Morton, Captain,
Deputy Commissioner.

Gowalparrah, 27 July 1864.

From the Secretary to Government of Bengal to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 3,308 T); dated Darjeeling, the 17th September 1864.

I AM directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of a correspondence with the Commissary General, and to request that the Lieutenant Governor may be favoured with early instructions in regard to the measures contemplated for the occupation of the dooars, in order that arrangements may be made for collecting carriage and supplies for the troops.

From Commissary General, No. C. P. 1,
dated 13th instant.
To Commissary General, No. 3,306 T, dated
17th September.

From Colonel J. D. Macpherson, C.B., Commissary General, to the Honourable A. Eden, Secretary to Government of Bengal, Confidential (No. C. B. 1); dated Calcutta, the 13th September 1864).

THE following is an extract from a Telegraphic Message, No. 157, of the 10th instant, from Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B., Secretary, to Lieutenant Colonel H. K. Burne, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department:

"Instruct Colonel Macpherson to order a superior commissariat officer to proceed to Sahibgunge, there to collect carriage for the advance of troops that will reach that place by rail, and thence diverge towards Bootan. Carriage will be required at Sahibgunge for the Armstrong guns, four regiments Native Infantry, and two of cavalry, and two companies of sappers and miners. This officer will at once place himself in communication with the

Bengal Government as to the means of procuring carriage, and the description of carriage required. Further instructions will follow by post; and it is probable that four commissariat officers will be required for duty in November, with four separate columns."

I have also been further instructed that "two commissariat officers should proceed at once to Gowhatty, or wherever they can most readily join Brigadier General Mulcaster, and place themselves at his disposal; and two should proceed to Julpigoree, or wherever Colonel Dunsford may direct."

2. With reference to the above, I have the honour to solicit the instructions of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor in regard to the provision of the carriage, and its description, that will be required at Sahibgunge; and I will also be thankful to receive any orders that may be deemed necessary or advisable for guidance of the commissariat officers who will be ordered to join Brigadier General Mulcaster, and also for those who are to proceed to Julpigoree or elsewhere, as Colonel Dunsford may direct.

3. In case it may be deemed more convenient to you to communicate the Lieutenant Governor's orders direct to these officers, I beg to report that Captain A. Mackenzie, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, will be ordered to proceed without delay from Benares to Sahibgunge; that Captain C. Lane, Officiating Deputy Assistant Commissary General, will be ordered from Decca to join Brigadier General Mulcaster, and Captain J. Briggs, Sub-Assistant Commissary General, from Rawul Pindee.

4. In like manner, the officers I have selected for Colonel Dunsford's command are, Lieutenant G. L. Kier, Sub-Assistant Commissary General from Dinapore, and Lieutenant N. R. Burlton, Sub-Assistant Commissary General from Jubbulpore.

5. Under the impression that elephant carriage will be chiefly required, I note the following places from whence elephants may be drawn:—

Barrackpore	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
Berhampore	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
Chinsurah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Benares	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66
Dinapore	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69
Hazareebaugh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
Dorunda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Dacca	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80
Gowhatty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Deebrooghur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
Cherra Poonjee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
TOTAL										347

The whole of this number would not, however, be available, as they are not all in serviceable condition.

6. Any information in regard to collecting supplies for the several columns will also be thankfully received.

From the Secretary to Government of Bengal, to the Commissary General (No 3300 T); dated Darjeeling, the 17th September 1864.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. C. B. 1, dated 13th instant, and, in reply, to say that, up to the present time, this Government has not been informed of the details of the measures contemplated by the Government of India in regard to the occupation of the dooars, and it is therefore difficult for the Lieutenant Governor to say precisely what steps should be taken for the supply of carriage. But in collecting at Sahibgunge, or rather at Karagolah Ghât, on the north bank of the Ganges, all the elephants that can be spared from Barrackpore, Berhampore, Chinsurah, Benares, Dinapore, Hazareebaugh, and Dorunda, no mistake can be made.

2. The magistrate of Purneah will be desired to give Captain Mackenzie, the Deputy Assistant Commissary General, who is to be deputed to Karagolah, all the assistance in his power in procuring carts and in hiring elephants from zemindars and others, to carry baggage from Karagolah to Julpigoree; but as some difficulty will be felt in procuring carts for so large a force, it will, independently of other considerations, make it desirable to send a portion of the force, *via* Kooshtea, by water to Doobree, making a dépôt at that place: the stores and baggage can be sent up that far by steamer, and some of the elephants from Dacca might be sent there. If a column is formed at Doobree, a civil officer will be deputed there to aid the Sub-Assistant Commissary General in procuring carriage and ascertaining the resources of the district; but until the Lieutenant Governor is informed of the precise nature of the operations to be undertaken, it is impossible to make any final arrangements in respect to this proposal.

3. The deputy magistrate of Julpigoree, and the magistrate of Rungpore, will give the commissariat officers* to be posted at Julpigoree every assistance. Possibly, it would be well at once to build there temporary commissariat godowns, and to collect as much attah as can be obtained in the neighbourhood. The local supply, however, is not very great, and it would, perhaps, be well if you were to order up a considerable supply at one to Julpigoree before the available carriage is all required for the movement of the troops: ghee, &c., can be obtained on the spot.

* Lieut. G. I. Kier, Sub-Assistant Commissary General; Lieut. N. R. Burlton, Sub-Assistant Commissary General.

4. I am to inform you that Purneah and Rungpore have a considerable local supply of such carriage as pack bullocks and ponies, and endeavours will be made to hire elephants from the zemindars of the neighbourhood.

5. In conclusion, I am to forward, for your information, copy of a communication† from the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, regarding the Bootan Dooars, and to state that a copy of a similar communication, from the Commissioner of Assam, will be sent to you from the office at the Presidency.

† No. 227, dated 2d ultimo, with enclosures.

From the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal (No. 545); dated Simla, 30th September 1864.

I AM directed by the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, dated the 8th and 17th September, Nos. 2978 T. and 3308 T., both of which were received on the 28th September, and in reply, to observe as follows:—

2. The Lieutenant Governor must before this have been in possession of the letters in the military and foreign departments, informing him of what it is proposed to do against the Bootanese, and of the nature and character of the force to be employed. Any further information or instructions which it may appear expedient to issue from time to time will be duly communicated. The main point at present is to open out fair weather roads, as far as practicable, throughout that portion of the British territory which is in the vicinity of the country, and will be the field of the proposed operations; to collect supplies, to gain information of every kind which may prove useful, and to procure a sufficiency of carriage.

3. The Government know so little of the country, so little of the precise character of the Dooars, that it would be useless to attempt at present to decide up to what limit our occupation of the country should extend. It will be for the officers in command of troops, in communication with the chief civil officers appointed to accompany them, to decide on the time and manner of the advance. The civil officers in particular must be careful in collecting every item of information which may be useful to the military authorities, which will enable them to determine on the best line to take up, and which may conduce to the proper administration of the country. It will be of the first importance that the positions which are to be occupied shall be salubrious and suitable for the defence of the border.

4. His Excellency in Council concurs with the Lieutenant Governor that, in the first instance at any rate, the revenue arrangements should be for a single year. The primary consideration will be to respect the just rights of all classes, while care is taken that no class be allowed to oppress the people generally. Before it is decided what the settlement shall be, it will be well to have some idea of the character of the present tenures of the land.

5. If an officer is available to inspect the forests, such an arrangement may be carried out; but his Excellency in Council apprehends that the country will scarcely be sufficiently safe to enable him to do much in this way. It is of much more importance that such a general topographical survey should be secured as will be useful for military and police objects.

6. The Governor General in Council is in no wise inclined to give any portion of the dooars to Cooch Behar; that chiefship is already quite large enough. The military expenses of the expedition and the occupation and administration of the country will, in the first instance, probably exceed the revenue of the country we occupy.

7. The military operations must be left to the discretion of the military commanders assisted by the information of the civil commissioners; and in like manner the police arrangements should be made by the latter officers in consultation with the military officers.

From the Secretary to Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 3434); dated Darjeeling, the 22d September 1864.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 480, dated the 12th instant, in regard to the contemplated occupation of the Bengal Dooars of Bootan, and in reply, to state that the Lieutenant Governor entirely concurs in the view expressed in paragraph 13, with reference to the proposed new line of frontier. In regard to Cheerung, an opinion in accordance with the views of his Excellency the Governor General in Council has already been expressed in my letter, No. 2978 T., dated 8th instant, forwarding Colonel Hopkinson's Report on the dooars.

2. With reference to your 14th paragraph, I am to say that every effort will be made fully to carry out the instructions of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, and to provide carriage and supplies for the troops at all points where they may be required.

(No. 79.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*.

Foreign Department (Political),
8 November 1864.

Sir,

From Government of Bengal, dated 5th Oct. 1864, No. 3893 T.
Ditto, No. 3904 T.
Ditto, dated 11th Oct. 1864, No. 4116 T.

In continuation of the correspondence forwarded with our letter, No. 88, dated 15th ultimo, we have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of further letters from the Government of Bengal, as per margin, relating to Bootan affairs.

We have, &c.
(signed) *J. Lawrence.*
H. B. Harington.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.

From the Secretary to Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 3893T); dated Darjeeling, the 5th October 1864.

1. From the Amlah of the Bootan Durbar, dated Bhadro.
2. From the Dalimkote Soubah, dated 9th Assin.

I AM directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward herewith, for the information of the Government of India, translation of two letters addressed by the Bootan authorities to Cheeboo Lama, and to observe that these communications serve to show the temper of the Bootanese Government, and indicate the danger in which Sikkim is placed from Bootanese hostility in consequence of what has passed.

Translation of a Perwanah of the Amlah of the Bootan Durbar, to *Cheeboo Lama*, (dated Bhadro).

THE Dalimkote Soubah's urzee has arrived. The English Sahibs are making a fort before Kalunpong, and are making every preparations for war in this matter. In the papers signed there was talk of war if the things were not returned (restitution made) by Bhadro; when it was signed (the Treaty) last year at Poonakha, the English did not understand us, and we did not understand them; you were the interpreter: if it was not a matter of agreement, still no force was used. If we had, it should have been mentioned then; it was willingly signed. Afterwards Eden Sahib going down and deceiving the Governor caused him to write to the Deb Rajah saying we had used violence to Mr. Eden. Our (of Bootan) custom is this, that an answer once given is given, and a bargain made is made; so we did not inform the Deb of the above. If the last year's Treaty is not allowed, if another right-dealing Sahib will come, or if a Vakeel is wanted from here, write and say so; so we have sent this perwanah to you; but if an attack is made upon us, right or wrong, recollect well that you are responsible as the go-between. We cannot make restitution of anything now, because the low country is unhealthy and Envoy could not go now; in the cold weather, when the sickness is less, call for him; if this is not to be, it must be as they wish. The case of dacoity and theft is as follows:—In the Rajah's (of Behar) territory and ours the faults are equal; besides this, they (the English Government) have taken seven talooks of the Dongsa Teraie, and, besides the Fallacotta revenue has been withheld for some years; for this cause we are the people to declare war instead

instead of which they (the British Government) are doing it: make them do right; if we can withstand them, we will; if not, we will remain still. Now you are the originator of confusion here and there between the English and the Dhurma; you are a Sikkimite, and we shall have something to say to you; remembering this, persuade the Sahiblogue well. If there is no confusion between the English and the Dhurma, there will be nothing to say between us; if you do make mischief, it will not harm us: having considered all this, send a reply through the Dalimkote Soubah.

Translation of a Letter from the Dalimkote Soubah, to Cheeboo Lama, dated 9th Assin.

THIS is my request to you. I have received your letter telling me to write also to the Dhurma about the disagreement between the English and the Dhurma, and I have written to the Dhurma Amlah that friendship should remain between the English and them.

The reply to that on the 8th Assin in the evening arrived, to the effect that you, Cheeboo Lama, were the interpreter between the English, when they came, and the Durbar. If the English now say the Treaty will not stand, why did not they say so then? If they had, we also were ready to treat last year. If Mr Eden, the Envoy, and you and I now return to the Durbar, they say they will now settle matters on a proper footing.

But if the British Government has any other intention, then tell us so at once. It is thus written in the perwanah sent to you by the Amlah:—In this matter consider well what has passed and what will be. In this place it will be well neither for me nor for you; you are intelligent; you will readily understand. Besides this, what will be the order of the Sudder Dhurma to the Sikkim Rajah I know not; this being the case, it will not be well for you either; you are intelligent. If the messenger, Penchoong, delays at Darjeeling, send a speedy answer, and the letter of the Durma Rajah, which he wrote in reply in Sawan, being sent by the Gunglok Kazee by dâk, must have reached you; no answer has been written; a perwanah to that effect from the Sudder Dhurma has reached me; you will learn all from Penchoong (the bearer of the letter).

(examined) *L. C. Mullins.*

From the Secretary to Government of Bengal to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No 3904T); dated Darjeeling, the 5th October 1864.

I AM directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward herewith, for the information of the Government of India, a copy of a memorandum embodying certain information received in this office through Cheeboo Lama regarding the state of affairs at Lhasa. The Lama's suggestion for the employment of intelligent Lepcha scouts to watch the frontier along the whole of the Teesta bank is, in his Honor's opinion, a good one; and the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling has this day been desired to arrange for carrying out the proposal with the assistance of the Lama.

MEMORANDUM, dated 30th September 1864.

Cheeboo Lama reports that there is a great disturbance in Lhasa.

It is known to Government that a few years ago a person named Satya, supported by the powerful influence of the monks of Dephoong and Garding, revolted successfully against the Rajah of Lhasa, Reteng, and drove him out of the country. Reteng came away to China. There has for years past been a war between a Rajah of a frontier China State, called Nyakroon, and the Kumpa Rajah on the Thibet frontier. The Nyakroon Rajah is now assisting Reteng, and a very strong force of Chinese under the Sakpo Rajah is now marching on Lhasa with the view of adjusting the dispute and of removing Satya. There is a fearful panic in Lhasa; Satya is in a state of great alarm, not a word on the subject is allowed to be spoken, and the Sikkim Durbar are afraid to communicate on the subject in writing to Cheeboo. A Thibet nobleman speaking of the invasion, and sneering at Satya, was seized, an ink-mark was made round his mouth by Satya, and the mouth was cut off up to that mark, and a proclamation was issued by beat of drum warning others who spoke of the invasion that they would share the same fate. Lhasa is being fortified in every direction. Satya is supported by the Lamas, but not by the people.

Great importance is attached to this news by Cheeboo. He anticipates a fearful struggle in Lhasa. He has sent some men to see exactly the state of things.

Cheeboo Lama suggests that 20 trustworthy and intelligent Lepchas should be employed to watch the frontier along the whole of the Teesta bank, to see that no preparations are made for crossing over from Bootan.

Translation of a Letter from *Cheeboo Luma*, Dewan of the Sikkim Rajah, to the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling; dated 5th October 1864.

THE messenger, Penchong, who brought the last letter (from Dalimkote), has again come to me, and represents that on the 25th of last month the Soubah of Dalimkote, after despatching his goods, sent his own servants to realise the rents due by the ryots from the munduls and karbaries who were plainsmen. These munduls and karbaries, who are of the caste of Rajbungshees, were found to have fled into the British territory, but the ryots have not yet fled, and for the above reason the Soubah has not yet gone to the Durbar.

2. It is the custom from the most ancient times amongst them (the Soubahs) to take chintz, &c., as a nuzzer to the Durbar, and for the purpose of purchasing the same the Soubah of Dalimkote has sent the said messenger, Penchong, to Darjeeling; he has already sent his family, and on the 9th current he must start for the Durbar by way of Choomlee.

3. The fort, &c., are now under the charge of the successor of the old Soubah.

4. On the death of the new Deb Rajah the Amlah of the Bootan Durbar have, after consultation, again placed on the guddee the former Rajah who was deposed by the Tongso Pillo.

5. A perwannah with the seal and signature of the new Deb Rajah has been received by the new Soubah of Dalimkote. It is to the following effect:—

“On account of the hot weather the Bootanese force is unable to move towards the Teraie; if, while this lasts, you receive any intelligence that the British force is coming with warlike purpose, you must inform me without delay, so that I can dispatch troops from this towards Darjeeling.”

* Cheeboo.

6. The old Soubah of Dalimkote has sent me word that “if you* intend to go to Sikkim you must go carefully.”

Forwarded to the Secretary to Government of Bengal for his information.

(signed) *H. C. Wake.*

(No. 4116 T.)

FORWARDED to the Government of India, Foreign Department, for information.

By Order, &c.

Darjeeling, 11 October 1864.

(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to Government of Bengal.

(No. 88.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*.

Foreign Department, Political,
22 November 1864.

Sir,

IN continuation of the correspondence forwarded with our letter to your address, No. 88, dated 5th ultimo, relating to Bootan affairs, we have the honour to transmit, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of further papers.

We invite attention to our letter to the Bengal Government, No. 485, dated 12th November.

We have, &c.

(signed) *J. Lawrence.*
R. Napier.
H. B. Harington.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.

From the Secretary to Government of Bengal to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 3789 T.); dated Darjeeling, 3d October 1864.

I AM directed by the Lieutenant Governor to submit, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the enclosed copy of a letter this day addressed to Colonel Haughton, Commissioner of Cooch Behar, appointing him to be Political Agent and chief civil officer with the force proceeding to occupy the Bootan Dooars, and detailing the further steps taken to give him assistance in that capacity and in his capacity of Commissioner, Cooch Behar. * No 3763 T.

2. His Honor desires me to say that detailed instructions will be sent to the Political Agent as soon as this Government is placed in possession of the views of the Governor General in Council, as indicated in paragraph 17 of your letter, No. 480, dated 12th ultimo, and of any further directions his Excellency may have to give as to the language to be held to the Bootan Government on entering its territory, and the terms on which overtures on their part will be received.

From the Secretary to Government of Bengal to the Commissioner of Cooch Behar (No. 3763 T.); dated Darjeeling, 3d October 1864.

I AM directed to inform you that the Lieutenant Governor has been pleased to appoint you to be Political Agent and chief civil officer with the force proceeding to occupy the Bootan Dooars in addition to your present appointment of Commissioner of Cooch Behar.

2. You will draw a salary of 500 rupees per mensem, chargeable to the British Government, besides the salary you now receive from Cooch Behar as Commissioner of that State.

3. As political officer you will be in charge of British relations with Bootan, and on this subject you will receive instructions hereafter. In this capacity you will exercise all the powers and functions now exercised by the Governor General's Agent on the North-East Frontier in all matters having reference to our political relations with Bootan, and that officer's political functions in regard to Bootan will be suspended as on the occasion of the late mission to that country.

4. As civil officer with the force you should attach yourself to the head-quarters of the general commanding the left and left centre columns, and you will be responsible for all arrangements for supplies and carriage, as already directed, and will see that private rights are respected, that everything is paid for, &c., and that the people are kindly treated.

5. Mr. Beveridge will be appointed to officiate temporarily as Deputy Commissioner of Cooch Behar. He will draw, while so employed, a deputation allowance of 300 rupees per mensem, payable by the British Government, and will relieve you of the details of administration in Cooch Behar, acting under your directions and control.

6. Mr. T. A. Donough will be your assistant in your capacity of civil officer with the force, and may be most conveniently employed with the left column. Mr. Donough will draw, while so employed, a deputation allowance of 100 rupees a month in addition to his present salary, and will also receive the usual travelling allowances.

7. Mr. C. T. Metcalfe will be Deputy Commissioner and civil officer attached to the right and right centre columns, having his head-quarters with the camp of the general commanding those columns. He will be directed to act under your general directions, and the Commissioner of Assam will be requested to give him every assistance, and direct the local district officers to do the same.

Mr. Metcalfe will draw a salary of 1,000 rupees per mensem, and be vested with the powers of a Deputy Commissioner in Gowhatty and Gowalparah.

8. Mr. J. J. S. Driberg will be also your assistant, but will act under the immediate orders of Mr. Metcalfe, and may be employed with the right column. He, like Mr. Donough, will draw a deputation allowance of 100 rupees per mensem, in addition to his present salary, and will also receive the usual travelling allowances.

From Colonel H. M. Durand, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal (No. 604); dated Allahabad, 26th October 1864.

IN reply to your letter, dated 3d instant, No. 3789 T., on the subject of the appointment of Colonel Haughton, Commissioner of Cooch Behar, as Political Agent and chief civil officer with the force proceeding to occupy the Bootan Dooars, and of the further

steps taken to give him assistance in that capacity and as Commissioner of Cooch Behar, I am directed to state that his Excellency the Governor General in Council entirely approves of the action of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

2. With reference to paragraph 2 of your letter under acknowledgment, a further communication will be made hereafter.

From the Junior Secretary to Government of Bengal, to Colonel *J. C. Haughton*, Political Agent and Chief Civil Officer with the Doar Field Force (No. 4768); dated Fort William, 4th November 1864.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your memorandum, No. 42, dated the 27th ultimo, and, in reply, I am to inform you that the Lieutenant Governor approves of the instructions issued by you to Mr. C. T. Metcalfe in your letter, No. 41, of the 24th idem, to his address. I am to say that the Lieutenant Governor desires that Mr. Metcalfe should for the present have his head-quarters with the Brigadier General commanding; any formal communication with the Thibetans or Booteahs should be avoided as far as possible for the present.

From *C. T. Metcalfe*, Esq., Civil Officer with Right and Right Centre Column, to Colonel *J. C. Haughton*, Political Agent to Governor General, Cooch Behar; dated Gowalparah, 21st October 1864.

I HAVE the honour, under instructions from the Government of Bengal, first, to report my arrival this day, October 21st, at Gowalparah: secondly, to place myself under your general directions as to the ensuing campaign. Under the instructions conveyed in the above G. O., I propose to proceed this day to Gowhatty, and place myself in communication with the Brigadier General commanding. I have already communicated with Captain Morton, the Deputy Commissioner at this place, and Captain Briggs, Sub-Assistant Commissary General, with reference to supplies and carriage for troops for the column at Gowalparah, and with Captain Lance, concerning the one at Gowhatty. To the Gowalparah column there is about one month's provision in store. The great want is for wheat; wheat, I fear, will have to be brought from Calcutta. About the carriage for this column I do not apprehend any difficulty. With reference to the Gowhatty column, there is also one month's provision in store; this column, however, requires elephants, about which I fear there will be some difficulty. After seeing the general at Gowhatty, I propose to proceed to Bijnee, to which place 100 men of the 44th Regiment Native Infantry are this day proceeding. I shall be here on the frontier, and more likely to learn information as to the Booteahs in the dooars than by remaining at Gowhatty; should this plan tally with any instructions I may receive from you, I shall communicate with you either from Bijnee or Sidlee. The Rajah of the latter place, from what I hear, seems inclined to give in his assistance at once; I would request instructions as to the nature of any communications I may have with him, as also of our general policy with the Booteahs. I am organising an intelligence department for those columns, and shall organise a dâk service for the two columns.

From Lieutenant Colonel *J. C. Haughton*, Chief Civil Officer, Dooar Field Force, and Political Agent, to *C. T. Metcalfe*, Esq., Civil Officer, Assam Column, Dooar Field Force (No. 41); dated 24th October 1864.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 21st instant, reporting your arrival at Gowalparah, and notifying your intention of proceeding to Gowhatty, to join the Brigadier General commanding.

You had also communicated with Captain Morton, the Deputy Commissioner, to the commissariat officers, and had learnt that there were about one month's provisions in hand, but that the chief want was wheat; elephants were also wanting, and you proposed proceeding to Bijnee for the purpose of obtaining information, a detachment of 100 of 44th Native Infantry having been sent to that place. You ask the nature of communications to be held with the Rajah of Bijnee and with the Booteahs, and notify that you are organising a dâk and intelligence department for each of the columns.

As I am aware that the supply of wheat at Gowalparah is so small as to render the Deputy Commissioner unable to furnish even one day's supply to his assistant at Doobree, I have this day sent up to that place 400 maunds, in addition to 50 maunds of wheat already sent to the Assistant Commissioner, with a view to its being forwarded to Gowalparah; the entire quantity is sufficient to supply a regiment for one month.

There appear to be about 60 public elephants now in Assam; there are about 30 more private elephants in Doobree; looking to the close contiguity to the frontier of both columns, and to the fact that the country is pierced to the very frontier by navigable streams in numerous places, I think, if need be, you will be able to move the columns with this amount of land carriage; but the commissariat are sending up 144 elephants for

the Assam columns, and should it be necessary to move before they arrive, I think some more private elephants may be rendered available in Assam, and I shall render any assistance in my power.

I am not informed of the causes which have led to the detachment of a company of 44th Native Infantry to Bijnee, and cannot therefore speak with confidence as to the advisability of your proceeding thither or not, but I would point out that the Government, while leaving you a large discretion, expects you to be generally near the Brigadier General commanding in-chief, and I think it will be judicious to consult him when intending to proceed to any distance or to be absent for any length of time.

The (minor) Rajah of Bijnee, I would observe, is a British subject, holding large possessions in Assam, though at the same time tributary to the Booteahs, as regards his possessions beyond the Assam border; I do not doubt his willingness to come under British rule entirely. The Government intend prior to our entering on possession of the dooars, to put forth a proclamation; in it the stations of Sidlee and Bijnee will probably be noticed, but in the meantime I may say that no option in the matter will be given to these zemindars, and I have no objection to their knowing the fact; you may assure them that they will be favourably and liberally treated.

I have directed copies of all documents received by me containing indications of the Government policy towards the Booteahs to be forwarded to you; those that do not go to you by this opportunity will follow hereafter. I have heard that the frontier Booteahs of Assam are rather disposed to place themselves under our protection than to oppose us; you will be better able to decide upon the truth or otherwise of this report than I am, but I may say that any who voluntarily placed themselves under our protection, or offered to do so, should be assured that they will not be molested; but until the Government proclamation appears, it will not be desirable to commit yourself to statements or declarations of our policy. If occasion arise, there can be no objection to your stating that our present attitude is caused by the persistent injustice of the Government of Bootan for many years. They have met all our complaints with insolence, when threatened have apologized, but no sooner has an offence been condoned on the frontier of Assam, than we have had a fresh one given to us on the frontier of Cooch Behar or Sikkim; that they have in no single instance done justice on complaint, though always ready to promise to do so; that on no occasion have captives carried off from our territory, or property stolen, been returned to us, and that the Booteahs in this and many other respects have disregarded the treaty made with us in 1774; that to this hour they hold hundreds of our subjects in slavery; that, after failure of all other peaceable means to obtain justice, we sent an envoy to them; him they insulted, and compelled, under threats, to sign a document renouncing the Assam Dooars; therefore, having exhausted every means of obtaining redress, we determine as a punishment for the past and a security for the future, to take possession of the whole of the plains held by the Booteahs, occupying such posts in the hills as may be needed for the purpose at present; that whether we allow the Booteahs any share in the profits of the land we now take, or advance further, must depend on the conduct of the Booteahs themselves. Of course if they make peace with us before we compel them, they may expect us to grant them more favour at Dewangiri than at Poonakha. Such is, I think, an outline of the language we should hold towards the Booteahs, and such the explanation I would give to any of the Thibetans you may communicate with.

I would lose no opportunity of giving confidence to the Thibetans, but perhaps it will be best to avoid communicating with them by a formal declaration, till the Government proclamation is out.

MEMORANDUM, No. 42.

THE copy forwarded, for the information of Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, to the Secretary to Government, Bengal.

Cooch Behar,
27 October 1864.

(signed) *J. C. Haughton*,
Lieutenant Colonel, Chief Civil Officer
and Political Agent.

(No. 4769.)

FORWARDED to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department for information.

From *C. U. Aitchison*, Esq., Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Junior Secretary to Government of Bengal (No. 475); dated Fort William, 12th November 1864.

IN reply to your memorandum, No. 4769, dated 4th November, I am directed to inform you that the Viceroy and Governor General in Council approves of the terms of Mr. Bayley's letter to Colonel Haughton, No. 4768, dated 4th November.

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal (No. 485); dated Fort William, 12th November 1864.

IN continuation of my letter, No. 604, dated 26th October, and with reference to paragraph 17 of my letter, No. 480, dated 12th September, I am directed by the Viceroy and Governor General in Council to forward a proclamation to be issued when the British troops enter the Bengal Dooars. The proclamation should be carefully translated into the vernacular, and made as widely known in the annexed districts as possible.

2. The occupation of the country is not to be delayed on any grounds, and no overtures are to be attended to from the Bootan Government unless they are prepared to treat on the following conditions:

1st. The Bootan Government to surrender all the Bengal Dooars and the hill territory on the left bank of the Teesta, up to such points on the water-shed of the lower range of hills as may be laid down by the British Commissioner.

2d. That the Bootanese give up the two documents extorted from Mr. Eden, and send a chief of rank to make their apologies for their flagrant misconduct to the envoy.

3d. That they surrender all captives still detained in Bootan against their will.

4th. That the Bootan Government enter into a treaty of friendship and fair dealing for the future.

3. In the event of the Bootan Government being willing to treat on these conditions, the British Government will be prepared to give them an annual grant of not less than 25,000 rupees, to be hereafter increased with reference to the prosperity of the tract we now take from Bootan up to 50,000 rupees; but this grant is entirely to depend on the will and pleasure of the British Government and the proper behaviour of the Bootanese.

PROCLAMATION.

Foreign Department—Political. Fort William, 12th November 1864.

FOR many years past outrages have been committed by subjects of the Bootan Government within British territory, and in the territories of the Rajahs of Sikhim and Cooch Behar. In these outrages property has been plundered and destroyed, lives have been taken, and many innocent persons have been carried into and are still held in captivity.

The British Government, ever sincerely desirous of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states, and especially mindful of the obligations imposed on it by the Treaty of 1774, has endeavoured, from time to time, by conciliatory remonstrance, to induce the Government of Bootan to punish the perpetrators of these crimes, to restore the plundered property, and to liberate the captives. But such remonstrances have never been successful, and, even when followed by serious warning, have failed to produce any satisfactory result. The British Government has been frequently deceived by vague assurances and promises for the future, but no property has ever been restored, no captive liberated, no offender punished, and the outrages have continued.

In 1863 the Government of India, being averse to the adoption of extreme measures for the protection of its subjects and dependent allies, dispatched a special mission to the Bootan Court, charged with proposals of a conciliatory character, but instructed to demand the surrender of all captives, the restoration of plundered property, and security for the future peace of the frontier.

This pacific overture was insolently rejected by the Government of Bootan. Not only were restitution for the past and security for the future refused, but the British envoy was insulted in open Durbar, and compelled, as the only means of ensuring the safe return of the mission, to sign a document which the Government of India could only instantly repudiate.

For this insult the Governor General in Council determined to withhold for ever the annual payments previously made to the Bootan Government on account of the revenues of the Assam Dooars and Ambaree Fallakotta, which had long been in the occupation of the

the British Government, and annexed those districts permanently to British territory. At the same time, still anxious to avoid an open rupture, the Governor General in Council addressed a letter to the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs, formally demanding that all captives detained in Bootan against their will should be released, and that all property carried off during the last five years should be restored.

To this demand the Government of Bootan has returned an evasive reply, from which can be gathered no hope that the just requisitions of the Government of India will ever be complied with, or that the security of the frontier can be provided for otherwise than by depriving the Government of Bootan and its subjects of the means and opportunity of future aggression.

The Governor General in Council has, therefore, reluctantly resolved to occupy permanently and annex to British territory the Bengal Dooars of Bootan, and so much of the hill territory, including the forts of Dallingkot, Pasakha, and Dewangiri, as may be necessary to command the passes, and to prevent hostile or predatory incursions of Bootanese into the Darjeeling district or into the plains below. A military force, amply sufficient to occupy this tract and to overcome all resistance, has been assembled on the frontier, and will now proceed to carry out this resolve.

All chiefs, zemindars, munduls, ryots, and other inhabitants of the tract in question are hereby required to submit to the authority of the British Government, to remain quietly in their homes, and to render assistance to the British troops and to the Commissioner who is charged with the administration of the tract. Protection of life and property, and a guarantee of all private rights, is offered to those who do not resist, and strict justice will be done to all. The lands will be moderately assessed, and all oppression and extortion will be absolutely prohibited.

The future boundary between the territories of the Queen of England and those of Bootan will be surveyed and marked off, and the authority of the Government of Bootan within this boundary will cease for ever.

By order of the Governor General in Council,

(signed) *H. M. Durand*, Colonel,
Secretary to the Government of India.

MEMORANDUM No. 50.

THE accompanying translation of a letter from the Dwar Deo, a member of the Cooch Behar family, but a subject of Bootan, and living in Buxa Dooar, is forwarded to the Secretary to Government of Bengal for the information of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor.

(signed) *I. C. Haughton*, Lieut-Col.,
Political Agent and Chief Civil Officer
with the Dooar Field Force.

Cooch Behar, 31 October 1864.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *Gogendranath*, the Dwar Deo; dated 12 Cartic 355 Shoka.

I HAVE the honour to state that my silence for so long after having an interview with you may be accounted for that I have seen or heard no preparations of war.

In the Assin last the Deb Maharajah breathed his last, and a new Deb Rajah having ascended the throne, established a shobha. On Friday, the 29th of Assin, after arriving at Buxa, he called for my eldest son to be present in the shobha, who intends to attend it within five or seven days; after his arrival from the shobha, I will let you know all I can learn about the matter. With my best exertions I have not neglected my duties to you; if I have done anything to offend you, on account of my ignorance, I hope that you will be kind enough to forgive me. I send herewith a white piece of cloth (net mala) as a sign of respect, and hope that you will accept it.

(No. 4818.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, for information.

By Order, &c.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Fort William, 5 November 1864. •• Junior Secretary to Government of Bengal.

COPY of Statement made by the Police Spy sent out by Captain *W. S. Fagan*, District Superintendent, Police, Kamroop; dated Gowhatty, 12th October 1864.

OOLAHURRA, inhabitant of pergunnah Pandooree, states:—I left Dewangiri, in company with three other men, eight days ago, we having been there during three days for the purpose of trading. I saw no signs of excitement or disturbance (goolmal) at Dewangiri, but heard that, at Salika, which is one day's journey thence, there were 10 or 12 Rajahs assembled.

I heard the people of Dewangiri talking amongst themselves and saying that those Rajah's had been collected from all parts of Bootan, for the purpose of consulting regarding the stoppage of payment by the Sirkar of the rent of the dooars.

The "Jengpun," who is the Rajah's "muntree" (adviser), was in authority at Dewangiri, in the absence of the Rajah, who was at the assembly of Rajahs at Salika.

I saw nothing whatever like preparations for fighting at Dewangiri, but heard the Booteahs saying among themselves that they were going to receive assistance from the country of "Cheen," and that then they would fight the Sirkar.

In going and returning I saw the usual Booteah guard at Durrunga Chowkey; it is composed of 10 or 12 men, who are armed with toongrees (long knives); they have no guns or muskets. When I went to Dewangiri the "chowial" (commander of the guard) at Durrunga allowed us to pass on paying the usual "dustoree," five seers of rice and eight annas worth of cloth off every piece of cloth we had, but on our return he told us that we should not be allowed any more to go further towards Dewangiri than the place where his guard is.

That place, Durrunga, is three hours' journey from the boundary of the Sirkar's land. I heard it said that the chief Rajah, at the assembly at Salika, was the Rajah of Tungsir, who is next in authority to the Deb Rajah.

I went into Bootan this last time by Koomrikhatta and Silka. As far as Durrunga Chowkey the road is up the bed of a nuddee, in which the water was up to my knees; it is generally the same depth. An elephant with a load could go as far as Durrunga Chowkey, but certainly not further, as there the road leaves the nuddee and the way is up and down steep rocks; a coolie carrying a load could go all the way to Dewangiri.

Three months ago I went in by Soobunkhatta; by that way elephants with loads can go all the way to Dewangiri.

In former years, in Bogle Sahib's time, I have seen the Rajah's elephants travelling on that road.

From Deheea, where the hills begin, a traveller could reach Dewangiri in six or eight hours.

At present the Booteahs have made nothing like forts or stockades on the road, as they did when they fought before with the Sirkar; but when the Durbar (the assembly of Rajah's) at Saliki is finished, then, perhaps, they will do something. I am willing to go to Dewangiri again if I am ordered, but I do not know if the guard will let me pass, as they told me no one was to go to Dewangiri in future.

MEMORANDUM No. 109.

THE undersigned has the honour to forward, for the information of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor, the above copy of statement, made by a police spy sent out by the District Superintendent of Kamroop, as to the present state of Dewangiri.

The original has been communicated to the military authorities.

Assam, 18 October 1864.

(signed) *Henry Hopkinson*,
Agent, Governor General, and Commissioner.

(No. 4916.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, for information.

By Order, &c.

Fort William, 10 November 1864.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Junior Secretary to Government of Bengal.

(Foreign Department, Political—No. 108.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., G.C.B., Her Majesty's
Secretary of State for India.

Sir,

Fort William, 22 December 1864.

IN continuation of the correspondence forwarded with our letter, No. 88, dated 22d November, relating to Bootan affairs, we have the honour to transmit, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of further papers as per accompanying abstract of contents.

We have, &c.

(signed) *J. Lawrence.*
R. Napier.
H. B. Harrington.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.

From the Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal,
Calcutta (No. 714); dated 9th November 1864.

I HAVE the honour to forward translations in Hindostanee and English of letters from the Bootan Durbar to the Lieutenant Governor, yourself, and Cheebo Lama; they are dated simply "Chand-de-tarik."

2. When the Booteahs betake themselves to argument, their expressions are so obscure, and so much is left to imagination, that it is extremely difficult to arrive at their meaning. I have therefore sent both Hindostanee and English that you may yourself determine the doubtful passages.

3. The translations read very boldly, but I have thought it better to translate as nearly as possible than to run the risk of altering the meaning for the sake of elegant writing.

4. My news from Bootan is, that there is no collection of troops going on at Dalimkote or Dhumson, and that the ryots have represented to the Soubah that, if troops enter that part of the country, they will abandon it. He has forwarded a petition from them to the Durbar, through the Paro Penlow.,

TRANSLATION of Letter from the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs to the Lieutenant Governor.

YOU are well, and your Government is prosperous; at this we are pleased.

You sent Mr. Eden here satisfactorily to arrange matters, because there was confusion between your Government and Bootan; you sent him that there should be accord and friendship between the Dhurma and the Queen. We don't understand the English language; so Cheebo Lama was the interpreter; the Sahib (Eden) came as vakeel for the Queen.

We gave the Sahibs and the amlah in Council (on having met) instructions (that the treaty should be made), so that it should be beneficial, and that our amicable relations, never before broken, should be made stronger. Afterwards the Sahib and the amlah, having consulted, said that the treaty was arranged. We also agreed to it; that is to say, all being agreed to, we explained it to the Sahib properly and dismissed him. At that time he said nothing, (but) having arrived there (at Darjeeling), and having misrepresented matters, two letters were sent here by you to the effect that we had used compulsion last year to Mr. Eden; but if his signature to the treaty had been obtained by force, we would have remedied it if he had told us so.

The Sahib came here as a great man; he should have come with his mind made up as to what he should do; he went away satisfied (agreed), and on arrival (at Darjeeling) spoke differently.

What was agreed on in the treaty last year should be kept to; there is no necessity for any more discussion (or new words); the Queen and the Dhurma are both forthcoming. Two letters have been written from here, that there should be no disagreement between relations. The amlah are the medium of the Rajah's orders, according to perpetual custom in Bootan, and it is not our custom to alter what is once agreed on; but accommodation of matters is good. If you wish it, a treaty can be made with your consent. If you will send a Sahib in Kartick, after making a satisfactory treaty, I will send him back; or if there is any difficulty or trouble in this, and you ask for an envoy from here, it is now hot weather and we cannot send a fit person; when the cold weather arrives we will send

one to any place you may appoint, but up till now we have received no reply, good or bad. Our letter must have reached you. We have in no way deviated from the treaty of last year. From letters from the people on our frontier we learn that a bridge has been made, and troops collected opposite Kalimpong in the Soubah of Dalimkote's division, and that a fort has been built and preparations made for war, and that travellers and traders from Domunnee and Mynagooree are stopped on the frontier as far as Buxar Doar, and that the northern frontier at Dhumsong is also closed. This must be by your orders. But we have committed no misdemeanours in your territory; our people may have committed some thefts and dacoities in your territory; but the thefts and dacoities and invasions by bodies like armies in our territory are innumerable, and we are not dissatisfied with this. Some time ago you seized on seven talooks in Assam, from which provisions for the Durmah Rajah's poojah were brought, and you paid some rupees in exchange; and we, consenting, reserved them. This (payment) has been stopped, and the rent of Ambaree Fallacottah has not been paid for five years; besides, the erection of the forts on the frontier has suddenly stopped the importation of provision for poojah. You are an officer of great rank under the Queen; consider well whether all this is well done; and if you will arrange matters, consider whether the proceedings are good or bad. If you will treat, write and say so; if you are bent on violent measures, we also, having well considered, will have to act. Please send a speedy answer.

Translation of a Letter from the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs to the Hon. *Ashley Eden*, received Saturday, 5 November 1864; dated Taseesudun.

LAST year you came here as vakeel for the burra sahib and the Queen, to make a good treaty between them and us. We not understanding your language, Cheeboo Lama of Sikkim was interpreter. Your and the (Durbar) amlah made a regular treaty, and agreeing to what you said, and making the Deity a witness to it, we signed and sealed.

When you went down again you made confusion between us and the burra sahib; on account of which he wrote to us that last year's treaty was made under compulsion. If it was so, you should have said so at the time, and we would have remedied it; and taking the Deity to witness, the paper would have been altered, and you would have taken leave. Now, you having arrived in your own territory at your ease, Cheeboo Lama and you are the originators of the confusion between us and the Company; and in order that there should be no interruption of relations between the Queen and the Dhurma Rajah, another letter was written from here (to the effect that) if you disallow last year's treaty, the custom of Bootan is that a matter once settled cannot be changed; nevertheless, we should be well pleased that matter should be arranged. If you will send another gentleman, a satisfactory treaty can be made; or we will send a man from here to any place appointed by you after the hot weather is over.

We sent two perwanahs to this effect: we have received no answer, good or bad; besides, you have, by placing troops on our frontiers, stopped our beeparies from importing provisions for poojah. Up to the present time you have also attacked seven talooks in the territory of the Rajah of Assam, and we have not received the rent of the Ambaree Fallacottah.

The result of your acting in this violent way will be that we shall not be wanting in opposing you; but when you came here the Deity was taken to witness. However you act, we, remembering this, have remained inactive. If your intention is to act so badly, we shall also have to act according to our judgment. Write a short answer to this; otherwise, having acted as mediator between us, write in a conciliatory way (or about making up our differences); you also are a great man under the burra sahib. If it is intended to send an envoy, write accordingly; or if you want one sent from here after the hot weather, write so. If confusion ensues you also once took God to witness here; what will happen you certainly will know; besides, we shall deal first with you and Cheeboo Lama.

Translation of a Letter from the Deb and Dhurma to Cheeboo Lama.

IN my reign this my southern country (Bootan is south of Sikkim) enjoyed the ease of (or like) heaven; in the midst of this you bringing the sahibs came to the durbar. People of another country, who are of another religion, came here. By your means a letter came from the frontier, asking for an interview with the Dhurma Rajah, with a view to a satisfactory treaty.

With this understanding, orders being given to the Soubahs on the frontier not to stop them, they without difficulty arrived and obtained an interview by means of the amlah. What was said by the sahibs, and what was said to them, the languages being different, was interpreted by you; that there should be a satisfactory treaty, and we agreeing to this, both parties consulted; and, that the final agreement should not be disputed, it was signed and sealed; and that the treaty should be observed by both sides, two copies were made—one kept here, and one is with the sahib. This is all known to you.

The

The sahibs returned to their own country. Since then the Rajah of this country and the amlah and Soubahs of the lower teraie have observed the treaty; they have broken it in no respect; but what Mr. Eden said on his arrival we know not, but from time to time the Lord Sahib's letters have arrived, stating that force and indignity had been practised towards Mr. Eden, and that this was disrespect to the English Government.

But you, the interpreter between us, know whether any compulsion was used or not to Mr. Eden. What has been said has been, and a bargain is a bargain. If the treaty is to be maintained, there is then nothing to be said; if not, you will answer for it, sending two or three bad men to whom nothing was done. Mr. Eden said one word here and then (to Government) another, and the Lord Sahib believed the latter. The inhabitants of the teraie of Dhumsong, Mynagoorie, Domunnee, and Samjee are prevented from going to the hats and bazaars (in the English territory); and the beeparies are also stopped, and forts have been erected on the frontier (by the English), and a fort has been erected opposite Kalimpong, in the Dalimkote Soubah's division, and preparations for war have been made. We understand that, although the Queen and Dhurma Rajah are too still in disposition, they are as milk and water (that is, they will co-mingle); there should be no disagreement between them.

The sahibs, aiding each other and making what is false true, speak from time to time. I know that God's good day is going on two quarters distant over the bad days. During this no one can do any bad thing; if they do, then God's word will not remain. Well, what is the intention of the sahibs? They should act so that no grief should follow; if an envoy will come from them, or one go from here, they can't go now on account of the heat. We will send one in the cold weather. We have written so two or three times, and have received no answer. Speaking in an interview is one thing, and after going to one's own country and remembering bit by bit confusion arises. This being the case, and seeing their (the sahibs') custom, we can no longer remain inactive. You are the go-between between us and the sahibs; you know whether we or the sahibs have been guilty of violence in the teraie. Having inquired whether the sahibs will fight or make it up, write and tell us. If the sahibs come into our country to do evil, we will settle nothing without our meeting with you: remember this and give the letters to Mr. Eden and the Lord Sahib. Send the answers, good or bad.

(No. 5069.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, for information.

By order, &c.

Fort William,
17 November 1864.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Junior Secretary to Government of Bengal.

From the Secretary to Government of Bengal to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department; (No. 5157), dated Fort William, 22 November 1864.

WITH reference to your letter, No. 485, dated the 12th instant, I am directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter, No. 5035, dated the 15th idem, addressed, under orders of the Lieutenant Governor, to the Political Agent and Chief Civil Officer with the Bootan Dooar Force, containing instructions in regard to the expedition organised for the occupation of the Dooars.

2. The Lieutenant Governor desires me to suggest that a copy of the Proclamation, referred to in your letter under acknowledgment, should be sent to the Resident at Katmandoo for the information of the Nipal Government, and that this Government should be authorised to communicate it to the Thibetan authorities at Lhassa. I am to suggest further that it may be well to forward a copy of the Proclamation to the British Minister at Peking. This his Honor considers desirable in order to prevent any misrepresentation from Lhassa.

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to Government of Bengal, to Lieutenant Colonel *J. C. Haughton*, Political Agent and Chief Civil Officer with the Bootan Dooar Force; (No. 5035), dated Fort William, 15 November 1864.

I AM directed, in continuation of previous correspondence, to forward copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, No. 485, dated the 12th instant, and of the Proclamation which it is the desire of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council should be issued when the troops now assembled on the Bootan frontier are ready to occupy the Dooars, and to carry out the policy laid down in the letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, No. 480, dated the 12th September last.

2. The instructions contained in that letter you will scrupulously adhere, taking care, in communication with the Brigadier General Commanding the Expeditionary Force, that, in occupying the new line of frontier, "the posts selected to be held as affording command of the passes into the plains shall not be pushed further northward than may be imperatively necessary to attain the objects of security for the Dooars and health for our small garrisons, whether composed of troops or police."

3. One hundred copies of a Bengalee translation of the Proclamation are herewith sent: these you will distribute on the frontier and send into the Dooars. An equal number has been forwarded to Mr. Metcalfe for the same purpose. And a copy of the Proclamation has been forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, to be there translated into the Booteah or Thibetan language and published, and sent into the hill country on the left bank of the Teesta. A copy should also be forwarded, with a suitable communication, to the Rajah of Sikkim.

4. When the Proclamation has been published, the troops may advance as soon as all preparations for their forward movement are complete.

5. No overture now made on the part of the Bootan Government or of any of its officers must be allowed to delay the advance of the force or prevent the occupation of the passes and of the whole territory lying between our present frontier and the line of country indicated in the instructions of the Government of India.

6. Should any such overture be made, you are authorised to inform the representative of the Bootan Government that no terms can be made with that Government except on the condition that it gives up all claim to the territory lying to the south and west of the boundary line above indicated; that the document signed under compulsion by the late envoy be given up; and that a chief, not below the rank of a jungpen, be sent to make apologies to you in person for the flagrant misconduct of the Bootan Government towards the mission; that measures are taken for the liberation of all British, Cooch Behar, and Sikkim subjects now held captive in Bootan against their will; and that the Bootan Government will enter into a treaty of friendship and fair dealing for the future.

7. If the Bootan Government is willing to treat on these conditions, you are authorised to hold out to it the promise of a fixed annual grant of 25,000 rupees from the surplus revenues of the Dooars, to be increased hereafter to 50,000 rupees when those revenues can afford it, but never on any account whatever to exceed the latter amount. The annual payment of this grant will, however, depend entirely upon the conduct of the Bootan Government, and it will be withheld if the conditions agreed upon are not fulfilled, or if any time hereafter the British territory is violated, and if effectual measures are not taken by the Bootan Government to restrain its subjects from committing outrages beyond its border and to punish those concerned in such outrages if they are committed. The payment will be made by the officer who, for the time being, may be charged with our relations with the Bootan Government to an officer not below the rank of a jungpen to be deputed for that purpose, and on the joint receipt of the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs. Occasion will be taken at the time of the annual payment for the interchange of presents, and for the settlement of any points of difference that may arise between the two Governments.

8. You are further authorised to inform the Bootan Government, through its representative, that, if after the occupation of the Dooars any attempt is made by that Government or its subjects to harass our posts, to cross the boundary line with hostile intent, or in any way to molest the border subjects of Her Majesty, such conduct will only tend to provoke a more signal exhibition of the power of the British Government, and to lead to consequences which that Government would gladly avert.

9. On the occupation of the Dooars and of the hill country on the left bank of the Teesta, you will make immediate arrangements for the administration of the tract in the manner indicated in the 14th paragraph of the Lieutenant Governor's Minute of the 22d July last, subject to any modifications which, on a better acquaintance with the circumstances of the country, may be deemed expedient. These arrangements should go on *pari passu* with the advance of the troops. They should provide for the establishment of police posts, for the preservation of peace and order, the security of life and property, and the suppression of crime, for the administration of justice, and for the immediate temporary assessment and collection of the revenue on its present basis, with due and careful regard to existing rights and to all reasonable complaints of past exaction.

10. It will be necessary for you to take early steps, in concert with the general officers commanding the force, for the survey of the country along the frontier boundary, and for laying down and distinctly marking off the exact line which is hereafter to divide the territories of Her Majesty from those of Bootan. The services of Captain Austen have been already placed at the disposal of Brigadier General Dunsford; but he will carry on the survey of the boundary under your orders.

11. Speaking generally, the line should start from the present Bootan and Sikkim frontier at a point near the Rishi peak at the head of the high ridge, which appears to run from that point in a direction due south a little to the east of Dalimkote. It should run along the crest of this ridge to near the extremity of its eastern spur, and thence take an easterly direction towards Buxa Dooar (Pusakha), probably by way of Chamoorchee (Sumchee)

(Sumchee) and Lukhee Dooar, following the crest or watershed of the lowest range of hills where these run parallel to the plains, or crossing the spurs and valleys at the lowest point necessary to maintain the objects of occupation. From Buxa Dooar the line will probably run in like manner towards the head of the Sidlee Dooar, in the direction of Bishu-Sing Thannah, crossing the Gudadhur, thence along the hills to the north of the remaining Bengal and the Assam Dooars to Dewangiri, and so on to the frontier of the territory under the authority of the Towang Rajah, a dependent of Thibet. The obligatory points on this line are Dalimkote, Pusakha, and Dewangiri, at each of which places it will probably be necessary to maintain either a detachment of troops or a strong police post; and the exact direction of the line between these must be determined by you, in conformity with the general instructions of the Government and subject to approval.

12. The officer in charge of the survey should be accompanied by a sufficient escort and by guides acquainted with the country, and care should be taken that neither he nor any any other British officers expose themselves to the risk of surprise.

13. Wherever positions are taken up by the troops, especially on the hills, precautions will doubtless be taken to strengthen them with defensive works and to guard against any sudden attack. Similar precautions should be taken by any detachment of police employed on the frontier in places exposed to such a contingency.

14. The general officers in command of the expedition have been instructed to prevent the demolition of any forts or other public buildings which may hereafter be of use; and I am directed to request that you will, in concert with those officers, take effectual measures to protect the inhabitants of the occupied tract from plunder or other oppression, and be prompt in punishing any instance of the kind that may come to your notice. The full value of everything required by or for the use of the troops and camp followers must be punctually paid.

15. You should endeavour, during the dry months of the year, to open out and roughly bridge a road to each of the three posts, mentioned in paragraph 11, from the plains, and they should also be connected with one another and with their out-posts by similar roads.

16. A copy of this letter will be forwarded to Mr. Metcalfe for information and guidance, and copies will also be sent to Brigadier General Mulcaster and Brigadier General Dunsford, C.B., for their information.

(No. 5044.)

COPY forwarded to C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., Civil Officer with the Right and Right Centre Columns, Bootan Dooar Force, for information and guidance.

(No. 5045.)

COPY forwarded to Brigadier General Mulcaster, Commanding Bootan Dooar Force, for information.

(No. 5046.)

COPY forwarded to Brigadier General Dunsford, C.B., Commanding Left and Left Centre Columns, Bootan Dooar Force, for information.

(No. 5047.)

COPY forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling, for information and guidance.

From C. U. Aitchison, Esq., Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal; (No. 589), dated Fort William, 29 November 1864.

WITH reference to your letter, No. 5157, dated 22d November, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to inform you that his Excellency in Council approves of the instructions issued in Mr. Eden's letter to Lieutenant Colonel Haughton, No. 5035, dated 15th instant. A copy of the Proclamation relating to Bootan has been forwarded to the Resident at Nipal; a copy will also be forwarded to the British Minister at Pekin.

2. His Excellency in Council authorises the Lieutenant Governor to send a copy of the Proclamation to the Thibetan authorities at Lhasa.

From *C. U. Aitchison, Esq.*, Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, to Her Majesty's Minister and Plenipotentiary at the Court of Pekin; (No. 590), dated Fort William, 29 November 1864.

I AM directed by the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council to forward for your information, a copy of the Proclamation issued by the Government of India dated 12th instant, respecting the relations of the British Government with Bootan.

From the Political Agent, Dooar Field Force, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal; (No. 83), dated Cooch Behar, 12 November 1864.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for the information of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, translations of Booteah documents received through Mr. C. T. Metcalfe from Bootan. The documents received being in the Thibetan character, and there being no one at this place capable of reading them, I was under the necessity of sending them to Darjeeling for translation. Mr. Wake states that the Government were already in possession of translations, and that he did not therefore forward them direct as requested. I presume Mr. Wake must refer to similar documents or duplicates, as it is impossible that the Government should be in possession of translations of the one now referred to, unless sent from Bootan direct.

2. I deem it entirely unnecessary to offer any remarks on the contents of these documents. The separation of them by the translator renders it uncertain whether No. 3 was an enclosure to No. 2, purporting to be from the Deb Rajah, or not. The Soubah of Debagiri is believed to be the official usually styled Rajah of Dewangiri.

3. Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, who joined me after these documents were received, has informed me that the official, styled a zincoff, who brought them, disclosed to the ex-Soubah of Mynagooree, with whom he resided at Gowhatty, that the letter purporting to be from the Deb Rajah was a forgery, prepared by the Dewangiri Rajah and others, who held a council shortly before the documents were sent off near Dewangiri.

4. I have not thought it necessary or desirable to send any reply to these documents pending the receipt of order from Government, though I should feel no difficulty in doing so if occasions rendered it necessary.

5. I take advantage of this occasion to say, that I have not heard of any hostile movements or preparations on the part of the Booteahs, beyond a vague rumour of the assemblage of a party, said to be 1,000 strong, at Cheefka, well in the interior, believed Buxa (or Pesakha). I had an ordinary letter, in civil terms, a day or two ago from the Soubah of Buxa, stating that dacoities were rife within the Booteah border, perpetrated, as he believed, by people from Cooch Behar, whom I was requested to restrain. To this letter I replied that my best endeavours would be used to restrain any outrages on the part of the inhabitants of Cooch Behar, and that I would arrest and punish any persons in Cooch Behar who might be pointed out and shown to be guilty of such acts:

(No. 1.)

Translation of the Letter of the Soubah of Debagiri, addressed to the Burra Sahib at Gowhatty; dated 11 October 1864.

By order of Tongso Penlow, I sent to you Tooly Chowkeydar; on his return he informed me that on account of your being absent in circuit to the Eastern and Western Provinces, he could not have an interview with you, and consequently received no reply of my letter. I told the chowkeydar it is no harm, and that after your arrival he should go to you once more. I addressed a letter to Tongso Penlow, intimating him that the Sahib is now in circuit; therefore, the man could not have an interview with him, so you should not be angry for it. Then I dispatched another chokeydar, named Shiba, who returned from Roanhooka in consequence of your being absent. I now send another chowkeydar on hearing that you have returned from circuit. The friendship between Maharanee Company and Dhurma Rajah is existing from a long time. I know that you are the master of the subjects; of the annual revenue, amounting to 10,000 rupees, we never spend a rupee or a single pice for our own account, nor does Tongso Penlow. It is always sent to the durbar of Dhurma Rajah in the name of Seabtoong Nawang, for the purpose of being disposed of by his disciples, some eight or nine thousand lamas, in the pooja of Mohakul of Poonakh, and during the rainy season by a great number of lamas in the pooja of Mahakaly of Tassisoodun; moreover, the profit received in our country is wholly spent in the above-mentioned ceremonies. The revenue, 10,000 rupees, which you pay to us for the occupation of our seven villages, and which is not equal with the annual profit of one of them, is left with you; you should, after due consideration, send it: if you do it not, I shall no longer be able to keep it secret. If I bring it to the notice of the durbar

darbar through Tongso Penlow, and if the Dhurma Rajah be dissatisfied, then his gods will not keep you and your children well. I am your nearest neighbour, and so I inform you for your good. No arrangements have been made here to invade your country; no objection is entertained for traders who wish to carry on their business here; the Booteahs are not allowed to carry on their trade beyond Barakatta, so I say that they should be permitted to go to the place mentioned above for traffic. You should make no objection for the payment of the annual revenue, for Maharanee Company is still a friend, and it is not good that a misunderstanding would be entertained for a trifle. You should maintain the friendship with each other like milk and water.

(No. 2.)

Translation of the Letter addressed by the Deb Rajah to the Sahib at Gowhatty.

A LETTER has been received from the Sahib at Gowhatty through Tongso Penlow to the effect that Mr. Eden, after his arrival here, has been treated ill. After the arrival of Mr. Eden no offence has been given to, but only a conference was held with him. As the both parties could not understand the language of each other, Cheeboo Lama of Sikkim performed the part of interpreter. It was stated to Mr. Eden, from the Rajah, that as he represented the vakeel from the Maharanee Victoria, he should effect measures for the benefit of both parties. Afterwards, many communications were passed between him and the Rajah, and on his requisitions being complied with, he departed from this place. On his return to his destination, some letters have been received here, to the effect that insolence was offered to Mr. Eden by the amlahs of this place. What has been done and reconciled is done for ever, and to revive it again is not the usage of the inhabitants of Bootan. Some time ago a letter reached this from the Burra Sahib at Gowhatty, intimating that the Company still regards Dhurma Sahib Rajah as a friend, and ill-feeling might not be entertained between them; the reply of it has already been dispatched in favourable terms. No outrages will be committed from our part if peace concluded from a long time would remain inviolated, nay, it might be strengthened. To effect this, an Englishman might be deputed here to settle the matters in dispute in your favour; if he cannot come, no one might be commissioned now from this place, as the weather is bad, and a great fear is entertained of being attacked with disease. In December or January, when the climate will be moderate, an experienced vakeel might be sent from this place to anywhere you will direct to hold conversation. As it is reported that many robberies have been committed in Cooch Behar by the Booteahs, so it is made known to us that great outrages were done in Bootan by the inhabitants of Cooch Behar; moreover, you have appropriated seven villages belonging to Dhurma Rajah, in the province of Doomsak, in Assam, and ceased to pay the revenue of Fallacottah and Ambaree, and stopped to carry on trade between your subjects and the Booteahs. It is not a new usage; from a long time a friendship is existing between the Company and Dhurma Rajah, and Booteahs are carrying on trade in your State. The people of this place purchase fish, oil, clothes, molasses, and other necessary articles, from Cooch Behar, for the purpose of religious ceremonies; some bad consequence may ensue between the Company and the people of Bootan in case of commerce being stopped, and you will derive no good from it; you will consider the matter with thorough attention. As a sign of the letter, I herewith send a piece of netmala cloth. Dated 8th September, from Bengal Durbar.

(No. 3.)

THE Deota Jorijee was like God; his incarnation was the Rajah of Thibet, his—his incarnation was the Dhurma Rajah, and therefore he was adored like God. There was no man who could describe his powers; the Mahakal and Mahakaly were like his servants. The Deb and other Rajahs who quarrelled with the Dhurma Rajah brought disasters upon themselves; Rajah Jung Bahadoor made a war with the Soubah of Thibet, for which he and his son were suddenly attacked with sickness; then the Lamas cured them by performing some religious ceremonies; consequently, he restored the possession of the country which he had conquered. You have also children; you will ruin yourselves if you quarrel with the Dhurma Rajah.

(No. 4.)

Translation of the Letter of Soubah of Debagiri.

YOUR letter of the month of Srabun, addressed by post to the Dhurma Rajah, was sent to Tongso Penlow, who despatched it to Dhurma Rajah. The perwanah from the Dhurma Rajah reached this to-day, and is forwarded through Boorah Chowkeydar, but the contents therein are not known to me.♦♦

(No. 5166.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, in continuation of the endorsement from this Office, No. 5069, dated the 17th instant.

By order, &c.

Fort William,
22 November 1864.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Junior Secretary to Government of Bengal.

From *C. T. Metcalfe*, Esq., Civil Officer with the Right Column, Bootan Field Force, to Colonel *Haughton*, Chief Civil Officer and Agent to Governor General; dated Gowhatti, South Assam, 13 November 1864.

I HAD the honour some short time ago to forward to your address a letter purporting to have been despatched by the Deb Rajah of Bootan for delivery to the Political Agent for the Governor General, and which letter was given to me by a zincoff of the Rajah of Dewangiri, who also at the same time presented a baggage tattoo and a blanket as marks of the Rajah's friendly feeling towards the British Government.

Accompanying the letter of the Deb Rajah was a piece of red cloth, which colour is presented only to inferiors by superiors.

The zincoff further delivered a letter from the official at Dewangiri to the address of the Commissioner of Assam, which letter also was forwarded to you.

The piece of red cloth, about $\frac{1}{4}$ yard in length, has been retained by me, but the baggage tattoo and the blanket were returned.

The zincoff and his followers took up their quarters during their residence in this station with the ex-Rajah of Mynagooree, who is an outlaw from his country, and afraid of returning: this person was present when the letters were presented. A few days after the departure of the zincoff I sent for the ex-Rajah, and questioned him as to what he had learnt from his late guest. He admitted that he had gathered thus much:

That the letter purporting to be from the Deb Rajah was not an authentic document, but had been written by one Lama Zoonpoon, from a place called Silica, called also Chalekagram, in collusion with the Dewangiri official, in the hopes that should the money be paid, it might be divided among the following officials, viz. :—

The Tongso Soubah.
Lama Zoonpoon.
Ptagar Penlow.
Rajah of Dewangiri.

The residence of Lama Zoonpoon is at a place called Dempchee.

I further gathered that in Bootan, at the present moment, there exists neither a Dhurina Rajah nor a Deb Rajah.

That there are two parties fighting for the supremacy; the one composed of Tongso Soubah, Lama Zoonpoon, Ptagar Penlow; the other of Poondah Zoonpoon, Thengo Zoonpoon, Paro Penlow.

Authority or government there is none.

From other sources, viz., from men sent into the country, I learn that there are at present in Dewangiri itself 15 men with the arms as per margin; that the greater part of the population has been withdrawn for the purposes of internal warfare. As far as I have been able to gather facts, no persons ever appear to be killed in these wars. Hostilities appear to be confined to importing into and temporarily settling in a fresh population in a place hitherto ruled over by an official whom it is purposed to oust. The new population obstinately refuses to obey any order emanating from the former official, and subjects those who are inclined to obey to every species of annoyance.

The people being accustomed to these changes of officials give in their adherence to the new officer, and the provisions being exhausted, the imported population return to their homes.

The Rajahs, so called either by birth or position, bear no resemblance to those of the same title in the plains; they appear to hold much the same position as our old police darogahs.

- 12 Matchlocks.
- 1 Musket.
- 5 Bows.
- 3 Catapults for throwing stones.

(Political.—No. 9.)

Sir *Charles Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir,

28 February 1865.

Para. 1. THE Letters of your Excellency's Government, noted in the margin, relate to the aggressions of the Bhooteahs and our political relations with Bhootan.

Foreign Letter.	15th June,	No. 13, 1864.
" "	30th July,	No. 44, "
" "	30th July,	No. 47, "
" "	13th Aug.	No. 52, "
" "	19th Sept.	No. 77, "
" "	19th Sept.	No. 80, "
" "	5th Oct.	No. 88, "
" "	8th Nov.	No. 79, "
" "	22d Nov.	No. 88, "
" "	22d Dec.	No. 108, "

2. The continued incursions and depredations of these people, by which the security of the British frontier had been violated, and the lives and liberties of British subjects had been repeatedly assailed, during a long series of years, a succession of outrages, culminating in an unprovoked attack, at their own capital, upon the friendly mission which the British Government despatched in due form, and with notice previously given to the rulers of Bhootan, with a view to the release of the British subjects who had been carried into slavery, and to the future prevention of similar aggressions, rendered it necessary that you should despatch a military force to the Bhootanese frontier, to obtain redress for the outrages committed upon British subjects, and for the occupation of the Dooars, if such a proceeding should be necessary. My approval of this measure was communicated to you in my Despatch, No. 371, of the 23d of November, in the Military Department.

3. I have, therefore, in this place, only to express the regret with which Her Majesty's Government contemplate the necessity which has arisen for the conduct of military operations against the Chiefs and people of a country in which there appears to be little or no settled form of government, and on which it is difficult to make the desired impression without leaving upon it such marks of your power as, whilst effectually convincing the people of the hopelessness of resistance, must inflict much injury upon a portion of the population.

4. It is the hope of Her Majesty's Government that these operations may speedily be brought to a successful close, and that, whilst adopting such measures as may effectually protect the subjects of the British Government on the Bhootan frontier against the depredations of unscrupulous neighbours, you will be able to convince the Bhooteahs that their true interests may be best promoted by the cultivation of such friendly relations with the British Government as will secure free commercial intercourse between the two countries, and thus contribute to the prosperity of the people on both sides of the frontier, and cement peace and good-will between them.

APPENDIX.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST of BOOTHAH OUTRAGES (in continuation of page 82).

LIST of PROPERTY, &c., Plundered from British Subjects by Bootanese.

No. of Case.	Offence when Committed.	Offence.	Value of Property.	Name of Owner.	Where Committed.	Persons to whom Traced.	REMARKS.
1	1851	Dacoity	Rs. a. p. 20 9 -	Purbahoo Cacharee	Kamroop.	Soubah of Mynagoree.	
2	1852	Theft of an elephant	1,000 - -	Attaram Byragee	Rungpore	"	
3	1853	"	1,000 - -	Omer-ood-deen	"	"	
4	3d February 1854	Dacoity	52 12 -	Daoreah Doss	Saibharee, Rungpore	Chief dacoit; one Roopa fled to Mynagoree.	The Soubah refused to surrender him.
5	March 1854	Theft of an elephant	1,000 - -	Enam Mahomed	Rungpore	Soubah of Mynagoree.	
6	1854	"	800 - -	Eder Mahomed	"	Katma of Dohomonee.	
7	26th January 1855	Dacoity	4,000 - -	Brojo Soonder Chowdry.	Saibharee, Rungpore	(1) Brojoram Mullick, (2) Anundee, Jemadar, (3) Angalee, (4) Kor Moshyo, (5) Anunga Sha, (6) Kailashur, (7) Nagur Jandarya, (8) Bheem Sing, Kayet, and about 116 others.	Nos. 1, 6, 7, and 8, were servants of the Soubah of Mynagoree, who refused to surrender them.
8	9th March 1855	"	6,131 - -	Hyber Deka Chowdry	Howli, Assam	(1) Dojing Chokial, (2) Togursar of Angdai, (3) Sanlepal, son of Purtri Sarpi, (4) Dotai, (5) Tassipongoo, (6) Kapong, (7) Deochoh, (8) Dunbeer, (9) (Sanoo) Durjee, and other followers of the Dewangire Rajah, and the uncle of the Dhurmah Rajah.	The Dewangire Rajah refused to give any of the offenders up.
9	12th "	"	1,290 - -	Bhukut Chum Heera	Sohunhatta, Assam		
10	"	"	18 - -	Poorun Madahi	Kamraparah "		
11	14th "	"	1,539 - -	Sreeram Thakooria	Katulligaon "		
12	12th April 1855	"	750 - -	Ulltum Chand	Nilamund Panbaree, Assam.	A party of Bootes acting under the orders of the Dewangire Rajah.	
13	1855	" from a boat	70 - -	Trader	at a Ghat	"	
14	July 1855	Theft of an elephant	800 - -	Nobo Coomar Misser	Rungpore	Soubah of Mynagoree.	

15	1855	-	-	-	-	25	-	Kassur Aleo, Native Doctor.	Kamroop	-	Chenra Dorjee, Nurn Dorjee, and Dader.
16	April 1856	-	-	-	-	2,868	-	Arung Sing	Mouzah Gopalparah.	Pettah,	Cheyenia, Doga, Katma, and an armed party of Bootees.
17	October 1856	-	-	-	-	100	-	Bulle Mahomed	Rungpore	-	Katma of Gopalgunge.
18	December 1856	-	-	-	-	1,000	-	Jeleshun Surma	"	-	Soubah of Mynagoree.
19	1856	-	-	-	-	1,000	-	Roshun Aleo	"	-	"
20	March 1857	-	-	-	-	1,500	-	Jeleshun Surma	"	-	Katma of Dohomonee.
21	July 1857	-	-	-	-	1,000	-	Sholoram Mussti	"	-	Soubah of Mynagoree.
22	1857	-	-	-	-	2,000	-	Bykantpore, Zemindar	"	-	"
23	"	-	-	-	-	1,000	-	Shoorjo Narain Koer	"	-	Katma of Dohomonee.
24	December 1858	-	-	-	-	800	-	Raj Rajendro Deb	"	-	Soubah of Mynagoree.
25	June 1859	-	-	-	-	900	-	Borendro Deb	"	-	"
26	"	-	-	-	-	900	-	Buisturgee Debee	"	-	"
27	25th December 1859	-	-	-	-	231	-	Deema Doss	Pettah, Pergunnah Goorlah, Assam.	-	A party of Bootees from Zoomar Doar.
28	September 1860	-	-	-	-	1,000	-	Eder Mahomed	Rungpore	-	Soubah of Mynagoree.
29	January 1861	-	-	-	-	1,000	-	Mr. Pyne	Silligoree	-	Katma of Gopalgunge.
30	1861	-	-	-	-	200	-	Mr. Proby*	Julpigoree*	-	"
31	July 1861	-	-	-	-	500	-	Banees Shah and his brother.	Darjeeling	-	* Mr. Proby says he would not have taken that for it. + Stolen property sold to Bootees.
32	October 1861	-	-	-	-	2,000	-	Baharoolah	Julpigoree	-	A Kayet and a man + named Jemadar of Mynagoree.
33	1861	-	-	-	-	unknown	-	Binarain	Gowalparah	-	Katma of Gopalgunge.
34	"	-	-	-	-	1,100	-	Fardloo Pramanick	Rungpore	-	Rajah of Sidlee.
35	"	-	-	-	-	192	-	Mohun, Rughoo, and others.	Gowalparah	-	Soubah of Mynagoree?
36	"	-	-	-	-	600	-	Fardloo Pramanick	Rungpore	-	Rajah of Sidlee.
37	October 1863	-	-	-	-	284	-	Boidar Norhio	Julpigoree	-	Soubah of Mynagoree?
38	September 1863	-	-	-	-	1,800	-	Gedroo Pramanick	Rungpore	-	The principal dacoit was traced to Mynagoree.
39	December "	-	-	-	-	unknown	-	Certain villagers	Dhuniallah, Gowalparah.	-	The Soubah refused to surrender him.

(signed) A. Eden, late Envoy to Bootan.

LIST of British Subjects Murdered, Wounded, and carried off into Captivity by Bootanese.

No. of Case.	Date of Outrage.	Names of Persons carried off.	Names of Persons Murdered and Wounded.	Where Perpetrated.	By whom Perpetrated.	REMARKS.
1	3d February 1854	-	1. Daooria Doss, murdered 2. His wife, wounded.	Saibaree, Rungpore	A band of nine men, the chief of whom fled to Mynagoree.	The Soubah of Mynagoree refused to deliver him up.
2	26th January 1855	-	3. Brojo Soonder Chowdry, murdered.	"	(1) Brojoram Mullick, (2) Anundee, Jenadar, (3) Angalee, (4) Kor Mosh-yo, (5) Anunga Sha, (6) Kalashur, (7) Nagur Jandarya, (8) Bheem Sing, Kayet, and about 116 others.	Nos. 1, 6, 7, and 8 were servants of the Soubah of Mynagoree, who refused to deliver them up.
3	April 1856	Arung Sing	-	Mouzah Pettah, Gawalparah.	Cheyenia, Doga, Katma, and an armed party of Booteahs.	
4	1856	Salgaram Oswald	-	Mynagoree*	Soubah of Mynagoree	* The man went there to trade, and was made captive.
5	25th December 1859	† Jadooram	-	Pettah, Pergunnah Goralah, Assam.	A party of Booteahs from Goomah Doar	† Released.
6	1861	† Eight men, names unknown.	-	Gawalparah	Showlea Dewan	† Three men were either released or made their escape.
7	"	§ (1) Gaish Nushya, (2) Noish, (3) Chotoorah.	-	Rungpore	Soubah of Mynagoree	§ Gaish Nushya is said to have been afterwards murdered.
8	"	(1) Trader, named Pugla Baboo.	-	"	"	
9	"	(1) Mohun, (2) Ragho, (3) Thaprah, (4) Bhuloo Sootar, (5) Faguoonah Mech, (6) Ratee Mech, and three others.	-	Gawalparah	Sidlee Rajah.	
10	Unknown	(1) Adoo, (2) Mem Doss	-	Rungpore	Soubah of Mynagoree	Both men are believed to have been murdered.
11	September 1863	(1) Chundunney, (2) Goloo Doss, (3) Roneely Noishai, and (4) another man.	-	"	"	The fourth man made his escape.
12	24th December 1863	-	Two villagers, names unknown, wounded.	Dhuntallah } Gawalparah }	(1) Rambullul Shaba, (2) Sarro, Duffadar, (3) Sarro, Katma, (4) Raghoobaid, and (5) Phool Mahomed.	
13	-	Nirgen, Sheik Ranoo Dhani	-	Chumoorchee Doar	Tongoo Pillo	{ Natives of Kishengunge, but went in search of lost buffaloes, and were made captives. The men were found in Bootan, but made over on demand to the Tongoo Pillo.

(signed) A. Eden, late Envoy to Bootan.

No. of Case.	DATE.	Description of Property.	Value.	Name of Owner.	Residence.	Persons to whom Property was Traced.	REMARKS.
1	B.S. 1260, 1853, June Assar.	1 elephant -	Rs. a. p. 900 - -	Bisesur Nath Sing, Ressaldar.	Chat Bhulka	Jowlea, Dewan - - - -	Five elephants were originally taken; four released.
2	1263, Assin	Gold and silver ornaments and cash.	2,176 12 -	Julbeel Doss, Ramdoolall Doss.	Shalabree - -	Sharaj Meeh, Katma of Madaree Chung.	
3	Ditto -	Ransom -	1,400 - -	Julbeel Doss -	Gilladanga - -	Chrenath, Jemadar of Katalbarree, and others.	
4	1263, Ugran	123 buffaloes, property, and cash.	20,936 12 -	Aaina Perdhan -			
5	1264, Kartic	19 cows -	190 - -	Toonea Doss -	Khati Foolbarree	Sreenath, Jemadar, and others of Katalbarree.	
6	1264, Mag-	11 cows -	110 - -	Beesoo Doss -	Ditto -	Mye Doss of Korungaghur.	
7	1857 -	Ransom -	300 - -	Joogul Doss -	Drundekotta -	Khoti Katma and others of Bhulka Chung.	
8	1265, Strabin	1 cow -	10 - -	Soobul, Sirdar -	Khati Foolbarree	Dewan Kyat of Kharoo Jungerbus.	
9	1265, Joistee	2 cows -	- - -	Sona Doss -	Ditto -	Luchnee Bosuneeth Lucklipore Doar -	Returned on payment of a ransom of Rs. 11.
10	1265, Bhadur	15 buffaloes -	- - -	Aena Doss -	Ditto -	Bango, Karkoon of Lucklipore Doar -	Returned on payment of a ransom of Rs. 70.
11	1265, Assin	62 cows -	620 - -	Jeebnath Surma -	Rampore	Katma of Bhulka Chung.	
12	1265 -	51 buffaloes -	612 - -	Jhapoo Nusso -	Gilladanga -	Luckhidass, Karkoon, and others.	
13	1267 -	Property and money	2,955 - -	Dhumbur Doss and Multan Mulusawal.	Ditto -	Bhosuck, Bootea, and others.	
14	1268, Joistee	2 horses at Rs. 30 - 269 cows.	2,700 - -	Jeebun Nath Surma and others.	Thannah Bhovaneegunge.	Booteas of Bhulka Chung - - - -	461 cows were originally taken, but 192 were released.
15	1268 -	Property and money	873 - -	Junbur Doss -	Ditto -	Ditto - - ditto.	
16	1268, Ugran	Ditto -	2,193 8 -	Rampertab Misser -	Ditto -	Ditto - - ditto.	
17	1268 -	Ditto -	98 - -	Gopal Chand Doss -	Ditto -	Booteas, names unknown.	
18	1269 -	40 buffaloes—Rs. 20 Money -	800 - -	Khadur Doss -	Gilladanga -	Jogendronath, Dardeo, and others.	
19	1269, Kartic	Property -	15 - -	Unasooa Guines -	Bhovaneegun	Kantee and other Booteas.	
20	1269 -	18 buffaloes -	360 - -	Soonder Mullick -	Cooch Behar	Katma of Bhulka Chung.	
21	1270 -	81 ditto -	1,620 - -	Nefroo Doss -	Gilladanga -	Dhoneram Doss and others.	
22	-	1 elephant -	900 - -	Bhoobun Peary -	Cooch Behar		
23	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Kasseenath Sing -	Ditto -		
24	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Pannath Chuckerbutty -	Ditto -		
25	-	2 ditto -	900 - -	Mohendro Narain Surma -	Ditto -		
26	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Hurdeb Mehdee -	Boikontpore -		
27	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Ramdhun, Mozoomdar -	Cooch Behar		
28	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Shia Fakcer -	Ditto -	Booteas of Banua Doar.	
29	1861, Aug.	1 ditto -	900 - -	Fool Mahomed -	Ditto -		
30	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Bhender, Durjee -	Tokagrooh		
31	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Holi Shia -	Ruheengunge		
32	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Huriputty, Mundul -	Chungrabaree		
33	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Roopeswor, Sircar -	Fooleswory -		
34	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Bushonia -	Choka Khati		
35	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Burhee Naik -	Shipore		
36	-	1 ditto -	900 - -	Baroo Perdhan -	Dhoobah		

(signed) A. Eden, late Envoy to Bootan.

List of Cooch Behar Subjects Murdered, Wounded, and taken Captive by the Bootanese.

No. of Persons.	Date of Outrage.	Names of Persons carried off.	Names of Persons Murdered and Wounded, &c.	Where Perpetrated.	By whom Perpetrated.	REMARKS.
1	B S. 1260 Assin	1853, Oct. -	Kasee Mamud Nusso -	-	-	-
2	-	-	Wuzeer Nusso -	-	-	-
3	1263, Assin	1856, Oct. -	Randoolal Doss -	-	Booteas; names unknown	Six men were originally carried off, but four escaped.
4	-	-	Hurromohun Doss -	-	-	-
5	-	-	Deepchand Doss -	-	-	-
6	-	-	Tooneah -	-	-	-
7	-	-	Rampersaud Doss -	-	Shalbarree	Out of nine persons, four* have been released on payment of ransom.
8	-	-	*Julbeel Doss -	-	-	-
9	-	-	*Manickpoorea Dossya -	-	-	-
10	-	-	*Doorga Dassya -	-	-	-
11	-	-	*Neesaree Dassya -	-	-	-
12	1263, Assin	1856, Oct. -	Pattalee Dassya -	-	Shabaram, Kayet, and others.	-
13	-	-	Akadussee Dassya -	-	-	-
14	-	-	Bunchona Dassya -	-	Bhanna, Karkoon of Luckhipore Doar.	-
15	1263, Kartic	1856, Nov. -	Wife and child of Kandoora Doss -	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	1263, Kartic	1856, Oct. -	Jhoroo Doss -	-	Cheea Durjee, Katma, and others	All three released on payment of Rs. 109 8. ransom.
18	-	-	Meecharam Doss -	-	-	-
19	-	-	Makeed Doss -	-	-	-
20	1264, Bhadur	1857, Aug. -	Wife and child of Radhakant Doss -	-	Gooroopersaud Tangon, and others of Luckee Doar	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	1264, Joistee	1857, May -	Luckhun Bosuneah -	-	Booteas of Madaree Chung	Released on payment of ransom.
23	1264, Falgoon	1857, Feb. -	Kaharoo Doss. -	-	Bhotna, Karkoon, and others	Ditto - ditto of Rs. 7.
24	1264, Kartic	1857, Oct. -	Luckhee Manjee -	-	Bang, Karkoon and others of Luckhipore Doar	Released on payment of Rs. 20 ransom.
25	1264, Ugran	1857, Nov. -	Hedna Rakkhal -	-	Cheepenath, Jemadar, and others	Released on payment of ransom.
26	-	-	Hurdoo Rakkhal -	-	-	-
27	1264 Kartic	1857, Oct. -	Roopchand Doss -	-	Sreenath, Jemadar, and a party of Booteas.	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	1264 -	1857 -	Roghoonath Sircar -	-	Booteas of Chamar Chung	Released on payment of Rs. 130 ransom.
30	1265, Joistee	1858, May -	Wife of Charoo Doss -	-	Howree Doss and others.	-
31	1265, Strabun	1858, July -	Mateea Doss -	-	Myedoss and Dewan Kyut, and others	Escaped.
32	1265, Ugran	1858, Nov. -	Posooram Doss, Goopee Banee, his wife (pregnant), and a daughter -	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	Rampore	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	1265, Bhadur	1858, Aug. -	Joogul Doss -	-	Cooch Behar	Released on payment of Rs. 300 ransom.
37	Ditto	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	Galgool Doss, Bhareebur Doss and his wife -	-	Khoti Kanto Katma of Bhulka Chung	Released on payment of ransom.
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	1265, Kartic	1858, Oct. -	Meetaram Doss -	-	-	-
41	-	-	Lallchand Doss -	-	-	-
42	-	-	Bykunto Doss -	-	Ditto	Ditto.
43	1265 -	1858 -	Sungotoram Doss -	-	-	-
44	-	-	Momeen Nusso -	-	Ditto	Ditto.

No.	Year	Month	Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Place of Birth	Place of Residence	Place of Capture	Place of Confinement	Place of Release	Remarks
45	1268	Ugrat	1861, Nov.									
46												
47												
48												
49												
50												
51	1268	Ugrat	1861, Nov.									
52												
53												
54	1268		1861									
55	1268		1861									
56												
57	1268		1861									
58	1269	Kartick	1862, Oct.									
59	1270	Joistee	1863, May									
60												
61												
62												
63												
64												
65												
66												
67												
68	1264	Magh	1857, Jan.									
69	1265	Bysac	1858, April									

List of Property plundered from Sikkim Subjects by Bootanese.

No. of Case.	Offence when committed.	Offence.	Value of Property.	Name of Owner.	Where Committed.	Persons to whom traced.	Remarks.
1	25th January 1861	Theft of 23 head of cattle	Rs. a. p. 475 - -	Unknown - - -	Sikkim - - -	Soubah of Dalimcote.	

List of Sikkim Subjects carried off into Captivity by Bootanese.

No. of Case.	Date of Outrage.	Names of Persons carried off.	Names of persons Murdered and Wounded.	Where Perpetrated.	By whom Perpetrated.	Remarks.
1	25th January 1861	13 men and women; names unknown	- - - -	Sikkim - - -	Booteas acting under the orders of the Soubah of Dalimcote.	

(signed) A. Eden, late Envoy to Bootan.

EAST INDIA (BRITISH BURMAH).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 19 June 1865 ;—for,

“ COPY of the REPORT upon the INCOME and EXPENDITURE of BRITISH
BURMAH, by *R. Temple*, Esq., and Lieutenant Colonel *H. Bruce*, 1860.”

India Office, }
22 June 1865.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political Department.

From *A. R. Young*, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, to
Lieutenant Colonel *H. Bruce*, C.B., and *R. Temple*, Esq.—(No. 5181, dated
Fort William, 2 November 1860, Foreign Department.)

Gentlemen,

I AM directed by the Governor General in Council to forward for your information and guidance a copy of a letter this day addressed to the Commissioner of Pegu, a perusal of which will explain the general purposes for which you are deputed to visit the Eastern Provinces.

From *A. R. Young*, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, to Lieutenant Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, Commissioner of Pegu.—(No. 5179, dated Fort William, 2 November 1860, Foreign Department.)

Sir,

I AM directed by the Governor General in Council to inform you that Lieutenant Colonel Bruce and Mr. Temple proceed by the steamer which will leave this for Rangoon to-morrow, for the purpose of conferring with you upon matters connected with the approaching changes in Pegu, and the adjoining provinces.

2. In respect of the very important subject of police, the great practical experience of Colonel Bruce in the organisation and management of a police force, and the experience of Mr. Temple as a member of the police and military and civil finance commissions, will be of value to you, in helping to place your police on a sound and economical footing from the beginning.

3. In matters connected with the same subject, questions of magisterial and police authority, management of gaols, questions of economical apportionment of duties, of the assimilation of establishments between Pegu and Tenasserim, as a means of financial reduction and convenience, and in other matters, it will be useful to you to hear the opinions formed by officers of great experience in other parts of India, which, like Pegu, are not under the regulations.

4. Upon these and all collateral subjects you are requested to hold free and unreserved intercourse with these two officers, bearing in mind that they are not sent to Pegu with authority to introduce any changes, or with any commission to convey to you instructions from the Governor General in Council, but simply with the view to their affording you the benefit of their experience in framing any suggestions which you may desire to make, and also for the purpose of themselves obtaining, through you, any information they may desire regarding the system of administration in Pegu, and the establishments required and employed in carrying it out.

From *R. Temple*, Esq., and Lieutenant Colonel *H. Bruce*, C. B., to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Sir,

Calcutta, 15 December 1860.

WE have the honour to report our return to the Presidency, having executed, so far as we are able, the commission entrusted to us, by your letter of No. 5181 of the 2d November last, and we beg to submit the following brief statement of our proceedings:—

2. We quitted the Presidency on the 3d November, and reached Rangoon on the 12th. After conferring with Major General Bell and Colonel Phayre on the civil and military affairs of Pegu, we proceeded to Moulmein, to have the benefit of consulting with Captain Hopkinson before his departure. Having learnt as much as we could of Tenasserim affairs during our brief stay there of two days, we returned to Rangoon. On the 20th November we accompanied General Bell and Colonel Phayre on a journey by steamer up the Irrawaddy to Thayet-Myo and the frontier, in order that we might form clearer ideas regarding the police on the frontier and elsewhere, and confer on the spot with some of the district officers in the interior. Having performed this journey, we returned in company with the above-named officers on the 25th November to Rangoon. During the remainder of our stay at Rangoon we were occupied in preparing, with General Bell and Colonel Phayre, various memoranda on the Civil, Military, Marine, and Public Works establishments in the province; and we quitted Rangoon *en route* to the Presidency on the 4th December.

3. On our way to and on our return from Rangoon we had the advantage of conferring with Major Verner, the Commissioner at Akyab, regarding the military and police charges, and other civil establishments in Arracan.

4. The memoranda which we have prepared, and which we submit herewith, will explain fully the several changes and improvements which we propose for the province of Pegu, together with the financial result. They are concurred in by General Bell so far as regards the important military branch, and by Colonel Phayre in all respects throughout. We have found it best to submit a common recommendation with the authorities of the province; and general harmony of opinion has prevailed. As we understand the object of our mission to be not so much criticism on matters existing in the province as suggestions for improvement in the future, we have confined ourselves to recommendations in respect to establishments and expenditure, and have not entered into the existing system, except so far as might be necessary to explain those recommendations.

5. The following are the heads of the memoranda relating to Pegu:—

Military.	Civil Establishments.
Public Works.	Marine.
Police.	Forests.

6. We found also that, as the military establishments in Pegu and Tenasserim are intimately connected and must necessarily be considered together, so it would be desirable that we should submit our views regarding the police establishment of Tenasserim, especially as we had the advantage of conferring with Captain Hopkinson, and learning on the spot the police exigencies of the Moulmein district. It was seen that the re-organisation of the police would involve an increase of establishment. Therefore, while proposing a scale of police, we carefully reviewed the civil establishment, in view to meeting the increase by reductions elsewhere. In this we were aided by the experience of Colonel Phayre, who has concurred in the memoranda which we append on the Tenasserim establishment.

7. Although our instructions did not specifically refer to Arracan, yet as that province is, in all respects, cognate to Pegu, and as we had incidentally acquired the means of forming some opinion regarding Arracan establishments, we judged (and in this respect we trust that we have not misjudged) that it might be desirable to submit an approximate scale for police establishment in Arracan also. On this point we append a memorandum.

8. Having, on the whole, attained an approximate estimate of the future revenues and expenditure of the three provinces of Pegu, Tenasserim, and Arracan, we may venture to subjoin the following rough abstract, which appears to be not otherwise than satisfactory in a financial point of view:—

ROUGH

ROUGH ABSTRACT of probable future Income and Expenditure of the Pegu, Tenasserim, and Arracan Provinces.

PROVINCE.	Total future Income per Annum.	EXPENDITURE.		
		Military.	Civil and Public Works.	Total per Annum.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
Pegu - - - -	50,00,000	28,07,000	30,47,000	58,54,000
Tenasserim - - - -	16,50,000	1,88,000	11,00,000	12,88,000
Arracan - - - -	14,50,000	- - -	5,00,000	5,00,500
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>	81,00,000	29,95,000	46,47,000	76,42,500

Thus the united provinces of British Burmah would pay their own expenses. These results, however, are only approximate, and it is certain that constant economy will be needed in order to equalise income and expenditure.

9. Having thus adverted to those points of more pressing financial and administrative importance, with which the objects of our deputation were more directly connected, and on which we have arrived at definite conclusions in concert with the local authorities, we deem it proper to advert to certain other points which may concern the financial interests of the province, but on which the shortness of our visit prevented our having more than a general discussion with the Commissioner and his officers.

10. Of these points the first in importance is the land tax and the tenure of land, a matter which, of all others, most vitally affects the condition of an Indian province. It does not appear necessary for us to trouble the Government with a recapitulation of the measures which have, from time to time, been taken with a view to progress and improvement in these respects. But it may suffice to observe generally, that in the Rangoon district the land tax is being equitably assessed at regular rates per acre, according to the ascertained capabilities of each separate tract of land; and that endeavours are being made to induce the villagers to engage to pay the sum thus assessed on village lands for terms of years, and thereby to obviate the necessity of annual re-adjustments of the tax. But while the revised assessment is advancing, the engagements above described have not very frequently been accepted. At the same time arrangements are more or less in progress for the registration of the proprietary and other rights, which have been already recognised in a manner very favourable to the occupants of land, and to settle the numerous collateral matters arising therefrom. To what extent and in what manner, according to Indian experience, these very important settlements are being conducted, we could not pretend to say without a longer experience of the province.

11. But evidently attention should continue to be given, as it has been already given, to the following points:—

The speedy extension over the whole province of the revision of assessment, according to the actual capabilities of soil and advantages of locality, whether the people shall accept long engagements or not.

The adjustment of all rights in, and tenures of land cultivated or waste, down to the minutest detail.

The inducement to the people to accept engagements for terms of years, and the conditions of such engagements.

The re-claiming of waste Crown lands not pertaining to any occupant.

12. In regard to the first of these points, namely, revision of assessment, the Commissioner in 1858 proposed four settlement officers; of these one has been sanctioned, and is at work in the Rangoon district. It would certainly seem that the time has come when this benefit may be extended to the other districts of the province, by the appointment of some or all of the settlement officers

originally proposed. Whether the people be prepared to undertake engagements or not, whether their habits do as yet fit them for all the responsibilities arising out of a regular settlement or not, still the accurate measurement of lands and the revision of assessment will be as advantageous to them as to the more civilised races, and must necessarily be appreciated. It seems admitted on all hands, that the existing assessment must still be very rough, with numerous inequalities; and in many cases a good revision would, while it benefited the tax-payers, raise the aggregate revenue.

13. The same argument applies to the second point, namely, the more formal and detailed adjustment of registration of rights and tenures in all the districts. Eight years of such beneficial administration as that which has prevailed in Pegu must have prepared the people for this branch of regular settlement. It is the sense of property and right that prepares the mass of the agriculturists for higher and better things.

14. The importance of the third point, namely, the inducement to the people to accept engagements, is evident, both to prevent a certain degree of annual trouble to the people, and to save a considerable expense to the State. It is to be hoped that the exertions of the local officers to persuade the people to undertake these responsibilities may meet with increased success. Causes which may arise to deter the people from such acceptance should be watched, the conditions of the proposed engagements might be reconsidered, or the terms might be rendered still more favourable. Doubtless, everything that can be done to render the annual measurements popular and effective, is actually done. Still the objections to the system are evident; and the expense to Government is considerable. The Thoogyes or heads of circles receive 10 per cent. on the land revenue to remunerate them for settling and collecting the annual land tax. This percentage on a land tax of 12 lakhs amounts to a heavy annual charge on the State; and the system appears to place too much fiscal power in the hands of these rural headmen. To conserve the position of such men is indeed a desirable object, which has been well attained in Pegu. But, on the other hand, it will be prudent to avoid entrusting them with too much power in such vital matters as the settlement of the land tax. Again, it has been seen that a large sum is disbursed by the State for the village police, which police in India paid, not by the State, but by the villagers themselves. We have in our financial recommendations suggested a plan whereby for the present a cess may be raised for the payment of this police. But it would be preferable that the police cess were settled, together with the land revenue, after the manner that prevails in India.

15. The fourth point, namely, the method of reclaiming waste Crown lands, is of consequence, chiefly in reference to the employment of capital and enterprise in the agriculture of the provinces. Offers of landed grants have been already made with a view to attracting capitalists; but these have not yet been taken up. The proposed grants have been accompanied with various conditions, some of which might admit of reconsideration.

16. The above matters do indeed comprise a wide field for discussion, upon which it is not necessary now to enter. But without in the least questioning the experience and ability of the revenue officers in Pegu, it does appear very desirable that in so fundamental a subject, so entirely affecting the future of the province, the best Indian experience should be superadded to that of the local officers. We would venture to recommend that the settlement officer, and such other officer as the Commissioner might select, should be afforded an opportunity of conferring with officers versed in the settlement systems prevailing in the Bengal Presidency, and more especially in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, in which latter the agricultural population seems most likely to furnish a fitting example for Pegu. Possibly the Government might, for such reasons, think fit that one or two Pegu officers should visit Madras and consult the Revenue Board there, or confer with Bengal and Bombay officers at Calcutta. Or if this should meet with objection, it might be considered whether an officer from Madras and Bombay, experienced in this peculiar system of settlement, might not be deputed to Rangoon, in order to afford the Chief Commissioner the benefit of their local knowledge. The result of such conference would probably be most beneficial, and would aid in placing the Pegu system on the

best

best and surest footing. Whether there should be a professional survey for each estate; whether there should be a field measurement; how the village boundaries should be defined; whether the assessment should be on fields or on tracts of land; whether upon single occupants or on the occupants of a village collectively; how the quotas should be distributed in the event of the assessment being made on the occupants of a village collectively; whether there should be anything like joint responsibility or not; whether any superior tenures should be granted to Thoogyes and such like parties, and how; whether the record of rights is according to the most approved Indian models; whether special advantages should be held out to those who accept engagements by the amalgamation of the capitation tax or other means;—these, and a host of other questions, could be best settled for Pegu by a conference such as that above recommended. And thus a new province will enjoy the full benefit of the experience of older provinces. The present, too, seems a fitting opportunity for such an arrangement, inasmuch as the operations are yet in their commencement, and the authorities are not yet committed to any particular system.

17. It may be added that, so far as can be ascertained from local information and past correspondence, the above observations apply equally to the Tenasserim provinces and the Arracan province as to Pegu. Whatever system were decided on for one province would be equally suited to all three. We are aware that the Commissioner of Arracan has already advocated the making of a settlement for a term of years with the same parties who now settle the land tax.

18. It might be worthy of consideration whether, in reference to the average consumption of salt by the population of Pegu, a larger revenue might not be raised by a more formal supervision, without any undue pressure. The tax appears to fall lightly upon the people.

19. We would here venture to bring to the notice of Government the question of introducing the proposed tobacco license into Pegu. We understand that, on the recommendation of the Commissioner, the Government have been pleased to exempt that province from the operation of the proposed general license tax on arts, trades, and professions. But it does not certainly appear whether the special tobacco license is to be included in this exemption. If this point be still an open one, we would suggest for consideration whether, in respect of the tobacco license, British Burmah ought not to be put on the same footing as India.

20. Also, there is one point in reference to opium which, with all deference, we would venture to notice. At present opium is sold in Pegu exclusively through licensed parties, and under certain restrictions. And its importation into the Ava territory is apparently prohibited by the British authorities. The use of the drug is more or less forbidden by the Ava Government to its subjects. The people of that kingdom, however, are probably quite as willing to consume opium as the people of China or of India. A question may therefore arise, whether it is necessary for the British authorities to prohibit the export of opium into the Ava dominions. It appears possible that a considerable addition to the opium revenue might accrue were the present restrictions on the export to be removed.

21. In the Arracan districts the exportation of opium into the Ava territories is not prohibited by the British authorities; but practically the opium rules do there debar any, except retail sale in small quantities, whether for domestic consumption or export to Ava. Nevertheless, opium in some quantity (perhaps inconsiderable comparatively) does find its way across that frontier into Burmese territory.

22. If, by administrative or other measures, the revenue in any branch were increased, then we think that the question of maintaining or removing the British customs line on the Ava frontier, near Thayet-Myo, might admit of consideration. Though the yield of revenue on the average between three and four lakhs (with prospect of increase to five) may be fair, and the cost of collection moderate, yet the line in a politico-economical view is open to objection. It must more or less interfere with the commerce between the north and south of Burmah and the traffic of the valley of Irrawaddy, which commerce and traffic the Pegu authorities are so justly anxious to foster. It should, however, be remarked, that European goods, which have paid the sea-board duty at Rangoon, are

exempt at the frontier, but articles sent from Pegu for consumption to Ava, and *vice versâ*, become liable to the duties on our frontier, besides the duties in the Ava jurisdiction. A cordon of customs on the British inland frontier has indeed been held justifiable in India; but its enforcement has been deemed inexpedient, as, for instance, on the Trans-Indus frontier. In the case of Burmah, however, the country being divided by a political rather than by a natural boundary line into two halves, one belonging to Ava and the other to the British Government, the people in both being the same, the maintenance of a customs line on that border would, in India probably, be thought inconsistent with the general British policy that has abolished all transit duties. It were superfluous for us to point out at any length that the trade of the Irrawaddy Valley is the life-blood of Burmah. Its entire freedom is therefore a matter of consequence, provided that the present sacrifice of a part of the customs revenue could be conceded.

23. It may here, too, be observed, that as yet no English merchants have established business at Ava; but it appears probable, that if the King of Ava had acceded to the treaty that some time ago was proposed to his Majesty by the British Government, there would, ere this, have arisen an English trade at Ava. It is certain that the Burmese are largely inclined to take British piece goods, and that if only a treaty had existed, British enterprise would transport quantities of such goods to Ava.

24. The well-known and important line between China and British Burmah, from Yunan down to the Valley of the Irrawaddy, *viâ* Bamo and Ava, has for some time, more or less, impeded Ava. This is much to be regretted, and the precise cause is not easy of ascertainment. The Ava Government attributes the difficulty, as we learn from Colonel Phayre, to disturbances in some of the Yunan districts in the Chinese jurisdiction. We might venture to suggest, whether some useful information on this head might not be obtained through Her Majesty's officers in Siam and China.

25. We have to add, in reference to the employment of European capital in British Burmah, Pegu, Tenasserim, and Arracan, that the want of a more complete law respecting the relations between employer and labourer is frequently mentioned; in places where labourers have to be hired and brought from distant districts at great expense, this matter becomes one of consequence.

26. We strongly recommend that the supply of teak timber in Pegu be taken into the earliest consideration, and we solicit attention to the proposals submitted on this matter, which are concurred in by Colonel Phayre. While fully appreciating the main principles of forest conservancy, and the great value of the Superintendent's, Dr. Brandis's, labours, we apprehend that the time has come when a large number of logs may be annually supplied from the Pegu forests to the Rangoon market. We understand from Dr. Brandis that 30,000 or 40,000 logs per annum might now be taken from the Pegu forests without detriment. This quantity, if obtained, would be considered a great boon by the timber trade, and would add considerably to the Government revenue, besides the advantages to those public departments which require timber. This object can only be attained either by supply through the agency of the Government Forest Department, or through private enterprise. In respect to Government agency, Dr. Brandis will doubtless do all that can safely and properly be done in this respect. But perhaps the Government may not desire to undertake large operations of this kind, and may prefer that the Forest Department should be mainly confined to conservancy and supervision. In this case the alternative would be to permit capitalists, European and others, to fell and carry away timber, under such conditions as may be necessary to prevent exhaustion of the forests. That such conditions can be practically carried out under Dr. Brandis's superintendence we fully believe, and we earnestly urge a trial of the plan.

27. We would also solicit attention to the proposals regarding police on the frontiers of the Moulmein districts as specially affecting the timber supply in that part of British Burmah. On this head also we solicit attention to our detailed recommendations.

28. We believe that strictly judicial matters do not fall within the scope of our inquiry, otherwise we might observe that the extreme frequency of divorce among the Burmese population is a great social evil, and is much lamented by the

the Pegu authorities. The existing law, as affecting this matter, might be worthy of consideration.

The purely fiscal questions touched upon in paras. 10 to 22 of this letter we have had the advantage of discussing with the Commissioner; but the nature of the subjects, and the necessity of devoting our attention chiefly to definite propositions of financial urgency, prevented our arriving at conclusions on revenue matters further than those now submitted.

29. Though we do not venture to offer any detailed comment on the existing condition of Pegu province, we may be permitted the satisfaction of stating our general impression that the province is prosperous, that the people are advancing, and that the administration is popular with all classes concerned.

30. It only remains for us to report that we have received every possible assistance in fulfilling the objects of our mission from all the officers with whom we have come in contact. We desire to testify in the strongest terms to the cordial aid and co-operation which we have derived throughout from General Bell and Colonel Phayre, who placed at our disposal all the information which their great local experience, and the other means at their command could afford. We have also to declare our obligations in a similar sense to all the officers, civil, military, and marine, subordinate to General Bell and Colonel Phayre, whom we had the advantage to meet. Captain Hopkinson, the Commissioner, and the officers at Moulmein, civil and military, did all in their power during our brief stay there to further the object of our inquiries. Captain Newmarch, the Chief Engineer of Pegu and Tenasserim, also rendered us valuable information regarding the public works, in connection with the changes proposed in the allotment of the establishment, civil and military, and regarding the establishment of his own department.

We have, &c.

R. Temple.

H. Bruce.

MILITARY.

MEMORANDUM.

THE present strength and annual cost of the force in the Pegu division is as follows:—

					<i>Rs.</i>
2 Regiments of European Infantry, at	<i>Rs.</i> 7,00,000	each	=	14,00,000	
6 Companies of European Artillery	70,000	"	=	4,20,000	
3 Horse Field Batteries - - "	1,25,000	"	=	3,75,000	
10 Regiments Native Infantry and					
1 Pegu Sapper Battalion - "	3,10,000	"	=	34,10,000	
2 Companies Sappers and Miners	30,000	"	=	60,000	
Staff and Establishment, Ordnance,					
Commissariat, and Medical - - -	-	-	-	-	2,00,000
Cattle and Bearer - - -	-	-	-	-	5,20,000
2 Steamers - - -	40,000	"	=	80,000	
TOTAL - - -					<i>Rs.</i> 64,65,000

Immediate reductions have been already recommended as follows:—

					<i>Rs.</i>
4 Regiments Native Infantry - - at	<i>Rs.</i> 3,10,000	each	=	12,40,000	
1 Company European Artillery - - -	-	-	-	-	70,000
Cattle and Bearer - - -	-	-	-	-	2,21,000
TOTAL - - -					<i>Rs.</i> 15,31,000

Further reductions are considered practicable to the following extent:—

					<i>Rs.</i>
1 Regiment Native Infantry - - -	-	-	-	-	3,10,000
1 Company of Artillery - - -	-	-	-	-	70,000
1 Horse Field Battery - - -	-	-	-	-	1,25,000
TOTAL - - -					<i>Rs.</i> 5,05,000

These reductions were proposed by the major general commanding the division, independently of the plan for the organisation of the new police. With reference to that plan and also to general consideration of the finance of the province, the military establishment at each station have been still further considered; and we believe that the following force will suffice for the military occupation of the provinces included in the Pegu military division, according to the distributions given below:—

Rangoon.—Artillery, 1 reserve company; European infantry, 1 wing; native infantry, 1 battalion.

Moulmein.—Native infantry, 1 battalion.

Toungthoo.—Artillery, 1 company, with 4 mountain pieces attached, and Pegu pony draught; European infantry, 1 wing; native infantry, 1 battalion.

Thayet-Myo.—Artillery, 1 horse battery; European infantry, 1 regiment; native infantry, 2 battalions.

We believe that, with an organised police, it will be desirable and practicable to concentrate the military forces at the four stations above mentioned.

This arrangement will involve the entire withdrawal of troops from the stations mentioned below, besides various outposts occupied by the Pegu sapper battalion, which we will show hereafter.

Pegu.
Henzada.
Meeoung.
Promé.

Shooegyeen.
Mergui.
Tavoy.

There are also two stations from which we believe that the troops may be shortly withdrawn, namely,

Bassein.

Meeaday.

At Bassein there is a small redoubt, with several 9-pdr. post guns, with a detachment of 23 European artillerymen, under an officer from Rangoon. There are also three companies of native infantry stationed here. The European artillerymen and guns might be now withdrawn, to be followed by the native infantry, as soon as the police will be in a forward state.

At Meeaday there are 68 European infantry and 787 native infantry, chiefly for the protection of ordnance and commissariat stores kept there, until the buildings at Thayet-Myo shall be completed. It was originally intended to reduce this force to two companies of native infantry on the removal of the stores to Thayet-Myo. But, considering that the civil authorities contemplate the removal of the custom-house also to Thayet-Myo, that after that there will be no Government property, civil or military, remaining at Meeaday, that the post is in immediate proximity to Thayet-Myo, we believe that the troops may be withdrawn altogether from Meeaday, and we urge that they be so withdrawn as soon as the arrangements above alluded to shall have been completed.

It will have been observed that we have recommended, that in future a wing of European infantry, instead of a regiment, should be maintained at Toungthoo. That station being situated in a comparatively barren district, stores and supplies have to be sent from Rangoon under great difficulties, and, consequently, the maintenance of European troops there entails a very heavy expense on Government. We believe that the reduced force we have suggested will fully suffice for the military occupation of that district.

The withdrawal of the two companies of European infantry from Shooegyeen is desirable on sanitary as well as other grounds. It has been thought by some that these troops might be advantageously transferred to Moulmein; but we believe that such an arrangement would be altogether objectionable in principle, and could not be carried out. At present the two companies of European infantry at Shooegyeen are detached from Toungthoo; but such a detachment could not in future be spared from that station if a wing only be maintained there. It will be equally impossible to spare a detachment from Rangoon, for the same reason; and it were needless to detail the reasons which render the scattering and separation of European troops in small detachments so highly objectionable.

On general considerations we are convinced that one battalion of native infantry will amply suffice for the military occupation of Moulmein; and when the organised police shall be in a forward state, we believe that the native infantry detachments now at Tavoy and Mergui may be withdrawn.

It will be observed, that we have suggested one horse field battery for Thayet-Myo, one reserve company for Rangoon, and one mountain train of four pieces for Toungthoo. At Rangoon it is not thought necessary to maintain draught for the artillery, as such transport is not likely to be suddenly required at a station situated as Rangoon is; and it is to be remembered that in this province horses have to be imported from Madras, and maintained at a heavy cost. Moreover, the interior of the country in the delta of the Irrawaddy is not suited for the transport of artillery by land. At Toungthoo, however, that station being on the frontier, and the country being better suited for land transit, it is thought desirable to maintain a company of European artillerymen, attached to which there should be four mountain train howitzers, with Pegu pony draught. For that station it is expensive and difficult to import and maintain horses, whereas excellent ponies can be

be cheaply obtained in the neighbourhood. The European artillerymen will also be available for the post guns in the redoubt.

The Pegu Sapper battalion raised in Madras for local service in Pegu occupies in detachments the following outposts :—

Pegu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	168 men.
Shooeygeen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	521 „
Sittang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	162 „
Beeling	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	105 „
Kaykeehts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35 „
Kayouk-kye	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57 „
Kooloodoo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23 „
TOTAL - - -								1,071 „

All these posts can be held by the new police, and we recommend the entire withdrawal of the Pegu Sapper battalion therefrom.

It would not be desirable to retain the corps on the military establishment of the province, unless the men should agree to the terms which we would propose to offer to local corps raised for service in Pegu; otherwise the Pegu Sappers might be maintained for the present as a local corps in these provinces, and might be stationed in Moulmein, on the understanding that its recruiting be stopped, so that it might gradually become extinguished.

The Pegu Light Infantry is employed in the civil department, chiefly on police duties. It is proposed to incorporate this corps in the organised police.

We have omitted from military charges the cost of two companies of Madras Sappers and Miners, as they are not absolutely required for military purposes. These men are very useful in the Department of Public Works; but as they work exclusively for that Department, their cost should be defrayed therefrom.

It will have been seen, that we have mentioned two native battalions for the present at Thayet-Myo. We should explain, however, that one battalion will suffice for the military duties at that station; and while peace shall exist with Ava, there is no absolute necessity for maintaining a second battalion at Thayet-Myo. As soon, therefore, as the police on the frontier shall be organised, the second battalion at Thayet-Myo might be withdrawn.

In proposing the above distribution of the native forces we have calculated on various guards in cantonments being taken by the new police, in the manner described in the resolutions of the police commission.

There are now two steamers belonging to the Irrawaddy flotilla held in reserve, one at Thayet-Myo and the other at Bassein; the cost of maintaining these vessels is very considerable, and does not fall far short of a lakh of rupees per annum. Considering that the electric telegraph is open from Rangoon to Thayet-Myo, and the steamers of the flotilla ply twice a month between the two stations, so that the communication is regularly kept up, we believe that the steamers at Thayet-Myo may be dispensed with at once. Considering also the improved condition of Bassein and the neighbouring districts, we believe that the necessity for maintaining a steamer at Bassein is ceasing to exist, and that the vessels may shortly be dispensed with.

In connection with this point, we should advert to the means of transport for the force in this province. It is considered that transport should be maintained for a moveable column of 300 men (100 Europeans and 200 natives) at Thayet-Myo and Tounghoo; for the remainder of the force in this province, transport might be maintained at the authorised scale.

In reference to the battalion of native infantry to be in future maintained in this province, we should mention, that at this time there are 10 battalions of the line in this division, of which four are about to return to the Madras Presidency without relief; two have one year more to serve. Then there are four corps, for which the period of relief will not arrive till the commencement of 1863.

Now, it will be in the recollection of Government, that the retention of regiments of the Madras army in Pegu, however necessary it may have been hitherto, does entail, and must continue to entail, a heavy extraordinary expense to Government. Besides his foreign service pay and batta, the Sepoy receives rations, which cost at least four rupees per mensem. Moreover, the Government provides the Sepoys with barrack accommodation, which buildings, besides the cost of construction, require a considerable sum for annual repairs. Then the charges for periodical relief, amounting to more than half a lakh per corps, are constantly recurring. Nevertheless, having regard to all the circumstances of this province, we believe that the native troops ought to consist mainly of men raised in the Madras Presidency for service in Pegu. The question remains as to how this necessary object may be secured in the most economical manner.

With this view we recommend that local corps be raised of men chiefly from the Madras Presidency for permanent local service in this province.

Of the four native corps to be maintained in future, one would consist of the Pegu Sappers, until that corps should be gradually absorbed as already proposed; the other three might consist of local battalions.

According as orders might be issued for the return of the several Madras regiments to the Presidency, volunteers might be invited for the local service upon the terms that might be fixed for that service. And it is hoped that many Sepoys would thus volunteer, and that the new local battalions might be speedily formed. We recommend that the strength of each local battalion should be fixed at 600 privates. The detailed terms and conditions upon which these local battalions be formed might be matter for separate consideration. We append a memorandum, embracing the views of Major General Bell upon this subject.

Under any circumstances a local corps might be maintained at a less cost than the regular corps.

When, therefore, the new police shall be organised, and the various arrangements above mentioned (should the Government be pleased to approve them) shall have been completed, the scale of military expenditure for the Pegu Military Division, embracing the Pegu and Tenasserim Provinces, will stand approximately as follows:—

	<i>Rs.</i>
1 Horse Field Battery, with 1 Company of Artillery attached -	1,95,000
2 Reserve Companies, at 70,000 rupees each - - - -	1,40,000
Ponies for 4 Mountain Train Howitzers - - - -	5,000
TOTAL, Artillery - - - -	Rs. 3,40,000
European Infantry, 2 regiments, at 7,00,000 each - - -	14,00,000
Native Infantry, 4 local battalions, at 1,88,000 each - - -	7,52,000
Staff, &c. - - - - -	2,00,000
Cattle, &c. - - - - -	1,93,000
Ordnance Stores, Commissariat, and Medical - - - -	1,10,000
Grand TOTAL - - - -	Rs. 29,95,000

The above charges for European troops includes the cost of rations.

There are at present 198 pieces of ordnance of every description in the division, and the proposed reduction of the forces above shown would permit of a reduction of 88 of this number, therefore the number for the future should stand at 110 guns of every calibre.

Two useful memoranda by the Commissary of Ordnance, Rangoon, on this subject, concurred in by the officer commanding the artillery of the division, are appended.

The proposed future expenditure of nearly 30 lakhs annually, as compared with the expenditure which has hitherto obtained (about 65 lakhs), shows an estimated saving of about 35 lakhs annually; and we trust that the financial result will be considered satisfactory.

We are aware that many of the suggestions made in this Memorandum, have been already brought forward by Colonel G. Balfour, C.B., President of the Military Finance Commission, whose views we have had the advantage of knowing, and with whom we fully concur. We are also aware that during his recent visit to this province, Colonel Balfour made many valuable suggestions regarding reduction of current expenditure in the several departments of military administration. His Memorandum* will doubtless be submitted to Government by the Military Finance Department.

* See page 34.

(signed) J. Bell, Major General.
A. P. Phayre, Lieut. Colonel.
R. Temple.
H. Bruce, Lieut. Colonel.

A few SUGGESTIONS relative to the formation of four Local Native Infantry Corps for service in Pegu, drawn up at the request of Colonel Bruce and R. Temple, Esq., Members of the Finance Commission.

Strength and construction of each corps.

It appears to me that officers should be especially selected for these corps, one captain to command, one adjutant, one quartermaster and interpreter, and four subalterns: this would admit of the usual proportion of absentees. To induce officers to take service with these corps, and considering that their service would be confined to Pegu, I consider that the advantages should be on a liberal scale; the Commandant receiving the usual command allowance of 400 rupees per mensem, and the subalterns 50 rupees per each company. Each corps should consist of eight companies, with the usual complement of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, staff sergeants, drummers, &c. &c. &c.

Pay and advantages to be held out to the men.

It being the chief object to have these corps as independent of the commissariat and other incidental expenses as possible, and, considering that the Pegu Sapper battalion already organised would be amalgamated with these corps, it is necessary to bear in mind the advantage which they already enjoy. The reduction of the strength of the regular army would be a favourable opportunity to secure the services of many well-trained men, numbers of them knowing the country, and being acclimatised to it. I think, therefore, that 12 rupees per mensem should be the pay of the private, with the usual increase to the higher grades—pension rules fixed as for the Pegu Sapper battalion.

I believe

I believe that it would be of the greatest advantage to the discipline of the corps, the health of the men, and ultimately a great benefit to the province, if men were allowed to bring their families over; and as an inducement to do so, the prospect of settling in the country might be held out to them after their period of service, a portion of ground being given to them, besides the pension given to time-expired men of the regular army.

To avoid the enormous expenditure which attended the formation of the Pegu Sapper battalion, it appears to me that it would be advantageous to give the men an allowance to hut themselves under regimental arrangements, and, considering the high rate at which building materials can be purchased, I do not think that 30 rupees would be too high to allow for each private, and of course a proportionate increase to the higher grades. This should be given only on the formation of the corps, say within four months; for all after that period one-half only to be allowed, as they would purchase huts as casualties might happen, and such a condition would, I think, have the effect of accelerating enlistment.

In the event of a man dying or leaving the corps, before he had completed three years' service, a proportion of the hutting money to revert to Government, say three-fourths if during the first year, one-half if in the second year, and one-quarter if in the third year.

It seems highly necessary to guard against the abuse of this privilege, and I consider that all absentees, excepting such as may be absent on duty, should receive a moiety of their pay only. Also that all men in hospital should have at the rate of two annas per diem stopped from their pay, and that men undergoing imprisonment should forfeit their pay, and draw a subsistence allowance of four annas per diem.

It is highly necessary that none but healthy men should be enlisted for these corps, and Medical Committees should be held strictly responsible for the due observance of this.

(signed) *J. Bell*, Major General,
Commanding Pegu Division.

Steamer "Damooda," 26 November 1860.

Men returning to
the coast sick.

MEMO. of proposed Reductions to be made in the Ordnance Department of Pegu Division.

ARTICLES.	Present Allotment.	Contemplated Allotment.	Approximate Money Saving.
			<i>Rs.</i>
Gunpowder, C. P. - - - lb.	1,84,250	1,01,500	16,550
" M. P. - - - "	60,250	17,065	8,637
Ball, ammunition - - - No.	62,92,400	28,60,000	21,700
Caps, percussion, copper - - "	69,21,640	31,46,000	1,13,260
Guns, iron, English, 9-pounders - - "	30	24	2,124
" Brass, Bengal, 9-pounders - - "	48	28	34,510
Howitzers, iron, 8-inch - - - "	8	4	1,260
" Brass, 24-pounders - - - "	20	6	22,431
" " 12 M. T. - - - "	40	16	8,874
Mortars, iron, 8-inch - - - "	8	4	478
" Brass, 5½ " - - - "	26	8	1,566
Carriages, beds, and wagons - - -	-	-	64,990
Cartridges, serge, empty - - -	-	-	6,251
Shells, shot and fuzes - - -	-	-	91,195
Small stores for Ordnance - - -	-	-	6,656
Petty stores and target materials for the Regiments (to be withdrawn) for 12 months - -	-	-	2,420
Savings to be effected by the reductions of the establishment at the under-mentioned depôts:—			
Moulmein depôt - - - -	-	-	-
Shooegyeen " - - - -	-	-	-
Bassein " - - - -	-	-	-
Thayet-Myo " - - - -	-	-	-
Toungthoo " - - - -	-	-	-
			23,560
TOTAL - - - Rs.			4,26,462

Proposed Allotment of Ordnance for the Pegu Division.

		No.
At Monkey Point -	Guns, iron, English, 68-pounders, 10 feet, 95 cwt.	6
At the Pagoda -	" " " 9 " 7 " 25 "	10
Siege train -	" " " 12 " 9 " 34 "	4
Ditto ditto -	" " " 18 " 9 " 42 "	4
Ditto ditto -	Howitzers, iron, English, C., 8-inch, 4 " 21 "	2
	Mortars, " with iron.	
	Bags, English, 8-inch.	
	Total - - - 20½ cwt.	4
Rangoon Mountain Train -	Mortars, brass, English, 5½-inch, 1 foot 3-inch - - - 1½ "	6
To be attached to European Artillery -	Howitzers, brass, Bengal, 12-pounders, M. T., 2 feet 9-inch - - 3 "	8

One Spare Light Field Battery complete, with Waggon.

	No.
Guns, iron, English, 24-pounders - - -	4
Ditto " " 9-pounders, 7 feet, 25 cwt. -	6
Howitzers, brass, English, 5½-inch, 1 ft. 3-inch, 1½ cwt. - - -	6
Howitzers, brass, Bengal, 12-pounders, M. T. -	4
Guns " " 9-pounders, 10 cwt. -	4

One Field Battery complete, with Waggon, in use with the Artillery.

Guns, iron, English, 9-pounders, 25 cwt. - -	8 Post guns.
Howitzers, brass, Bengal, 12-pounders, M. T., 2 ft. 9-inch, 3 cwt. - - -	4 Mountain train.
Guns, brass, Bengal, 9-pounders, 5 ft. 8-inch, 10 cwt.	
Mortars, brass, 5½-inch, 1½ cwt.	
One spare light field battery, complete, to be kept in Depot.	

The Saving of Ordnance which will be effected by this proposed Allotment.

		No.
Rangoon - - -	Howitzers, brass, Bengal, M. Train, 12-pounders	8
	Guns " " - - 9 "	6
	Howitzers " " - - 24 "	4
Thayet-Myo - -	Mortars, iron, 8 inch - - -	2
	Howitzers, brass, Bengal, M. T. 12-pounders	2
	Tounggoo iron, 8-inch - - -	2
	Tounggoo brass, M. T., 12-pounders - -	2
	Tounggoo brass, Bengal, 24 " - -	2
	Guns " " 9 " - -	6
Moulmein - -	Guns " " 9 " - -	12
	Howitzers, iron, 8-inch - - -	2
	Mortars " " - - -	2
	Howitzers, brass, Bengal, 24-pounders - -	8
	Howitzers, brass, M. T. 12 " - -	6
	Mortars, 5½-inch - - -	4
Shooegyeen - -	Guns, iron, English, 9-pounders - - -	4
	Guns, brass, Bengal, 9 " - - -	2
	Mortars, brass, 5½-inch - - -	2
	Howitzers, brass, M. T. - 12-pounders -	4
	Guns, iron, English - 9 " - -	2
	Guns, brass, Bengal - 9 " - -	2
	Howitzers, brass, Bengal, M. T., 12 " -	2
	Mortars " " - 5½ " - -	2
Total Number of pieces of Ordnance saved		88

(signed) H. C. Wade, Captain,

Commissary of Ordnance,
Pegu Division.

Arsenal, Rangoon, 1 December 1860.

POLICE OF PEGU.

IN order to duly develop the plan for the reorganisation of the police for this province, it is necessary, first, to describe briefly the several existing establishments.

The lowest grade in the scale is an office-bearer called Kay Dange, who is found in almost every village and hamlet, and is exempted from the capitation tax, which now amounts to four rupees per annum. He has to report crimes and such like occurrences to the official next above him, called Goung; and, on the whole, he corresponds very much with the village watchman in many parts of India, though his position is somewhat below that of a village watchman in those parts of India where the village police has been tolerably organised.

The next office-bearer in the scale is the Goung above alluded to. He is a sort of superior village policeman, and has a small circle of villages in his beat. He is always a man of respectable position of the locality. He is appointed by the district officer, and receives a salary of 10 rupees per mensem from Government. His duties generally are those of a rural policeman. He is subordinate to the Thoogy and Myoke.

The Thoogy is next in the scale. His circle generally embraces the beats of several "Goungs." The Thoogy, however, is chiefly a revenue official. He assists in making the annual settlements of the land tax. He collects the tax itself from the occupants of the soil, and pays it into the district treasury direct, for all which services he receives a fixed 5 per-centage on the collection, 10 per cent. for an annual sum below 6,000 rupees, and per cent. for amounts in excess of that; but he is expected to render every aid to the police, and this he is well calculated to afford, as he is generally a small landowner or occupant of land himself, and is supposed to have influence in the villages of his circle. He is appointed by the district officer, but the office is bestowed either according to local claims or in the northern position of the province, hereditary title. The Thoogy is under the supervision of the Myoke.

The Myoke has, in his jurisdiction, the circles of several Thoogyes. He exercises the powers of a petty magistrate and of a small cause judge in the interior. Though it was originally intended that the revenue should be paid through the Myoke, the collections do not actually pass through his hands; he supervises the Thoogy in their fiscal duties, and he supervises the rural police as above described. In most respects his position resembles that of a tehseeldar in the non-regulation provinces. The Myoke receives from Government salaries varying from 50 to 100 rupees per mensem, and the size of their jurisdiction varies considerably. The office has not been recognised under the British Government as hereditary by right. The district officer appoints the Myoke, but on doing so often has regard to local and hereditary claims and services. The Myoke is immediately subordinate to the district officer or his assistant.

Lastly, there is the Tseetkay. He corresponds very much with the deputy magistrate and the Sudder Ameens of India. His duties are judicial, both in the civil and criminal departments. He may, however, be employed in police or administrative duties, at the discretion of the district officers. This appointment is one of selection.

There is at least one such officer in every district. The salary ranges from 150 to 250 rupees per mensem.

All the above officers were known under the Burmese Government, so that it may be said that the essence of local institutions has been preserved in Pegu.

The regular police consists of four battalions and one company. They are distributed among the several districts as per margin. They are armed with the musket, and are, to a certain extent, drilled. They combine the duties to a certain degree of the civil and military police of the North-Western Provinces, though their duties do not, to the full extent, embrace all those performed by the former body.

There is a separate establishment of gaol guards, armed and disciplined much in the same way as the military police; and consisting chiefly of foreigners. The regular establishments of gaol guards are given in the following statement:—

		Per Mensem.
Rangoon:	56 men	690 rupees.
1 Head Jemadar, 5 Jemadars, and 50 Peons	- - -	
Bassein:	55 men	585 "
1 Head Jemadar, 4 Jemadars, and 50 Peons	- - -	
Henzadah:	28 men	305 "
1 Head Jemadar, 2 Jemadars, and 25 Peons	- - -	
Tharawaddy:	28 men	305 "
1 Head Jemadar, 2 Jemadars, and 25 Peons	- - -	
Prome:	33 men	355 "
1 Head Jemadar, 2 Jemadars, and 30 Peons	- - -	
Toungchoo:	28 men	305 "
1 Head Jemadar, 2 Jemadars, and 25 Peons	- - -	
TOTAL	228 men.	2,545 rupees.

.. TOTAL per Annum - - - 30,540 rupees.

Rangoon, 1 Company.
Bassein, 6 Companies.
Tharawaddy, 6 Companies (2 Companies detached to Henzadah).
Prome, 12 Companies.
Toungchoo, 6 Companies.

There is also a temporary establishment of the same description, of a strength varying in proportion to the number of prisoners.

The cost of this last establishment for the first year amounted to (27,240) rupees :—

TEMPORARY ESTABLISHMENT.

		Per Mensem.		P. Yr.
		Rs.		Rs.
Rangoon	2 Jemadars - - - - -	at 15 =	30 =	360
	70 Peons - - - - -	„ 10 =	700 =	8,400
Bassein	1 Jemadar - - - - -	„ 15 =	15 =	180
	1 Duffadar - - - - -	„ 12 =	12 =	144
	68 Peons - - - - -	„ 8 =	544 =	6,528
Prome	1 Duffadar - - - - -	„ 12 =	12 =	144
	31 Peons - - - - -	„ 10 =	310 =	3,720
Henzada	2 Jemadars - - - - -	„ 15 =	30 =	360
	27 Peons - - - - -	„ 8 =	216 =	2,592
Tharawaddy	2 Jemadars - - - - -	„ 15 =	30 =	360
	27 Peons - - - - -	„ 8 =	216 =	2,592
Toung-hoo	1 Jemadar - - - - -	„ 15 =	15 =	180
	14 Peons - - - - -	„ 10 =	140 =	1,680
TOTAL		Cost - - -		Rs. 27,240
No. of men } 247				

There are also guard boats and dispatch boats, 47 in number, with from 7 to 12 men each, armed as the other police. The boats employed on the frontier carry two wall or stanchion pieces. The cost of these boats, with their crews, amounts to 4,072 rupees per mensem; per annum 48,864 rupees.

In some districts also the rural police are supplemented by peons receiving from six to eight rupees per mensem.

Lastly, there is the Pegu Light Infantry, a corps on a military footing, but subordinate to the Civil Government. Its head-quarters are at Myee Oung on the Irrawaddy, but its main detachments are in support of the police posts that guard the northern frontier of the Pegu province that runs athwart the valley of the Irrawaddy. The established strength of the corps is 800 privates. The men are chiefly Burmese, with a few Malays. In each of the towns there is a municipal police after the Indian model.

These men are paid by the towns-people, and therefore their pay does not enter into the financial accounts.

In the Rangoon Cantonment there is a police under the cantonment joint magistrate, consisting of 73 men.

Such, then, are the several police establishments in Pegu, both rural and regular.

In order to exhibit the cost of these for purposes of comparison with the new establishment to be proposed, the Thoogyes and Myokes above described may be excluded, as the duties of the former are chiefly fiscal, and of the latter chiefly judicial. For the same reason the cost of the Tseetkays will be excluded.

The annual cost of the existing establishments will then stand thus :—

DESIGNATION.	No. of Men.	Annual Cost.
		Rs.
Goungs - - - - -	883	1,06,800
Peons and Peadabs - - - - -	273	20,280
Police Battalions (full establishment) - - - - -	2,846	3,71,628
Gaul Guards { Regular - - - - -	218	30,540
	Temporary - - - - -	27,240
Guard and Dispatch Boats - - - - -	-	48,864
Rangoon Cantonment Police - - - - -	72	10,992
Pegu Light Infantry (full establishment) - - - - -	966	1,74,048
Contingencies (estimated) - - - - -	-	8,000
TOTAL - - -	Rs.	7,98,392

In round numbers then, it may be said, that these establishments cost eight lakhs of rupees per annum, or if the cost of the Goungs be excluded (as a separate arrangement regarding these will be adverted to), then the total will be 6,91,592 rupees. In lieu of these establishments (excluding the Goungs) we would propose an organised constabulary, after the

the model of that proposed by the Police Commission, and of an establishment as given below:—

ROUGH SKETCH ESTIMATE of a New Police Force for the Province of Pegu.

	Per Mensem.	Per Annum.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1 Inspector General for Pegu, Tenasserim, Martaban, &c.	1,500 - -	18,000 - -
5 District Superintendents of Police :		
2 of the 1st Grade, at 700 rupees each - - -	1,400 - -	16,800 - -
1 of the 2d ditto, at 600 rupees each - - -	600 - -	7,200 - -
2 of the 3d ditto, at 500 rupees each - - -	1,000 - -	12,000 - -
2 Assistant District Superintendents of Police, at 400 rupees each - - -	800 - -	9,600 - -
Office Establishment for Inspector General - - -	200 - -	2,400 - -
Office Establishment for 5 District Superintendents of Police, at 100 rupees each - - -	500 - -	6,000 - -
5 Inspectors of the 1st grade, at 150 rupees each - -	750 - -	
Horse allowance for ditto, at 25 rupees each - -	125 - -	10,500 - -
5 Inspectors of the 2d grade, at 120 rupees each - -	600 - -	
Horse allowance for ditto, at 20 rupees each - -	100 - -	8,400 - -
5 Inspectors of the 3d grade, at 100 rupees each - -	500 - -	
Horse allowance for ditto, at 20 rupees each - -	100 - -	7,200 - -
45 Head Constables, at 50 rupees each - - -	2,250 - -	
Horse allowance for ditto, at 15 rupees each - -	675 - -	35,100 - -
135 Serjeants, at 20 rupees each - - -	2,700 - -	32,400 - -
2,300 Constables, divided into 3 grades :		
700 of the 1st grade, at 11 rupees each - - -	7,700 - -	92,400 - -
800 of the 2d grade, at 10 rupees each - - -	8,000 - -	96,000 - -
800 of the 3d grade, at 9 rupees each - - -	7,200 - -	86,400 - -
RIVER POLICE :		
26 Dispatch Boats with Crews, &c., complete, at 66 rupees each - - -	1,716 - -	20,592 - -
Clothing - - -	- -	40,000 - -
Contingencies - - -	- -	8,000 - -
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>	38,416 - -	5,08,992 - -

The sums noted above are intended to embrace all charges, except arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, which latter items have been excluded from the cost of existing establishments. There may be some readjustment required in detail, but we recommend that the sum total be fixed as a limit not to be exceeded. The total of 5,08,992 rupees thus exhibited, as compared with existing cost (exclusive of the Goungs) shows a saving of 1,82,600 rupees per annum.

The organised Constabulary is intended to perform all the duties now done by the existing establishment, for which it is substituted, and is calculated to discharge the ordinary duties of regular Civil Police; in short, all the duties as laid down in the report of the Police Commission. It will guard the frontier, it will guard gaols, treasuries, court-houses; it will repress, prevent, and detect crimes, in close communication with the rural police. It will also take various guards in the military cantonments, and for the furtherance of the work of all public departments; but, in the latter case, the department applying for the services of the men will have to defray their cost.

It is proposed that the organised constabulary should be formed partly of men selected from the Pegu Light Infantry and from existing police establishment, and partly of well-selected men of all kinds, local and foreign.

After full consideration, we have decided to propose that the Pegu Light Infantry be incorporated in the new organised constabulary, at least as regards those men who may be willing to serve.

The salaries for the officers and for the inspectors have been prepared with reference to the salaries already existing in the province. The pay for the three grades of constables (11, 10, and 9 rupees) have been proposed after much consideration with reference to the high wages of labour in this province, the difficulty in inducing the country people to undertake regular service, and the remuneration allowed to existing establishments, civil and military.

After consideration of the improved condition of the districts adjoining the rivers, and the diminution of violent crime, we have proposed a considerable reduction of the river police.

It is proposed that the organised constabulary should be distributed among the several districts somewhat as follows :—

							Constables.		Boats.
Rangoon	-	-	-	-	-	-	350	-	12
Bassein	-	-	-	-	-	-	275	-	8
Henzadah	-	-	-	-	-	-	325	-	2
Tharawaddy	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	
Prome	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,100	-	4
Toungthoo	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	-	-
TOTAL							2,300	-	26

It will be observed that by far the greater proportion (nearly half the entire force) is allotted to the Prome district. This district contains the frontier line running across the valley of the Irrawaddy, as already mentioned, which has been, and still may be, harassed by incursions of robber bands from beyond the border. After considering the circumstances of the frontier and the force, both of Military Police and Pegu Light Infantry, which guard it, and the various points which the district officer (who is well acquainted with the locality) considers it necessary to guard, we have concluded that the proposed allotment of constabulary is for the present at least necessary.

The two assistant district superintendents set down for the Prome district are intended to be stationed on the frontier; one west and one east of the Irrawaddy.

The relations between the superintendents and the inspector, and the constabulary generally, on the one hand, and the civil authorities on the other hand, should be exactly those described in the Report of the Police Commission.

The Tseetkays and the Myokes will be relieved of all police work, their duties being confined to judicial business.

The Thoogyes would be similarly relieved of police work, and be confined to their fiscal duties. But with reference to their influence as Government revenue officers, and as persons generally of local weight, they would be bound to aid the police under the General Regulations.

The "Goungs" would, in the performance of their police duties, be subordinate to the constabulary. The Kay Danges also would perform their police duties in close communication with the constabulary.

There remains the question of the source from which the "Goungs" should be paid. At present they receive a salary from Government, and their pay constitutes, as has been seen, a considerable charge. But they really are a village police of a superior kind, whom it is desirable to maintain on an efficient footing, as men of local knowledge, familiar with, and acceptable to, the people of the villages. By all Indian analogy, they ought to be paid by the villagers, and they generally were so paid under the Burmese Government. And it would, on many accounts, be desirable that they should be paid by the villagers. But although such an arrangement would be equitable and proper in itself, there would be difficulty in carrying it out at present, as the people pay capitation tax in addition to the Indian taxes; and as the new taxes are being introduced, it would be unadvisable to impose any new cess on the people of this province at present, unless in the shape of increase to the capitation tax, which is an old tax familiar to the people.

The Government has already sanctioned an addition of 25 per cent. to the capitation tax in the interior of the country in lieu of the license tax. But it is believed that this addition will really more than cover the amount that would have been realised from the license tax. If it were possible, we would venture to recommend that such portion of this additional capitation tax as may be supposed to represent the excess over the sum that would have been realised from the license tax, be devoted to the payment of the Goungs. One-fourth of the additional capitation tax, or 50,000 rupees per annum, might suffice for this purpose, and the establishment of Goungs might be limited to the number that could be thus paid for. The portion thus set aside would be of the nature of a permanent cess for the maintenance of village Goungs; and the general revenues would be relieved altogether of the charge for the Goungs.

The municipal police are already armed at the cost of the State. The arrangement may continue, and municipal police should be under the same training and discipline as the organised constabulary.

The cantonment police of Rangoon has been included in the proposed estimate of the organised constabulary.

(signed) *A. P. Phayre*, Commissioner of Pegu.
R. Temple.
H. Bruce, Lieut.-Colonel.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

We shall first advert to the establishment of commissioned and judicial officers, namely, deputy and assistant commissioners and tseetkays.

Considering the size and position of the two districts of Henzadah and Tharawaddy, we believe that they may be advantageously amalgamated into one.

The present Henzadah district lies on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, the Tharawaddy district on the left bank. The latter tract was much disturbed for some time after annexation, and for this reason was erected into a separate district. It has now quieted down, and may be joined to Henzadah. The area, population, and revenue of the two districts are given in the margin, and both together will not make more than an ordinary sized district. The head-quarters of the new district should be at Meeoung, the present head-quarters of the Pegu Light Infantry, which corps it is proposed to incorporate with the organised constabulary. With the deputy commissioner at this station there should be an extra assistant and a native tseetkay for judicial business. An extra assistant would be required at Henzadah, and an assistant commissioner at Meeoung, the present head-quarters of the Tharawaddy district.

The establishment of European officers for the new district of Meeoung would then stand as follows:—

	Rs.
Deputy Commissioner - - - - -	1,000
Assistant ditto - - - - -	500
Two extra Assistants, at 400 rupees each - - - - -	800
One Tseetkay, at 250 rupees - - - - -	250
TOTAL - - - - -	Rs. 2,550

The existing establishments of the Hazendah and Tharawaddy districts are as follows:—

HENZADAH DISTRICT.

	Rs.
Deputy Commissioner - - - - -	800
Two Assistant ditto - - - - -	1,000
One extra Assistant - - - - -	400
Tseetkay - - - - -	200
TOTAL - - - - -	Rs. 2,400

THARAWADDY DISTRICT.

	Rs.
Deputy Commissioner - - - - -	700
Extra Assistant - - - - -	400
Tseetkay - - - - -	150
Total - - - - -	Rs. 1,250

Total of Henzadah and Tharawaddy, 3,650 rupees per mensem.

The difference less between 2,550 and 3,650 rupees amounts to 1,100 rupees, which will be a clear saving.

In the Rangoon district there are the following officers:—

	Rs.
Deputy Commissioner - - - - -	1,000
Judicial ditto - - - - -	800
Two Assistant ditto, at 500 rupees each - - - - -	1,000
Extra Assistant - - - - -	400
City Magistrate - - - - -	800
Assistant ditto - - - - -	500
Tseetkay - - - - -	250
TOTAL - - - - -	Rs. 4,750

On the formation of the organised constabulary, one of the extra assistant commissioner can be spared. The office of assistant city magistrate is now vacant, and need not be filled up.

The Tseetkay should receive an increase of 50 rupees. The saving here will be thus:—

Extra Assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	400
Assistant Magistrate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	500
TOTAL									900

Less 50 rupees increase to Tseetkay.

In the Prome district there are the following officers:—

Deputy Commissioner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	1,000
Two Assistant ditto, at 500 rupees each	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	1,000
One extra Assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	400
Two Tseetkays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	350
TOTAL									2,750

We recommend that the gaol and treasury of the district be removed from Prome to Thayet-Myo, so as to be under military protection at the latter station.

This will be necessary, inasmuch as on military grounds it has been decided to propose the withdrawal of troops from Prome. But the deputy commissioner himself should remain at Prome, which is the centre of the rich and more populous part of the district. With him there should be an extra assistant and tseetkay, the latter with a salary of 250 rupees. At Thayet-Myo there should be an assistant commissioner in charge of the gaol and treasury. On the formation of the new constabulary, no further officers will be required. There will thus be a saving of

One Assistant Commissioner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	500
One Tseetkay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	150
TOTAL									650

In the Bassein district there are the following officers:—

Deputy Commissioner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	1,000
Assistant ditto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	500
Two extra Assistants, at 400 rupees each	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	800
Tseetkay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	200
TOTAL									2,500

On the formation of the constabulary one extra assistant can be spared, at a saving of 400 rupees per mensem. The tseetkay should receive an increase of 50 rupees to his monthly salary, so as to make up the pay of 250 rupees, that being the lowest rate of pay allowed to extra assistants in the non-regulation provinces of India. As already explained, the tseetkay corresponds to the extra assistants.

In the Tounghoo district there are:—

One Deputy Commissioner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	800
One extra Assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	400
One Tseetkay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	150
TOTAL									1,350
									per mensem.

The establishment of this district is not numerically strong, and it does not appear that an officer could be spared on the formation of the new constabulary. The pay of the tseetkay should be increased to 200 rupees. There will thus be a saving in the number of officers as follows:—

Henzadah and Tharawaddy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Rangoon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Prome	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Bassein	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL								8

With

With a net saving of 2,850 rupees, and it is to be remembered that though this saving be chiefly owing to the formation of the new constabulary, it will not be counterbalanced by an additional expense in that department, for, as already shown, by the constabulary itself, there will be a large saving as compared with existing police establishments.

We would, therefore, take this opportunity of earnestly submitting to Government that the salaries of the officers in this commission are much lower than the salaries allowed to officers in the Punjaub and Oude, while the duties and responsibilities are the same. In those provinces there are three grades of deputy commissioners and assistant commissioners, and extra assistants, whereas in Pegu there is but one grade for all three classes, and that the lowest. In fact, the absence of the grades here, which are permitted elsewhere, does greatly retard promotion, and constitutes an increasing difficulty in the administration. We would, therefore, solicit that the amount now allowed by Government for salaries of officers in Pegu may be re-distributed, so as to admit of the formation of grades. The present and proposed establishments, omitting the judicial deputy commissioners of Rangoon, are as follows:—

PRESENT.		PROPOSED.	
	Monthly.		Monthly.
Deputy Commissioners :	Rs.	Deputy Commissioners :	Rs.
Three, at 1,000 rupees each - -	3,000	One - - - - -	1,500
Three, at 800 rupees each - -	2,400	One - - - - -	1,200
(City Magistrate included.)		Three, at 1,000 rupees each - -	3,000
One - - - - -	700	City Magistrate - - - - -	800
		TOTAL - - - Rs.	6,500
TOTAL - - - Rs.	6,100	Assistant Commissioners :	
Assistant Commissioners :		One - - - - -	700
Seven, at 500 rupees each - -	3,500	Two, at 600 rupees each - -	1,200
		One - - - - -	500
		TOTAL - - - Rs.	2,400
Extra Assistants:		Extra Assistants:	
Seven, at 400 rupees each - -	2,800	Four, at 400 rupees each - -	1,600
		Three, at 350 rupees each - -	1,050
		TOTAL - - - Rs.	2,650
GRAND TOTAL - - - Rs.	12,400	GRAND TOTAL - - - Rs.	11,550

By this arrangement there would be a saving of 850 rupees per mensem, or if the number of extra assistants were to be reduced from seven to five, the reduction of two, namely, one at 400 rupees and one at 350, would be a reduction in monthly expenditure of 750 rupees more.

While with reference to the population and revenue of the province of Pegu, the present number of extra assistants might, if compared with the establishments for districts, in some parts of India, be reduced from seven to five, yet in the two districts of Rangoon and Bassein, where the numerous creeks of the Delta render the communication through the country extremely difficult, it appears desirable that two officers of that grade should continue to be stationed, as at present, at Twantay and Pasitanaw. This measure is also recommended, since it is only at such stations in the interior that Burmese officers can advantageously be employed, and it is of importance that some superior appointments should be open to deserving men of that race.

It is to be understood that the salaries now recommended are to include all emoluments, and that in future no boat allowance should be drawn by any officer. Every officer, when moving on duty within the district to which he is appointed, would draw travelling allowance at the authorised rates.

The personal assistant to the Commissioner of Pegu at present draws 500 rupees a month in that appointment. We would recommend that the personal assistant to the Chief Commissioner, when the three provinces are united, should receive 800 rupees, and the usual travelling allowance when moving, as his duties will then be of a more important nature than at present.

We will now advert to the myokes. The duties and position of these officers have been already described. Their pay varies from 50 rupees to 100 rupees. Their numbers and the size of their circles in different districts vary much. There can be no doubt that those who receive less than 100 rupees are underpaid for the judicial work they do, and that the circles of some of them are disproportionately small. This was unavoidable at first, inas-

much as, after annexation, it was necessary to retain the boundaries of townships as they had originally existed, and many of the myokes were men of local influence and special services. In many cases the myokes are appointed by selection; in some cases the appointments are hereditary, and in some, a particular family is considered to have strong local claims. But as the administration advances, it will be desirable to gradually re-arrange and equalise the jurisdictions and pay of the myokes, so as to afford each myoke a sufficient rate of pay, and to admit of grades being formed similar to those which exist among the tehseeldars in India. These grades might be fixed at, say, 100 rupees, 130 rupees, and 150 rupees. The 100 rupees is the lowest salary which an officer in the position of a myoke ought to receive; financial and general considerations will also render this course advisable.

The following is the establishment of myokes in the several districts as they now exist, and as we believe they ought to stand:

PRESENT.			PROPOSED.	
District.	Number.	Aggregate Pay.	Number.	Aggregate Pay.
		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
Rangoon - - - - -	16	1,165 - -	8	1,090 - -
Bassein - - - - -	15	1,060 - -	8	1,090 - -
Prome - - - - -	18	985 - -	9	1,040 - -
Henzadah - - - - -	7	670 - -	8	1,090 - -
Tharawaddy - - - - -	5	400 - -		
Tounggoo - - - - -	4	260 - -	4	400 - -
Tounggoo Nakhans - - - - -	2	60 - -	2	100 - -
TOTAL - - - - -	67	4,600 - -	39	4,810 - -

Note.—In the Tounggoo district two Kareen officers, styled Nakhans, have been appointed for the Karen mountain circles, as it would be highly impolitic to appoint Burmese officers there. They might now be included as myokes, but their pay need not exceed 50 rupees each.

There is, therefore, a slight increase in the proposed aggregate pay of the myokes; but this is necessary with reference to the duties and responsibilities of their offices. It will be shown in a subsequent paragraph that a saving of 500 rupees is effected in the myokes' establishments.

But this arrangement of the myokes could not be carried out entirely at once. The men could not be displaced immediately. Opportunities would, however, be taken of vacancies occurring, and some of the myokes might be induced to take service in the new constabulary.

The re-arrangement might not produce any appreciable financial saving. But the administrative result would be that, for a class of officials, some of them being under-paid, and having jurisdictions of irregular size, there would be gradually substituted a class of well-paid officials, with jurisdictions of proportionate size.

Each myoke has one Burmese writer on 15 rupees per mensem, and two peons on 8 rupees each.

As the number of myokes was diminished, there would be some saving in those petty establishments, and as a partial set off against this, it would be necessary to raise the pay of the writers to 25 rupees each.

PRESENT.		PROPOSED.	
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
65 Writers, at 15 rupees each -	975 - -	39 Writers, at 25 rupees each -	975 - -
130 Peons, at 8 rupees each -	1,040 - -	74 Peons, at 8 rupees each -	592 - -
TOTAL - - <i>Rs.</i>	2,015 - -	TOTAL - - <i>Rs.</i>	1,567 - -

The duties of the thoogyne have been already described. They receive 10 per cent. on the revenue for the amount collected below 6,000 rupees, and 5 per cent. for the amount collected

collected above that sum. Their numbers for the several districts may be stated as below:—

Rangoon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65
Bassein	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Prome	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	439
Henzadah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	52
Tharawaddy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41
Tounghoo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
TOTAL - - -										719

The per-centage is higher than that which prevails in Upper India, where the village headman do a similar duty for 5 per cent. But then the thoogyne has to spend nearly one-third upon the annual measurement of the land. In some districts, however, the circles of the thoogyne are small, and if these were enlarged the amount collected by each thoogyne would exceed 6,000 rupees, and the per-centage on the excess would be only at the 5 per cent. rate. And thus by degrees a considerable saving would accrue to Government; ultimately also, as the settlement of the land revenue progresses, and as the villagers accept leases for terms of years, the annual measurement will cease to form a charge upon the thoogyne, and the rate of their per-centage might gradually fall to 7 per cent.

We have next considered the ministerial establishment in the several offices. The native Burmese establishments are generally not numerous nor expensive. The only highly paid officials of this class are the Burmese head revenue accountants, with the deputy commissioners, who receive from 80 to 200 rupees per mensem each, and in some of the districts the bailiffs (corresponding with the nazirs of India), who receive from 40 to 100 rupees. The English establishments, however, appear to be somewhat higher than those of India, partly because most of the judicial records are in English, and partly because in each district the English clerks of the Judicial, Revenue, and Treasury Departments are kept distinct.

In many districts of India the same English establishment attends to the business of all the departments, and this is the more economical arrangement. In Pegu, however, the district officers maintain that the greater difficulty in procuring competent clerks renders it necessary to keep the clerks of the Treasury Department distinct. But we believe that the English establishment of the Judicial and Revenue Departments may be amalgamated with some saving to Government.

In the Judicial Department, each deputy commissioner, except at Tounghoo and Tharawaddy, has a clerk of the court and a record keeper, both English—we believe that the latter may be dispensed with. This would produce a saving of 300 rupees in the whole province. The assistant commissioners in the interior of the districts have also clerks of the court and record keepers (English)—we believe that these may be dispensed with. That portion of the work which is in English has to be done by the assistant himself, and his criminal returns can be kept by the Burmese writer and sent in to the deputy commissioner, to be incorporated in the English returns of the district. The Burmese bailiffs, with the assistant commissioner, can also be dispensed with, as the criminal processes will in future be served by the police.

We have only to add that at Rangoon there is a second clerk in the Burmese Department of the district, who might be dispensed with.

The establishment of peons and orderlies is not excessive. A general scale has been submitted to Government by the Civil Finance Commission. Whatever orders Government may issue thereon will be equally applicable to Pegu as to other provinces.

The amalgamation of the Henzadah and Tharawaddy districts, already proposed, will admit of the following saving in ministerial establishments:—

Revenue and General Office Establishments	-	-	Monthly	Rs.
Treasury	-	-	„	238
Deputy Commissioner's Court	-	-	„	216
TOTAL - - -				Rs. 767

But for the new district the following should receive an increase of salaries, viz.:—

									Rs.
Head Clerk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Burmese Accountant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Treasurer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
TOTAL - - -									Rs. 120

At the seaport towns of Rangoon, Moulmein, and Akyab, it is desirable that all civil cases, in which Europeans and other foreigners are concerned, and suits between all persons for 405.

sums exceeding the value of 500 rupees, should be tried before a judge who has been educated as an English lawyer. The numerous cases which arise in those towns connected with shipping and commerce render the establishment of such a Court absolutely necessary. To attain this object, and at the same time to provide for the Burmese, and other Asiatic inhabitants, Courts well adapted for their small causes, it will be desirable to retain the present Tseetkay's Courts; they should have jurisdiction in all suits where the value of the claim does not exceed 500 rupees. Appeals would be from their decisions to the Deputy Commissioner. All other cases of every description, exceeding in value 500 rupees, would be instituted in the new Court. A barrister should be appointed to preside in that Court, the total expense of which might amount to 2,500 rupees monthly.

In order to meet this expense the Court of the Judicial Deputy Commissioner of Rangoon would be abolished, thus yielding 1,167 rupees monthly, and some corresponding reduction might, no doubt, be made at Moulmein and Akyab.

It will not be advisable at present to extend the jurisdiction of this new Court to Bassein, because there is a difficulty in ready communication with that port, except by country boats; and also because the limited extent of the trade of that port does not urgently require an additional Court at present.

(signed) *A. P. Phayre*, Commissioner of Pegu.
R. Temple.
H. Bruce, Lieut.-Colonel.

DEPARTMENT PUBLIC WORKS.

MILITARY.

THE proposals contained in the Memorandum on Civil and Military Establishments will cause some alteration in the progress and construction of Public Works.

Mecaday.

It being proposed to withdraw troops from the station of Mecaday, no buildings need be proceeded with there. The entrenchments there, which do not comprise much masonry, will require to be demolished; but in order that the stores, ordnance, and commissariat may be speedily removed from that station to Thayet-Myo, it is urgently necessary that the roofing and completion of the store godowns inside the redoubt at Thayet-Myo should be proceeded with immediately. The chief engineer states that arrangements are being made to send timber up from Rangoon, as none is available on the spot.

Thayet-Myo.

Every effort will be made to finish the work by the ensuing rains. Barracks (permanent) for a regiment of European infantry will be needed as soon as practicable.

Prome.

As the troops are to be withdrawn from Prome, no military buildings will be required there.

Tounggoo.

In the Tounggoo Station the redoubt, and the works comprised in it, should be proceeded with. The buildings for the European infantry and artillery are at present of a temporary character. The permanent buildings should be commenced, on a reduced scale, for a wing of the former and one company of the latter.

Henzadah and
Tharawaddy.
Bassein.

In the Henzadah and Tharawaddy districts no military buildings will be required.

The same remark applies to Bassein; but the magazine, which is half completed, should be finished.

Rangoon.

At Rangoon permanent buildings will be required for a wing only of European infantry in the first instance. But the design should be arranged for a regiment, and also for one company of reserved artillery. The arsenal near the pagoda is in progress.

Pegu.

No military buildings will be required at the station of Pegu.

Shooegyeen.

At Shooegyeen, as it is proposed to withdraw the troops, no military buildings will be required, but it will be advisable to maintain the commissariat grazing depôt at that station.

Moulmein.

At Moulmein no military buildings are needed.

Tavoy and Mergui.

As it is proposed to withdraw troops from Tavoy and Mergui, no military buildings will be required there.

As it is proposed to substitute local corps for the Madras regiments of the line, the barrack accommodation heretofore provided for native troops will no longer be needed. Only regimental buildings, similar to those allowed at the Presidency, will be required.

Of the European barracks, we recommend that those at Rangoon be first of all constructed on a permanent footing, for at that station there is least likelihood of any alteration.

It is probable that, next to Rangoon, Thayet-Myo will always have to be occupied in European strength; but it is possible that at Tounggoo some change may be eventually accomplished, though at present it is necessary that Tounggoo should be held by the number of European soldiers we have already specified.

(signed) *J. Bell*, Major General.
A. P. Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu.
R. Temple.
H. Bruce, Lieut.-Colonel.

DEPARTMENT PUBLIC WORKS.

CIVIL.

At Thayet-Myo city a new custom house, of a permanent character, will be immediately required, if the Customs establishment is to be removed there from Meeaday. This work would then become of urgent importance. Prome District.

If the district gaol and treasury be removed from Prome to Thayet-Myo, as proposed in the civil and military memoranda, then buildings of a permanent character for both these objects will be immediately required at Thayet-Myo. The gaol should have room for 300 prisoners.

Both these works will become works of urgency. The present gaol at Prome is an inferior building, and not very salubrious.

At Prome the present cutcherry accommodation is defective and inferior. A permanent building, on a reduced scale, for a deputy commissioner and one assistant, will suffice; but perhaps some of the military buildings that will be vacated by the troops might, for some time, at any rate, be appropriated to these purposes.

For the Henzadah and Tharawaddy districts (now proposed to be combined into one) no more civil buildings will be needed. Accommodation will be obtainable at the proposed civil station of Meeoung.

The gaols at Henzadah and Tharawaddy, which are of an inferior temporary character, it is proposed to abandon. The prisoners can be transferred to Rangoon Gaol, where there will be space for additional accommodation.

At Bassein a permanent gaol building is much needed, so also is a court house, unless the arrangement now in contemplation for the purchase of a house shall be successful. The Treasury may be placed in the redoubt, if the artillery be withdrawn, as recommended.

At Tounghoo a court house and a small gaol (for 200 prisoners), and a building for custom house and timber agency combined are much needed.

At Rangoon also permanent court houses require construction. The gaol is a superior building. Within its enclosure, there is space for wards for 500 or 700 additional prisoners, which should be commenced at once, so as to accommodate prisoners from Henzadah and Tharawaddy, and also long-term prisoners from other gaols.

It is recommended that the Dalla Dockyard works, which are far advanced, should be completed; no new buildings should, however, be commenced upon.

A bonded warehouse is much needed. Negotiations are pending for the purchase of premises for this purpose.

The buildings at the main wharf, now occupied by the custom house, will suit for the present.

When the new court houses shall be completed, the building now occupied for those purposes will suit for a permanent custom house.

The completion of the electric telegraph line from Arracan to Prome, and from Rangoon to Moulmein, is of very urgent importance. We would most strongly urge its being proceeded with vigorously. A central telegraph office will be required at Prome and at Rangoon.

The opening of the canal or channel from Rangoon to the Sittang river, so as to be navigable for boats, is of great consequence in an administrative, military, and commercial point of view. We recommend that the project of the chief engineer for this purpose, which is of an inexpensive character, be carried out.

The proposed channel near the mouth of the Paulang Creek, so as to make that branch of the river navigable for steamers all the year round, and to afford direct communication between Rangoon and the Irrawaddy river, saving the circuitous routes round the Delta, is of great consequence in every point of view. We recommend that a project for this object be formed.

Among the roads, the road from Rangoon to Prome, unless it can be constructed so as to be passable for carts at all seasons of the year, is scarcely worth constructing; and we apprehend the metalling of this line would be an unnecessarily expensive work, considering that for military communication the river will always be found the best route, and traffic is not likely to be carried on by any other, except, indeed, purely local traffic between villages.

The Irrawaddy is a river tolerably deep and of more easy and rapid navigation than any of our Indian rivers, therefore it will always be found to be the principal highway of this province.

But we attach much importance to opening out cross roads, in order to enable the produce of the interior of the country to find its way to the river, which must always carry off the main traffic.

Among the roads, which we venture to suggest be at once surveyed and reported upon, is a line from Pegu to the Sittang river, which is of great military and of some political importance, for, independent of the canal before alluded to, it is necessary that the military station of Tounghoo should be freely accessible throughout the year, which, even should the modified canal project succeed, of which there exists a difference of opinion, it may only afford water communication during a limited period of each year.

As regards establishments, the total cost amounts to 1½ lakhs per annum, or 13 per cent. on the sanctioned outlay of the year of 10½ lakhs for Pegu. This per-centage is not high, and, indeed, low as compared with other provinces in India.

In Tenasserim and Martaban provinces, on an outlay of 2½ lakhs, the establishment, amounting to 47,000 rupees, averages 20 per cent.; this the chief engineer states is owing to a large proportion of the gaol charges being debited to the Public Works Department.

A controller of accounts has been just appointed.

The chief engineer maintains that a personal assistant is required, as there is no superintending engineer, and as the chief engineer has to itinerate.

At Rangoon there are two executive engineers, one for cantonment and one for the town. They both will be required until the Dalla Dockyard shall be completed, as those works are situated on the opposite side of the river. Hereafter one executive engineer, with an assistant, will suffice.

If there shall be no works at Henzadah and Tharawaddy, it will be possible to withdraw the Public Works establishment altogether from that district, or else to retain only a small establishment, subordinate to the civil officers. Here, if any where, will reduction of establishment be practicable.

At Bassein the executive establishment might be withdrawn if the civil officers were entrusted with the construction of the civil buildings; but this is considered to be objectional, and, perhaps, impracticable.

And if this view be concurred in by Government, then it will be necessary to maintain the present executive establishment there, until the completion of those works, about two years.

At Thayet-Myo the executive engineer and his two assistants will be required.

At Tounghoo the executive engineer's establishment is needed.

The same argument applies to Shooegyeen as to Bassein. But if district roads be undertaken, then the executive establishment will be needed.

At Moulmein the executive establishment is needed.

At Tavoy and Mergui there are no executive establishments.

There is one executive officer on the Pegu and Arracan roads, who appears to be necessary for their maintenance. It will be necessary to keep the Tongroop road (over the Arracan Hills) open by annual clearings.

Upon this review of establishment, there does not appear to be any considerable room for reduction; and it is to be observed that economy in the construction and repairs of public works much depends on efficiency of supervision, which again often depends on the number and qualification of officers. If the various officers above mentioned be really efficient, they will more than save the pay of themselves and their establishments.

The number and the importance of the public works in Pegu, which still remain to be executed, as well as the probability of the Arracan division being added to the circle of the chief engineer, render it desirable that the staff pay of the appointment should be increased. Captain Newmarch now draws 800 rupees a month—staff.

This is less than what is allowed for Mysore, Nagpore, Hyderabad, or the Straits Settlements, while the outlay for public works in Pegu is about equal to any two of those circles put together.

Under these circumstances we venture to recommend that the staff pay of the chief engineer may be raised from 800 to 1,000 rupees monthly.

(signed) *A. P. Phayre*, Commissioner of Pegu.
R. Temple,
H. Bruce, Lieut.-Colonel.

GAOLS.

As regards establishment, the permanent guards have already been provided for in the police memorandum. The constabulary will perform all the guard duties in the interior of the gaols; and, indeed, every other duty appertaining to them is provided for in the proposition of the police commission previously referred to under the police head.

Extra-mural labour will have to be continued, until arrangements for the general introduction of the in-door labour system can be managed. The present cost of guarding prisoners generally is high, but that is in some degree owing to the temporary character of the gaol building; much economy in this respect will, of course, follow the introduction of the new constabulary into the gaols.

The early construction of proper gaol buildings is a matter of primary importance. The present temporary buildings are, of course, most defective in an administrative point of view, and the risk of human life, from accidental fire, is painful to contemplate. The only permanent gaol in the province is the Rangoon gaol. It has now accommodation for 700 prisoners: but its spacious enclosures could afford space forwards for 700 more prisoners. These should be constructed, if, as we recommend, the prisoners of the Henzadah and Tharawaddy districts be sent down to Rangoon. A similar building will be urgently needed at Thayet-Myo if our proposal to remove the Prome District Gaol to that district should be sanctioned. Accommodation for 300 prisoners should be provided.

A small gaol for 200 prisoners should be constructed at Tounghoo.

A gaol for 300 prisoners should also be constructed at Bassein.

The Henzadah and Tharawaddy gaols are purely temporary, and are most inferior. It is most desirable to remove the prisoners to better buildings as soon as possible. We would recommend that they be sent to Rangoon as soon as accommodation can be provided. This will save the construction of a gaol for these two districts at a time when new gaols are more urgently needed in other districts. This arrangement, too, will cause some saving in establishment.

At present the prisoners in this province work chiefly on the roads. The difficulty of procuring free labour offers some inducement for the continuance of this system. Still it is open to exactly the same objections here or elsewhere. The cost of temporary guard is heavy, and the supervision exercised by them is lax. It will be very desirable to introduce the in-door labour system; but the difficulty of establishing manufactures in the gaols at a profit has proved very great in this province.

The average cost of food per head is necessarily high, that of clothing is moderate, that of hospitable maintenance is high, and requires watching. The total cost is 89 rupees per head per annum; is high as compared with India.

The aggregate gaol expenditure for the province amounts to upwards of 1½ lakh per annum. There can be no doubt that, if this expenditure could be thoroughly scrutinised, a large saving could be effected. An inspector of gaols, with his establishment (should Government be pleased to sanction such an appointment), would not cost more than 14,000 rupees per annum as per margin, and such an office should save more than this amount, and would introduce manufactures; and this labour would prove at least as useful in this province as in any part of India.

	<i>Per</i> <i>Mensem.</i>	<i>Per</i> <i>Annum.</i>
Inspector of Gaols -	- 800	9,600
Establishment -	- 300	3,600
		13,200
Contingencies - - -	-	500
		13,200
TOTAL Rupees per Annum - -	-	13,700

(signed) *A. P. Phayre*, Commissioner of Pegu.
R. Temple.
H. Bruce, Lieutenant Colonel.

FORESTS.

ON the annexment of Pegu it was expected that the province would produce quantities of teak timber. Hitherto this expectation has not been fulfilled, and the quantities of timber brought down have been small.

Doctor Brandis, the Superintendent, has examined all the forests with great care; ability, skill, and self-devotion, and reliance may be placed on the valuable information he has gathered. There seems to be no doubt that the conservancy of teak forests is matter of delicacy as well as importance, and that unless the object were pursued with care and judgment, rapid wastage would occur, and the forests would become exhausted in a few years. Instances of such exhaustion are but too conspicuous, and it often happens that the reproductive power, so great in many respects, is wanting in teak localities. The chief, indeed almost the only source of supply for the Rangoon export market at present, is the Forest Department itself. This department either cuts timber by direct agency or by contractors, and also through the agency of foresters, to whom permits to cut wood are granted, as already stated. The present supply is but little. In a short time, say two or three years (but the time is very uncertain), 12,000 or 14,000 logs might come to Rangoon, and ultimately 30,000 logs are looked for annually.

In the meantime the timber merchants are anxious to obtain timber, and to see the forests thrown open to private enterprise.

No doubt a greater supply of timber would be most desirable in a fiscal as well as a commercial point of view, so far as this object can be obtained consistently with the preservation of those forests, on which alone the supply for the future depends.

We think that Doctor Brandis should be urged to throw into the market so many logs, either through the direct agency of his establishment, or through contractors and permit holders, as the means available may permit, and as may be compatible with the forest conservancy. Whatever means Doctor Brandis considers may be profitably employed might be safely placed at his disposal, and the cutting of teak by the Forest Department might be expedited and extended.

Also, independently of departmental efforts, we consider that Doctor Brandis might be instructed to grant leases to European capitalists of selected forest tracts for short periods up to three years, with strict conditions and penalties, with reference to breach of forest regulations. By these means it may be hoped that the cutting of 20,000 or 30,000 logs for the Rangoon market might be secured. And this supply, though it might not meet the demand, would improve the timber market of Rangoon, and would add to the revenue.

CUSTOMS.

It has been already proposed that the Customs establishment on the northern frontier should be removed from Meeaday to Thayet-Myo.

In the establishment of this branch a native treasurer, on 80 rupees per mensem, might be saved.

At Bassein it has been proposed that the office of master-attendant be united to that of Collector of Customs, and that the officer who performs both duties should receive 500 rupees per mensem. The establishment was originally formed in the expectation of a considerable port arising at Dalhousie: compared with the present customs revenue (not more than half a lakh per annum) it appears excessive. At present this establishment is really a branch preventive establishment for the Rangoon Customs, and may admit of scrutiny and reduction.

	Rs.	
Collector -	- 300	portionate both to the work performed, and also as regards the proceeds, the receipts for
Clerk -	- 100	the past year being only 16,011 rupees, and the expenditure, on account of the establishment,
Burmese Writer -	25	amounting to 5,292 rupees per annum; it is therefore proposed to amalgamate this de-
Two Peons, at 8		partment to that of the Deputy Commissioner, retaining only the Burmese writer, on a
rupees each -	16	salary of 25 rupees, adding 25 rupees per mensem to the pay of the head clerk of the
Total -	- 441	Deputy Commissioner, thus effecting a saving of 4,692 rupees per annum.

The establishment for the Rangoon Collector of Customs does not at present appear to call for any special remark.

(signed) *A. P. Phayre*, Commissioner of Pegu.
R. Temple.
H. Bruce, Lieut.-Colonel.

IRRAWADDY FLOTILLA.

THE Flotilla consists of five steamers, as named below:—

Damoodah.	Diana.
Bentinck.	Nerbudda.
Mahanuddy.	

And the Flats:—

- | | |
|------------------|------------|
| 1. Pan Land. | 3. Sutej. |
| 2. Bhaugiruttee. | 4. Actæon. |

IN the Military Memorandum it has been proposed that the “Diana” steamer be withdrawn from Thayet-Myo, and the “Nerbudda” from Bassein. These two vessels may then be dispensed with from the flotilla, and their annual charges saved to this province—the saving may be estimated at about 80,000 rupees for establishment, stores, and repairs.

There will then remain three steamers in the flotilla; these are occupied in conveying Government stores and mails, and private merchandise. At present much room is occupied by public property, and private merchandise is often excluded. When large reductions of troops shall be effected, then the stores will occupy much less room, and the remainder will be taken up by merchandise. And on public grounds it will still be necessary to run the steamers twice a month.

For this work two efficient vessels should suffice, but the existing steamers are old, and constantly need repair; so that out of the three there are seldom more than two actually in work.

Of the flats there are only three in work; of these it will be practicable to lay up one, with a saving of about 6,500 rupees a year. For the remaining two it will be possible to dispense with the mates, who receive 100 rupees each, thus saving 2,400 rupees per annum.

The office of master attendant at Rangoon may be dispensed with, and the duties transferred to the superintendent of the flotilla, with a saving in pay and establishment of 637 rupees per mensem.

A harbour master will then be required, but he may also perform the duties of shipping master, whose salary will be defrayed by the Government.

The present superintendent will continue to be required for the superintending of the dockyard, the vessels, and duties of master attendant.

At Bassein the duties of master attendant can be united to those of Collector of Customs, with a net saving of 200 rupees a month in salary—there will also be some saving in establishment.

It has been proposed to finish the building in the Dalla dockyard.

The work of the yard has been very heavy, owing to the extensive repairs required for the steamers. But a considerable amount of work has been done also for private vessels. There is but one slip for repairing vessels, and that is constantly full. The public vessels repairing belong not only to this but to other provinces.

As regards establishment, the superintending establishment appears high; but supervision of this kind is considered specially necessary for such work as that of the dockyard. The permanent working establishment also appears considerable and high in proportion to the temporary establishment.

It might hence appear that, as the amount of work fluctuates according to an uncertain demand, the permanent establishment being so considerable, and must be occasionally unemployed. But still the permanent establishment is reported to be constantly employed, and that the work is always rather in arrears than otherwise. At this moment there is a considerable amount of work unexecuted.

The

The charges for the Pegu Marine for the last official year amounted to 3,69,348 rupees. By the arrangements proposed in this memorandum, the future saving will stand as follows :—

DALHOUSIE :

					<i>Perensem.</i>	<i>Per Year.</i>
Master Attendant's establishment	-	-	-	-	240	-
Reduction in pay by consolidation	-	-	-	-	200	-
TOTAL					<u>Rs. 440</u>	<u>= 5,280</u>

RANGOON :

					<i>Perensem.</i>	
Master Attendant's salary in reduction in establishment	-				687	= 8,244

FLOTILLA :

Two steamers, including repairs	-	-	-	-	-	72,000
One flat ditto	-	-	-	-	-	15,000
Medical attendance, Bassein and Thayet-Myo, to the two steamers	-	-	-	-	-	960
TOTAL					<u>Rs. 1,01,484</u>	<u>-</u>

As the number of troops in the Province of Pegu will at once be very much reduced, and the native force will eventually consist of local corps only, it appears doubtful whether the mail steamers' contract for keeping up fortnightly communication between Rangoon and Madras, which, it is understood, was contemplated, will now be required. The two European regiments and the Artillery will have their depôts in the Madras Presidency, but when it may be necessary to send men to and from that coast to Pegu, vessels could be employed specially for the purpose.

MARINE.

WE solicit the notice of Government to what is said above regarding Marine establishment in Pegu. Understanding that the Government desired the expenditure of the Irrawaddy Flotilla to be thoroughly considered, we have closely observed the present actual uses and purposes of that establishment.

It is not necessary for us to advert to the circumstances under which the flotilla was established, but it must be remembered that now its main purpose is to carry stores and materials twice a month for the troops cantoned along the line of the Irrawaddy, also the public mail and Government servants proceeding on duty. In subordination to this object, the flotilla carries private merchandise, for which freight is realised. We have recommended that for this purpose three steamers only be maintained at present. But in future it is to be remembered that, if our recommendation in the Military Department shall be accepted, there will be only one military station, namely, Thayet-Myo, on the Irrawaddy, above Rangoon; and three civil stations, Meeoung, Prome, and Thayet-Myo. Considering that land carriage is more or less obtainable from Rangoon to Prome, and that a road already exists from Prome to Thayet-Myo, we apprehend that it may be questionable whether the maintenances of the flotilla will ultimately be necessary.

That steam navigation on the Irrawaddy is of great commercial importance is indeed obvious. But that matter may be best left to private enterprise, or at all events need not, as we would venture to submit, be undertaken by the State in the present condition of the finances. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the uses of the remnant of the flotilla, which we propose to maintain, will be much diminished by the reduction of military establishments. And if the vessels are not filled with public stores, it is doubtful whether they will prove remunerative to Government by carrying private merchandise. The vessels are represented by the Marine authorities to be old and in disrepair, and the cost of their annual repairs is excessive. We understand that the Calcutta and Burmah Steam Company, which carries the mails from India to Burmah, are contemplating to tender for performing a similar service on the Irrawaddy. We do not presume to say whether such an offer would be worthy of consideration, nor are we aware whether any detailed plan has been formed. We only venture to submit that, if the navigation of the Irrawaddy can be managed by private enterprise, the abolition of the Irrawaddy Flotilla will be a relief to the finances of Pegu. The dockyard expenditures at Rangoon, now so heavy, would then be reduced to a minimum. The yard may prove of consequence to the State at some future day. In the meantime it would be much used by private parties in the shipping interest, who would pay for the work done; so that there would be no charge on the finances, and thus the yard will aid the commercial development of the province. But in the present state of progress in Pegu, and in the present condition of the finances, we submit that an extensive Marine establishment is not absolutely necessary in that province.

(signed) A. P. Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu.
R. Temple.
H. Bruce, Lieutenant Colonel.

PEGU.

GENERAL FINANCIAL RESULT.

In general terms the actual expenditure of all kinds for the Pegu Province might be set down as follows, for an average year, on the previously existing scale of charges :—

	Rs.
Total—Military (regular) approximately - - -	65,00,000
Marine - - - - -	3,69,348
Judicial - - - - -	3,50,795
Military, under civil authorities - - -	1,39,041
Police - - - - -	7,98,392
Revenue - - - - -	3,51,131
Customs - - - - -	94,352
General - - - - -	3,99,407
Public Works (approximate) - - - - -	15,00,000
Post Office and Electric Telegraph (average about)	75,000
TOTAL - - - Rs.	1,05,77,466

The highest amount of revenue realised in the year has been 46,51,938 rupees. Thus, if the revenue of the province be set down against the actual expenditure incurred in it, there has heretofore been a deficit of 59½ lakhs annually.

In future, according to the proposal, we have ventured to submit the expenditure will stand somewhere about as follows :—

	Rs.
Military - - - - -	28,00,000
Marine - - - - -	2,50,000
Police - - - - -	5,09,000
Judicial - - - - -	3,45,000
Revenue - - - - -	3,51,156
Customs - - - - -	93,000
General - - - - -	3,99,407
Public Works - - - - -	10,00,000
Post Office and Electric Telegraph - - -	1,00,000
TOTAL - - - Rs.	58,47,563

This shows a difference less between the former expenditure of 47 lakhs.

Against this it may be stated that the revenue in 1861–62 will probably amount to 50 lakhs. There will then be a deficit of less than 8½ lakhs after all charges, military and civil, have been included.

(signed) *A. P. Phayre*, Commissioner of Pegu.
R. Temple.
H. Bruce, Lieut.-Colonel.

TENASSERIM AND MARTABAN PROVINCES.

POLICE.

By the last Administration Report, the police of these provinces number 1,439 men, at an annual cost of 2,24,424 rupees.

	Men.	Rs.
Interior Police - - - - -	196	24,744
Provincial ditto - - - - -	399	69,432
Karen Levy - - - - -	200	32,472
Town Police - - - - -	404	61,488
River Police - - - - -	240	36,288
TOTAL - - -	1,439	2,24,424

Of this sum, 36,852 rupees are collected by means of a house tax in part liquidation of the town police, so that the actual disbursement, by Government, amounts to 1,61,276 rupees annually. This sum we apprehend is exclusive of the gao and military guards, which seem to be included in the cost of the prisoners; these might probably bring the entire expenditure upwards of three lakhs per annum.

It

It is difficult to come to a precise conclusion as to the number necessary for the new constabulary. But we believe that the nature of these provinces and its people is such, that some increase upon present number and expenses may be found unavoidable, more especially as the present Commissioner's letter, No. 109, of 20th June, to the address of the Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, points out the great difficulties with which the new police will have to contend.

We propose that the same system respecting the Goungs, which we have sketched out for Pegu, be thoroughly introduced into these provinces (as was partially done in respect to one of them), for now that amalgamation under one administration appears probable, it is advisable to start with uniformity of system.

We consider that the new constabulary will have to be formed somewhat as follows, viz. :—

4 Superintendents of Police—										Rs.
1 First Grade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	700
1 Second Grade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	600
2 Third Grade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,000

RIVER POLICE :

15 Dispatch Boats, with crews, complete	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 66 rupees each =	990
Office establishment for four District Police Superintendents, at 100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	" =	400
12 Inspectors—											
4 First Grade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 150	" = 600
Horse allowance, food, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 25	" = 100
											700
4 Second Grade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 120	" = 480
Horse Allowance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 20	" = 80
											560
4 Third Grade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 100	" = 400
Horse Allowance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 20	" = 80
											480
30 Head Constables	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 50	" = 1,500
Horse Allowance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 15	" = 450
											1,950
88 Serjeants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 20	" = 1,760
1,500 Constables—											
500 First Grade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 11	" = 5,500
500 Second Grade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 10	" = 5,000
500 Third Grade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	at 9	" = 4,500
											15,000
											24,140
											12
											2,89,680
Clothing (say)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23,000
Contingencies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,000
TOTAL per Annum										Rs.	3,16,680

The features of the provinces of Tenasserim and Martaban, the great area, with sparse population, and the somewhat disturbed condition of a portion of the frontier, all tend to render it necessary that the new constabulary should be of sufficient strength not only to maintain order, but likewise, in the first instance, to check the predatory disposition of a section of the Shan tribe, who have lately shown an increased disposition to maraud and disturb those wealthy foresters who are engaged in the timber trade.

We believe that the force we have named would be capable of obtaining these objects, but, although experience may hereafter point out the necessity for some slight alteration of money distribution, we consider that the sum of 3,16,680 rupees estimated for will suffice, and should not be added to, unless urgent necessity be shown. There can be no doubt that improved protection to life and property in the Tenasserim forests is urgently needed for the vital interests of the timber trade. The outrages committed (often with comparative impunity) are fully described in the Commissioner's Police Reports. And the timber merchants are earnest in their representations on the same subject. The police, we have recommended, should suffice to furnish strong posts on the Tounguee river at Dumdumee and other places. The selection of the sites for the posts should be left to the district authorities, but care should be taken in this respect, as upon such selection much of the efficiency of the posts must depend; also we apprehend that an European officer should be stationed at a commanding station somewhere on the Tounguee river. From all we can learn, we are inclined to attach great importance to this.

Further, we are strongly of opinion that opportunity and, indeed, encouragement should be given to the foresters to arm themselves when proceeding to the forests. Similar concessions are, to our knowledge, made on other frontiers similarly situated. Every advantage

will arise from this privilege, the abuse of which can be easily guarded against; the men can return the arms when called upon, or otherwise satisfy the district officer that the weapons have not been sent to Siam or elsewhere. The foresters should take out licenses; but, besides this, there should be no restriction, and the Deputy Commissioner should see that the men have no let or hindrance in obtaining these licenses for any reasonable number of weapons that may be needed for self-defence.

(signed) *A. P. Phayre*, Commissioner of Pegu.
R. Temple.
H. Bruce, Lieutenant Colonel.

TENASSERIM AND MARTABAN PROVINCES.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

THE unavoidable increase in police charges renders it necessary, if possible, to effect some reduction in the other civil establishments. With this view we have scrutinised the civil establishments of the four districts of Moulmein, Tavoy, Mergui, and Martaban in detail, and the following reductions appear to be feasible.

In the Moulmein Amherst district the duties of master attendant might be performed by the collector of customs. The duties of both these officers are such as may be performed by the same officer. The collector of customs, in his double capacity, would have the assistance of the master attendant's existing establishment. This would produce a saving of 500 rupees.

Civil Surgeon at Amherst, 300 rupees. The civil surgeon at Amherst might be dispensed with, as no civil officers are stationed there.

Superintendent Deputy Commissioner's Office, 50 rs. In the Deputy Commissioner's office the superintendent's pay is 300 rupees; according to Rangoon scale it should be 250.

	Rs.	
2d Assistant - - -	100	The second assistant, on 100 rupees, might apparently be spared. The salary of the treasurer is 100 rupees; according to Rangoon scale 80 rupees only ought to be allowed. Two out of the four Burmese writers might be spared; this would save 40 rupees. The pay of the duftery is 25 rupees; only 12 rupees ought to be allowed by Rangoon scale.
Treasurer - - -	20	
Two Burmese Writers	40	

	Rs.	
2d Assistant Interpreter, Judicial - - -	100	The second assistant interpreter in the judicial establishment might be spared (saving 10 rupees), as it has been proposed to dispense with officials of this class in Pegu. The Tamil interpreter (30 rupees), the two assistant interpreters (20 and 15 rupees), may be spared, as recourse can be had to the interpreter of the city magistrate, as is done at Rangoon. The office peons may be reduced from 11 to 6 rupees, with a saving of 60 rupees.
Interpreter - - -	30	
Assistant - - -	20	
Ditto - - -	15	
Office Peons - - -	60	

Constable - - -	100	In the establishment of the city magistrate, the constable on 100 rupees will not be needed on the formation of the new police. The grant department establishment may be transferred to the revenue department, and save one clerk on 60 and one on 40 rupees.
Grant Department:		
Clerk - - -	60	
Ditto - - -	40	

Accountant Head Clerk, 100		In the establishment of the Assistant Commissioner, the head clerk on 100, the second clerk on 60, the nazir on 30 rupees, may be spared, as it has been proposed to dispense with these officials for the Assistant Commissioners in Pegu.
2d - - ditto	60	
Nazir - - -	30	

Assistant Commissioner:		Similarly, a clerk on 60 and a nazir on 25 rupees may be spared from the office of the second Assistant Commissioner.
Clerk - - -	60	
Nazir - - -	25	

Third Assistant Commissioner:	Rs.	
Interpreter - - -	50	In the establishment of the third Assistant Commissioner an interpreter on 50 rupees may be spared; also a nazir on 20 rupees.
Nazir - - -	20	

Customs:
 Godown Establishment, 45 rupees. In the customs establishment, the godown establishment, costing 45 rupees, may be spared.

Assistant Marine Store Department 50 rupees. In the marine store department one assistant on 50 rupees may be dispensed with.

Martaban:	Rs.	
Assistant Commissioner, 500		In the Martaban province one Assistant Commissioner at Martaban may be spared when the new constabulary shall be formed, and also because it is proposed to transfer that town to Moulmein; thus 500 rupees in salary and 260 rupees in establishment will be saved. In the gaol one jemadar, 20 rupees, 10 peons, 100 rupees, will be similarly saved: one clerk on 50 rupees, and two of the office peons may apparently be dispensed with.
Establishment - - -	260	
Gaol Jemadar - - -	20	
Peons - - -	100	
Clerk - - -	50	
Peons - - -	20	

At

At Sittang the Assistant Commissioner's clerk, 120 rupees, and assistant clerk, 50 rupees, may be dispensed with, as it is proposed to dispense with these officials for Assistant Commissioner in Pegu.

Sittang Assistant Commissioner:	Rs.
Clerk - - -	- 120
Assistant ditto - -	- 50

The establishments of Goung Gyouks and Myo Thoogyes may be re-arranged for each of the four districts of Tenasserim and Martaban in the same manner as that proposed for the Myokes of Pegu.

But this will not produce any appreciable saving.

The savings proposed are given in the following statement. The total amounts to 4,449 rupees per mensem, or 53,388 rupees per annum:—

PROPOSED Statement showing the Reductions of Civil Establishment in the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces.

	Rs.	a.	p.
* Master Attendant of the Moulmein Amherst District - -	500	-	-
Civil Surgeon at Amherst - - - - -	300	-	-
Superintendent, Deputy Commissioner's Office - - -	50	-	-
" 2d Assistant - - - - -	100	-	-
" Treasurer - - - - -	20	-	-
" 2 Burmese Writers - - - - -	40	-	-
Judicial Department, 2d Assistant Interpreter - - -	100	-	-
" " Interpreter - - - - -	30	-	-
" " Assistant ditto - - - - -	20	-	-
" " Ditto - - - - -	15	-	-
" " Office Peons - - - - -	60	-	-
Constable of the Establishment of the City Magistrate - -	100	-	-
Grant Department Clerk - - - - -	60	-	-
" " Ditto - - - - -	40	-	-
Assistant Commissioner's Establishment, Accountant, Head Clerk -	100	-	-
" " " 2d ditto - - - - -	60	-	-
" " " Nazir - - - - -	30	-	-
2d Assistant Commissioner's Establishment, Clerk - - -	60	-	-
" " " Nazir - - - - -	25	-	-
3d Assistant Commissioner's Establishment, Interpreter - -	50	-	-
" " " Nazir - - - - -	20	-	-
Customs Godown Establishment - - - - -	45	-	-
Marine Store Department, 1 Assistant - - - - -	50	-	-
Martaban Assistant Commissioner - - - - -	500	-	-
" " Establishment - - - - -	260	-	-
Gaol Jemadar - - - - -	20	-	-
Peons - - - - -	100	-	-
Clerk - - - - -	50	-	-
Peons - - - - -	20	-	-
Sittang Assistant Commissioner's Clerk - - - - -	120	-	-
" " Assistant ditto - - - - -	50	-	-
Moulmein Gaol Accountant - - - - -	120	-	-
" Treasurer - - - - -	60	-	-
" Jemadar - - - - -	30	-	-
" Tindal - - - - -	24	-	-
" Sub-Assistant Surgeon - - - - -	145	-	-
" Amherst Gaol - - - - -	80	-	-
" Horse Allowance - - - - -	14	-	-
Artificer's Corps Establishment - - - - -	549	-	-
General Hospital Attendants - - - - -	35	-	-
Tavoy Establishment Peons - - - - -	20	-	-
" " Gaol Jemadars - - - - -	30	-	-
" " Peons - - - - -	180	-	-
Mergui Establishment Peons - - - - -	20	-	-
Free Police Jemadars - - - - -	15	-	-
" " Tindal - - - - -	12	-	-
" " Peons - - - - -	120	-	-
TOTAL - - - Rs.	4,449	-	-

In the gaol establishment we apprehend that, on the formation of the new constabulary, various savings may be effected. The accountant, 120 rupees, may be dispensed with, as no such officer is allowed in other gaols; so may the treasurer, 60 rupees; two jemadars, 30 rupees; two tindals, 24 rupees; three overseers, 300 rupees, will not be needed when the constabulary are formed. The sub-assistant surgeon may be spared, 145 rupees, as the duty can be done by the civil surgeon. The small gaol at Amherst can be transferred to Moulmein with a saving in establishment of 80 rupees. The payment of 14 rupees to convict hospital attendants appears irregular, and may be dispensed with. The artificers' corps establishment, costing 549 rupees per mensem, is quite unusual, and ought not, in our opinion, to be defrayed from the Treasury.

Moulmein Gaol:	Rs.
Accountant - - -	- 120
Treasurer - - -	- 60
Jemadar - - -	- 30
Tindal - - -	- 24
Overseers - - -	- 300
Sub.-Assist. Surg. - -	- 145
Amherst Gaol - - -	- 80
Horse Allowance - -	- 14
Artificers' Corps, 549 rupees.	

General Hospital:	Rs.	In the General Hospital the hospital convict attendants ought not, in our
Hospital Attendants -	35	opinion, to be paid by Government; 35 rupees may thus be saved.
Tavoy:	Rs.	In the Tavoy District, two peons, 20 rupees may be saved in the Deputy
Peons -	20	Commissioner's Office, and in the gaol, two jemadars, 30 rupees, and 18 peons,
Gaol Jemadars -	30	180 rupees, may be saved on introduction of the new police.
Peons -	180	
Mergui:		In the Mergui District, two peons, 20 rupees; and the Free Police esta-
Peons -	20	blishment jemadar, 15 rupees, tindal, 12 rupees, peons, 120 rupees, may be
Free Police, Jemadar -	15	saved on the introduction of the constabulary.
Tindal -	12	
Peons -	120	

We would here suggest, for the consideration of Government, that all life prisoners should be transferred from the Moulmein Gaol to the Andamans; and that only those prisoners confined for periods be retained at Moulmein; the former are more likely to attempt outbreaks and escapes than the latter, and hence increased guards, and therefore expenses, have to be maintained.

Now that the Commissionership of Tenasserim is vacant, we would submit that the present opportunity might be taken of equalising the salaries of the Commissioners of Arracan and Tenasserim, the duties and responsibilities of both being the same. The Commissioner of Arracan receives 1,500 rupees, and the Commissioner of Tenasserim 2,500 rupees. If both were to receive 2,000 rupees, the arrangement would seem to be a suitable one.

The excess of expenditure, according to our proposals, for the organised constabulary for Tenasserim and Martaban, amounts, as will have been seen, in round numbers, to one lakh and sixteen thousand. Against this there is to be set off the saving in the Military Guards for Tavoy and Mergui, about two companies, the cost of which may be estimated at 60,000 rupees per annum; also a company at Shooegyeen, which is about the number of the Pegu sappers, employed in purely civil duties, at a cost of 30,000 rupees per annum. Then the proposed savings in the Civil establishments, as proposed by us, will amount to 53,388 rupees per annum.

ARRACAN POLICE.

THE strength of the force employed upon police duties in this province may be estimated as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
80 Khyeng Levy -	7,104	-	-
230 Gaol Establishment -	20,352	-	-
287 Criminal Police -	49,212	-	-
80 River Police and Boats -	8,179	-	-
Total -	Rs. 84,847	-	-

In addition to the above, there are 340 men of the Arracan Local Battalion employed in detachments throughout the province upon purely police duties, and if these men be taken at the usual cost rate of 200 rupees per man annually, it will be found, without doubt, that the entire expense which must unquestionably be debited to the police, does not fall short of 1,62,847 rupees.

But it is a question whether the entire cost of the local battalion should not be debited to the police, for their duties must necessarily be but local, and altogether within the scope of policemen; if so, then nearly 2½ lakhs will have to be added to the cost of the Civil Police above shown at 84,847 rupees, forming an aggregate of 3,04,847 rupees.

It will be convenient, at any rate, to bear this sum in view for reasons which will become hereafter apparent.

We conceive that the Arracan Local Battalion is hardly necessary at Akyab for military purposes; we apprehend that its services might, without inconvenience, be dispensed with, for although the sanctioned establishments of the corps is upwards of 1,100, still the difficulty of obtaining recruits has always kept its numbers down to about 700 men, nearly one-half of whom, as above shown, are constantly employed for the purposes of police, the remainder being held in reserve at Akyab.

Under the new system, it will be necessary to maintain a small police reserve at the above station, and we conceive that a police body of a little more than half the strength above mentioned, as a reserve, will answer every purpose. We would suggest that this body be police in name as well as in its duties, and that application be made to His Excellency the Commander in Chief for the transfer of the corps, in order to its amalgamation and embodiment with the new constabulary.

There will be an efficient town police for Akyab in addition to the country constabulary; but as this body will continue to be paid out of municipal resources, there is no occasion to notice it further in this place.

The paragraphs that refer to the village police for the provinces of Pegu, Tenasserim, and Martaban, are alike applicable to Arracan.

We conceive that a constabulary force of the following strength will not only meet all the requirements of Arracan, but remove the necessity for the maintenance of any other armed force in Arracan:—

ARRACAN POLICE.						Rs.
1	District Superintendent, 1st Grade	-	-	-	at	700 = 700
2	Ditto Ditto, 2d ditto	-	-	-	"	600 = 1,200
1	Assistant District Superintendent	-	-	-	"	400 = 400
	Office Establishment for 3 District Superintendents	-	-	-	"	100 = 300
3	Inspectors, 1st Grade	-	-	-	"	150 = 450
	Horse Allowance	-	-	-	"	25 = 75
3	Inspectors, 2d Grade	-	-	-	"	120 = 360
	Horse Allowance	-	-	-	"	20 = 60
4	Inspectors, 3d Grade	-	-	-	"	100 = 400
	Horse Allowance*	-	-	-	"	20 = 80
20	Head Constables	-	-	-	"	50 = 1,000
	Horse Allowance	-	-	-	"	15 = 300
53	Sergeants	-	-	-	"	20 = 1,060
1,000	Constables, divided into 3 Grades—					
	300 of 1st Grade	-	-	-	"	11 = 3,300
	350 of 2d ditto	-	-	-	"	10 = 3,500
	350 of 3d ditto	-	-	-	"	9 = 3,150

RIVER POLICE.

8	Dispatch Boats, with Crew, &c., including all expenses	-	"	50	400
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Total - - - 16,735
12

TOTAL per Annum - - Rs. 2,00,820

* Exclusive of all arms, accoutrements, ammunition, &c.

A table is affixed, showing the total cost of the present police in the Arracan, Tenasserim, and Pegu Provinces, as compared with the new constabulary, when those provinces are united under one administration.

TABLE showing the present and proposed Cost of Old and New Police in the Arracan, Pegu, Tenasserim, and Martaban Provinces.

O L D.		N E W.		Per Mensem.	Per Annum.
	Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Pegu Light Infantry - - -	2,00,000 - -	1 Inspector General for Pegu, Tenasserim, and Martaban Provinces - - -	- - -	1,500 - -	18,000 - -
Arracan Battalion - - -	2,50,000 - -	12 District Superintendents of Police:—			
Arracan Police - - -	84,847 - -	4 of the 1st Grade - - at 700 rupees each	- - -	2,800 - -	33,600 - -
Tenasserim and Martaban Police - - -	2,24,424 - -	4 of the 2d ditto - - " 600 "	- - -	2,400 - -	28,800 - -
Pegu Police - - -	6,91,592 - -	4 of the 3d ditto - - " 500 "	- - -	2,000 - -	24,000 - -
Tavoy Native Infantry } Doing Po-	90,000 - -	3 Assistant District Superintendents of Police - - " 400 "	- - -	1,200 - -	14,400 - -
Megui - ditto } lice work.		Office Establishment for Inspector General - - -	- - -	1,200 - -	14,400 - -
Shoogyeen Sappers - - -		Ditto for 12 District Superintendents of Police - - at 100 rupees each	- - -	200 - -	2,400 - -
				1,200 - -	14,400 - -
		37 Inspectors:—			
		12 of the 1st Grade - - " 150 "	- - -	1,800 - -	
		Horse allowance for ditto - - " 25 "	- - -	300 - -	25,200 - -
		12 of the 2d Grade - - " 120 "	- - -	1,440 - -	
		Horse allowance for ditto - - " 20 "	- - -	240 - -	20,160 - -
		13 of the 3d Grade - - " 100 "	- - -	1,300 - -	
		Horse allowance for ditto - - " 20 "	- - -	260 - -	18,720 - -
		95 Head Constables - - " 50 "	- - -	4,750 - -	
		Horse allowance for ditto - - " 15 "	- - -	1,425 - -	74,100 - -
		276 Sergeants - - - " 20 "	- - -	5,520 - -	66,240 - -
		4,800 Constables, divided into three Grades:—			
		1,500 of the 1st Grade - - " 11 "	- - -	16,500 - -	1,98,000 - -
		1,650 of the 2d ditto - - " 10 "	- - -	16,500 - -	1,98,000 - -
		1,650 of the 3d ditto - - " 9 "	- - -	14,850 - -	1,78,200 - -
		RIVER POLICE.			
		49 Dispatch Boats, with Crews, &c., complete:—			
		41 Boats - - - at 66 rupees each	- - -	2,706 - -	32,472 - -
		8 ditto - - - " 50 "	- - -	400 - -	4,800 - -
		Clothing - - -	- - -	- - -	63,000 - -
		Contingencies - - -	- - -	- - -	12,000 - -
TOTAL - - - Rs.	15,40,863 - -	TOTAL - - - Rs.		79,291 - -	10,26,492 - -

Calcutta, 29 October 1860.

(No. 2735.)

MEMORANDUM by Colonel Balfour.

MILITARY FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

PEGU DIVISION.

* Troops:
 Detachments of European and Native Artillery.
 2 Regiments British Infantry.
 10 Ditto Native Ditto.
 2 Local Regiments.
 Appendix (A).

THE force * stationed in the Pegu Division appears, by a return from the Quarter-master General's Department, dated 15th October 1860, to be composed of 194 European, and 194 native officers, with 2,333 rank and file of Europeans, and 9,767 of natives; followers excluded.

2. These troops are distributed among seven large, and eleven minor stations:—

Large Stations.		Minor Stations.	
1. Rangoon.	5. Tounghoo.	1. Bassein.	7. Kaloodoo.
2. Thayet-Myo.	6. Shooegyeen.	2. Prome.	8. Beeling.
3. Meeaday.	7. Moulmein.	3. Menghee.	9. Mergui.
4. Henzadah.		4. Pegu.	10. Tavoy.
		5. Sittang.	11. Keikietoo.
		6. Kyoukee.	

Appendix (B).

3. Major General Bell, commanding the division, considers the force unnecessarily large and too much scattered, while the several detachments are too small to be useful as separate military bodies. He proposes immediately to dispense with the following troops:—

1 Regiment Native Infantry from Rangoon.
 1 ditto - ditto Moulmein.
 1 ditto - ditto Henzadah.
 Detachments of artillery from Moulmein.
 Ditto - ditto - Shooegyeen.

Appendix (D).

The Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces concurs in the removal of the artillery and European infantry from Shooegyeen, which is pronounced unhealthy, both Europeans and natives having suffered much. For this reason, the Commissioner is also willing to dispense with the detachment of European infantry stationed at Shooegyeen; and is moreover ready to part with the two native infantry regiments from Moulmein, provided he be furnished with two companies of Europeans, and a properly organised constabulary.

Appendix (B).

4. General Bell further proposes the withdrawal of one other regiment of native infantry from Rangoon, as soon as the new police is organised; as also the withdrawal of the regiment of native infantry now stationed at Meeaday, as soon as the Commissariat and Ordnance buildings required at Thayet-Myo are completed. The stockade at Thayet-Myo has been long under construction, and is believed to be of an unnecessarily extensive range. The delay in its completion has exposed the Government to considerable extra expenditure in keeping up separate establishments at Meeaday, which, being on the opposite side of the river, a few miles above Thayet-Myo, is near to the Burmese Frontier, and has long been exposed. The removal of the stores and provisions from Meeaday to Thayet-Myo should, as a measure of expediency, be at once ordered, irrespective of the completion of the works at the latter post.

Appendices (B) & (C).

5. It is proposed to locate two companies of native infantry at Meeaday, these companies being detached from the regiment stationed at Thayet-Myo: but in another part of his memorandum, General Bell intimates that a wing of a European regiment (out of the two regiments stationed in the Pegu Division) might be very economically (rations being cheap) posted at Thayet-Myo, and the horse field battery now at Rangoon, if also posted there, is more likely to be serviceable at that station than at Rangoon; and then adds that a complete wing of a European regiment at Thayet-Myo, and another at Rangoon, "will meet all requirements." The propriety of leaving so small a detachment as two companies of native infantry at Meeaday, the nearest station to the Burmese Frontier, may well be questioned. An attack in force by the Burmese would certainly ensure the defeat of this small detachment; and the moral effect of any defeat, even that of the Naique's Guard, is, from the exaggerative character of the natives, injurious to the prestige of the British Government. It seems, therefore, our most prudent policy to concentrate the military forces near the Burmese Frontier, at Thayet-Myo.

Appendices (B) & (D).

6. As above stated, General Bell is strongly in favour of the removal of the two companies of Her Majesty's 69th Regiment from Shooegyeen, the station being unhealthy; the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces also is disposed to abandon Shooegyeen as the sadder station of Martaban, preferring Sittang to it. In such case, the two companies of Europeans referred to may be removed to Moulmein, as desired by the Commissioner; which will enable the Commissioner to dispense not only with the two regiments of native infantry, but also with the Artillery Ordnance Department, and Commissariat establishments, now located at Moulmein.

7. These arrangements, therefore, would immediately release three regiments* of native infantry and two detachments of artillery, and eventually, four regiments† more of native infantry, making in all seven regiments of native infantry, besides artillery and the departmental establishments above specified. There will thus remain in Pegu and Tenasserim, only three native infantry regiments, and two local corps, but on the abolition of the latter there will probably be required five regiments of native infantry with an efficient establishment of 600 healthy privates. Each native infantry regiment in Burmah, at its present strength (1,000 privates), may be said to cost in pay, rations, clothing, &c., nearly three lakhs per annum.

* 1 from	Rangoon.
1 „	Moulmein.
1 „	Henzadah.
† 1 „	Rangoon.
1 „	Moulmein.
1 „	Meeaday.
1 „	Thayet-Myo.

8. On the completion of all these arrangements, at least until the principal stations in the Pegu division are connected by complete telegraphic communication, it may be desirable to have the steamers “Pluto.” and “Nemesis” stationed at Rangoon and off Moulmein, armed and ready for any service.

PEGU SAPPER BATTALION.

9. The officer commanding the division, and the Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces, agree in condemning the constitution of this battalion, as, being in the first instance, unnecessarily expensive, and, secondly, as wanting in that degree of discipline essential to render it effective. Appendices (C) & (D).

PEGU LIGHT INFANTRY.

10. The officer commanding the division has, at the request of the Commissioner, reviewed and reported on this corps; and his opinion is very unfavourable to its discipline and organisation. I am aware that Colonel Phayre is opposed to the views expressed by General Bell; but I am of opinion that only one kind of military force, whether designated regular or irregular, should be kept up, and that it should be good and efficient in the eyes of military commanders. If the military reports hitherto made on these corps are not conclusive, special officers may be deputed to make a thorough inspection and review.

11. It would be advisable clearly to ascertain and define the objects and duties for which these two local corps are maintained, and then to consider whether these duties are essentially necessary; and next, whether they ought to be performed by men maintained and disciplined as soldiers, or whether all the objects desired might not be attained by a constabulary. My opinion is, that the Pegu Light Infantry and Sapper Battalion should be amalgamated with the new constabulary; or, if retained as a district force, should be placed under strict military command, be efficiently officered, and collected together as military bodies, instead of, as now, being broken up and dispersed in many small detachments, an arrangement which adds considerably to the expensive organisation of the corps.

COMMISSARIAT.

12. The saving to be effected in the Commissariat Department by the above arrangements (exclusive of the reduction in public cattle, &c., which will be presently adverted to), is roughly estimated by Captain Harris, Assistant Commissary General, at 2,01,152 rupees, but there is every reason to believe it will be considerably more. At most stations, where only native troops or a few Europeans are located, Commissariat establishments may be dispensed with, and the rationing of the troops effected by means of contracts, under the supervision of either the presiding civil or military authorities. The rationing of natives by contract has been very successfully tried by Captain Forlong, in connection with the large gaol at Moulmein. The stations which will thus be relieved of Commissariat establishments, are as below:—

Moulmein.	Henzadah.
Mergui and Tavoy.	Meeaday.
Shoogyen.	Prome.

13. As affecting Commissariat expenditure, General Bell has expressed an opinion that the sheep farm maintained at Thayet-Myo, must cost considerably more money than it returns to the State. The Assistant Commissary General at Pegu has taken up the question, and will at once initiate reforms which will diminish charges. It must be here remarked that the prompt audit of the Commissariat accounts is of great importance, and the Assistant-Commissary General has been requested to urge this point in firm but respectful language. There are even now unadjusted sums appertaining to the war expenditure, which require the sanction of the Government of Madras before they can be settled; and the obtaining of this sanction should not be further delayed. The Assistant Commissary General should be placed in general charge over the Commissariat stations in these provinces, being relieved from all executive management. In connection with such Commissariat arrangements, the payments of the troops might be much simplified, and the charge for establishments correspondingly reduced. Appendix (B).

14. This seems also to be a proper opportunity for pointing out the vast importance of an efficient local audit over expenditure of every kind, in these provinces. I am satisfied

that the Civil, Marine, Military, Public Works, Commissariat and Ordnance expenditure, require, for their efficient control, to be promptly looked into. I would advocate immediate arrangements being made for ensuring this audit, which, considering the peculiar character of the affairs of the Eastern Provinces, should be especial and local, Madras and Calcutta being too distant effectually to restrain or repress unnecessary expenditure.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Appendix (F).

15. The dépôts at Moulmein, Shooegyeen, and Bassein may, in reference to the proposed reduction and re-distribution of troops, be abolished. The two companies of Europeans to be stationed at Moulmein can be readily provided with ammunition and stores from the Rangoon Arsenal, and an adequate reserve can be kept at Moulmein, under regimental arrangement. The dépôt at Meeaday will be removed to Thayet-Myo, and as the latter station is easily accessible by means of the flotilla, the present establishment may be reduced. It is recommended that all artificers be withdrawn from this dépôt, and it may be placed under the charge of the officer commanding the battery, with a small allowance and a few Lascars. The dépôt at Tounghoo may be reduced in like manner.

16. The Rangoon Arsenal is admitted to have a more extensive establishment than necessary; but this is in a great measure attributable to the nature of the buildings, and the dangerous position in which placed, which prevent adequate supervision, except by increased numbers. The erection of new and more compact buildings in a better situation, without loss of time, cannot be too strongly advocated. The number of warrant officers, artificers, and Lascars might then be considerably reduced, and with such reduction much immediate and prospective expenditure (in the way of pension) might be saved. This subject has been the source of much vexation to the Ordnance officers of the Madras Presidency, who are dependent on the officers of the Public Works Department in the Pegu Division for the necessary representations, regarding their wants, to the Government of India. So ill adapted are the present arrangements for the custody of Ordnance stores, that General Bell declared he would at once consider the propriety of handing over, for an arsenal, two brick godowns offered by the Assistant Commissary General. These were built by the Commissariat officers, and charged for in the Commissariat accounts; but the arrangement would bring the Commissariat and Ordnance stores together, in a convenient position near the river, and the whole of the Ordnance and Commissariat buildings might be enclosed by a protecting wall, with flanking towers. I am quite satisfied that half a lakh of rupees, if laid out by the departmental officers, would supply convenient buildings, which would shortly save the amount of their original cost, provided they are properly arranged and suitably situated.

17. General Bell has made a proposition to introduce schools of trade in European regiments, and to give out Ordnance work to be there executed; and in provinces where artificers are with difficulty obtained this would be a desirable measure, and should be encouraged. Soldiers who are artificers might be sent to the arsenal, and for others one of the vacant barracks might be made into a workshop, superintended by a serjeant, who should be well paid. Armourers, shoemakers, tailors, and other handicraftsmen may be there kept at work, with profit both to themselves and the State. The condition, made by General Bell, viz., that it shall in no way interfere with the regimental duty of the men, should however be respected.

18. I would give even further extension to this proposition. With the fine climate of Pegu and Tenasserim, the European soldiers could be employed for a considerable part of the year on public works out of doors, just as the Sepoys are now so employed in working parties, receiving the usual rates of working pay. Indeed this practice might, with much advantage, be extended, and made general in the case of all soldiers, European and native, who may be found willing to undertake such employment. I observed several places in the vicinity of the barracks at Rangoon, which, by means of such agency, might be greatly improved, both as respects sanitary considerations and strength of position, in a military point of view. Additional roads and water-courses could, in like manner, be constructed; and in instances where it may be deemed expedient, the officers of the Public Works Department may pay for such operations on the piece-work plan.

BEARERS AND CATTLE.

Appendix (G).

19. A large reduction in this establishment, amounting annually to 2,28,966 rupees, has already been effected. This, it is believed, is the saving adverted to in the annexment to the letter to the Financial Commission from the Military Department, No. 881, dated 20th October 1860; but by a memo. submitted, under date the 12th October 1860, by the Assistant Quartermaster General of the Pegu Division, a further saving of 2,20,992 rupees is proposed to be made. By the latter arrangement the aggregate annual cost of the Land Transport Establishment in the Pegu Division, will be reduced to 2,68,634 rupees, instead of 7,00,000 rupees, at which it stood in the beginning of 1859.

RIVER COMMUNICATION.

20. The reduced Land Transport Establishment is said to be only sufficient for ordinary work, and that if any operations by land are to be undertaken, extra cattle must be collected. Little apprehension on this score need be entertained, if complete river communication could once be secured; but in the meantime the reduction of the means of transport by land to a low establishment only sufficient for ordinary work entails the necessity of timely inquiry into the means of collecting cattle, which may be difficult, if operations by land become necessary.

21. It would also be invaluable in a military point of view if that part of the long-projected canal lying on the west of the Sittang were cut; thereby connecting the Pegu River with the Sittang, and uniting, so to speak, Tounghoo, the Martaban province, and Pegu, in one line of water communication.

22. There are at present two flats and two tugs used for communicating from Rangoon with Thayet-Myo, twice a month. The number should be increased, so as to allow of communication being held weekly; and as the charge to private parties for freight is considered so high as to deter them from using the flats, the rates should be greatly reduced. There are many articles which would thus be brought down to Rangoon, and sold at cheap rates, such as cattle, and supplies required by Government, &c.; goods for export would pay customs duty, and, in a short time, private enterprise would place flats on the line, so as to run to the capital of Ava, a measure of great importance both politically and commercially. The cost of effecting the above junction with the Sittang is not estimated to be great, for in the rains there is water communication existing, and no engineering difficulties present themselves to the opening of the channel.

23. The question of placing a flat or a tug on the Sittang River might also be re-opened. One unsuccessful attempt to enter the mouth of the Sittang has been made, but it was made at a wrong time of the year, and when the river was in a bad state, and the project might be again tried. The power of communicating with Tounghoo by steam, should be the end aimed at. This once effected, every point of importance in the Pegu Division could be reached, either by means of the present flotilla, or boats of shallower draft of water constructed for the purpose. The eventual saving to the State, from the provision of such means of transporting troops and stores, would be large, while, by judiciously rendering them available to private enterprise, as above adverted to, when not required by Government, an equivalent to the interest of the outlay incurred may be readily obtained. Both the flotilla and boats to be constructed should carry passengers and goods at moderate rates; and if manned on an economical scale, and made readily available, it is believed that constant employment could be found for them. No description of land carriage ever has afforded, or ever can afford, Government the like advantage.

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.

24. Next in importance to river communication is the extension of the electric telegraph. It already exists between Rangoon and Shooegyeen, and should be taken from Shooegyeen, through Sittang, to Moulmein on the one side, and on the other from Shooegyeen to Tounghoo, and from Prome to Thayet-Myo. With such a chain of communication, no local difficulty or disturbance could be of any continuance. In fact, with the telegraph to send intelligence, and river communication to send aid, the utmost security may be enjoyed.

25. These two projects may with advantage engage the attention of Government, as two grand sources whence economy will flow.

26. In conclusion, I would observe that there is one serious defect under which corps stationed in the Eastern Settlements labour, and that is the large number of recruits and sick absentees, which tends to diminish the number of effectives for duty. The five corps to be eventually maintained in the Pegu Division should invariably be kept up to 600 privates, efficient and sound men; and on occasions of relief, none but men pronounced physically sound should be permitted to proceed thither. Then the reduced strength* would answer all purposes, as well as, if not better, than the present nominal strength of 1,000; and further, when the full period of three years' foreign service of such men shall have expired, the acclimatised men may, as General Bell suggests, be induced to exchange into the relieving regiment, for one or two years' further service, by the addition of a trifle to their pay, an item of expenditure which will be more than covered by the saving in passage money, hospital provision, and attendance for the sick. It is also worthy of consideration, whether the horses of the artillery batteries in Pegu might not now be reduced to the peace establishment; and also, whether the number of companies of artillery, now seven, might not be reduced, and, by being kept complete, form as strong a force as the present. It appears questionable, moreover, whether the services of the two companies of Sappers and Miners now in these provinces are absolutely necessary; and if not, they may be employed with profit elsewhere. These points, though minor ones, are nevertheless not unworthy of consideration, inasmuch as by reducing the force to the actual

Appendix (H).

* If relieved from the numerous duties of watch now generally entailed on troops.

requirements of the provinces, and then rendering it complete, the true measure of the military expenditure to be incurred for their protection will be ascertained, and serve as a standard for future guidance.

27. I cannot close this memorandum without making mention of the hearty willingness evinced by General Bell, in respect to effecting reductions of military expenditure. The Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces, Captain Hopkinson, also most readily discussed the numerous questions connected with the administration of those provinces, involving military expenditure; and both these officers furnished me with most useful memoranda, which are referred to in this paper.

28. I would wish also to make mention of the departmental officers, Captain Harris, Assistant Commissary General; Captain Wade, Commissary of Ordnance; Captain O'Connell, Assistant Quartermaster General; Captain Greenlaw, the Paymaster; Captain Forlong, the Executive Engineer and Superintendent of Convicts; and Colonel Gordon, Commanding at Moulmein. All these officers most fully recognised the importance of effecting reductions in military expenditure; and each in his own department has indicated openings for even much larger reductions than I have here specified.

G. Balfour, Colonel,
President, Military Finance Commission.

P.S.—The proceedings of the Madras Government, No. 3583, dated 5th October 1860, received by the Commission on the 26th instant, have arrived most opportunely, as I observe in their opinions expressed by his Excellency Sir Patrick Grant, which are in many ways concurrent with those I have submitted in the foregoing memo.

1st. Sir Patrick Grant states, that "unless the military reasons for occupying Shooegyeen are of great weight, the result of past experience would lead to the conclusion that, in a sanatory point of view, it is not a fit and proper locality, particularly for European troops, which should, if possible, be withdrawn from the station." General Bell has expressed the same opinion, and supported it by the fact, that there have been 11 deaths of Europeans in the course of this year, in addition to sending two officers and 16 men to Madras on medical certificate. The Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces being also anxious to abandon Shooegyeen, arrangements to that effect might be immediately made.

2d. As regards the Artillery at Moulmein, Sir Patrick Grant appears to write under the impression that it is a full reserve company, whereas it is only one-third of a company. His Excellency's wish to have it withdrawn has been anticipated by the Commissioner, who has declared his willingness, on being provided with two companies of European Infantry, to dispense with both regiments of Native Infantry and the detachment of Artillery. It has been stated in the body of the memorandum, that there are seven companies of Artillery stationed within the limits of the Pegu Division; and that reducing the number of the companies, those retained might be rendered more complete and equally efficient. I now beg to state definitely, that four complete companies of Artillery, at full strength, would meet all the requirements of the division, and form even a stronger force of this arm of the service than that now located there.

3d. The immediate removal of three regiments of Native Infantry, without relief, as adverted to in the proceedings of the Madras Government, is in accordance with General Bell's recommendation, and the regiment proposed to be retained in Moulmein until the end of 1861 need not be so kept there, if the suggestions I have had the honour to make are approved.

4th. His Excellency Sir Patrick Grant's objections against the grant of a bounty to the Sepoy, to extend his period of foreign service, are doubtless well founded. The commission, when making the proposition, were conscious that it was open to question, and now drop it as untenable. General Bell's proposition to grant a rupee extra a month to every trained soldier, for the period he may remain in Burmah beyond the limit of foreign service, commends itself to consideration, however, as being free from that objectionable aspect in which the question of bounty may be viewed, especially as the extra pay will only be offered of Sepoys of good behaviour, and of healthy and robust constitutions; and such men are worth more to Government, even at as 14 rupees a month, than the men of the Sapper battalion, who receive 12 rupees each, and provided by Government with expensive huts. As regards this subject, I am persuaded, after careful reflection, that if Government could obtain 600 efficient men, as above described, from the five corps about returning to the coast, and pay them 14 rupees each per month, without rations, at the same time causing their hutting to be effected under regimental arrangements, with a donation of two rupees per man for the purpose, the cost of such a body, viewed in relation to its efficiency, would be far below the expense at which, under existing arrangements, a similar body of men, of equal efficiency, could, under any circumstance, be maintained in the Pegu Division.

There

There is another point bearing upon the condition of the Native soldier in the Eastern Settlements to which I would wish to draw attention. The Sepoys experience great difficulty in preparing their food, and this is felt to be a great drawback from their comfort. If any plan could be devised of establishing regimental messes, such as are understood to exist in some of the Punjabee regiments,* a great *desideratum* would be accomplished, and a grave objection to continuance on foreign service removed. It must be remembered that the Native soldier on foreign service is, in many respects, situated similarly to the European soldier in India, and requires nearly as much looking after. He is in barracks, requires to have a good bed raised from the floor, to be regularly and daily inspected, and to have his food, not only properly made, but punctually furnished at stated hours.

* It is believed that regimental messes have, to some but very limited extent, been established among the Madras Native Infantry Regiments in Pegu.

Attention to these minutiae would ensure alike the gratitude of the Sepoy, and subserve the interests of Government.

G. Balfour, Colonel,
President, Military Finance Commission.

EAST INDIA (BRITISH BURMAH).

COPY of the REPORT upon the INCOME and EXPENDITURE of BRITISH BURMAH, by *R. Temple*, Esq., and Lieutenant Colonel *H. Bruce*, 1860.

(*Lord Stanley.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
23 June 1865.

405.

Under 4 oz.

EAST INDIA (CANALS).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 1 June 1865 ;—for,

A “COPY of RESOLUTION by the Government of *India*, Public Works Department (Nos. $\frac{656.8}{3825}$, dated 15th August 1864), published in ‘Supplement to the Gazette of India, 31st December 1864,’ relative to the CANALS of the NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES.”

India Office, }
2 June 1865. }

W. T. THORNTON,
Secretary, Public Works Department.

(No. 3.)

Nos. $\frac{656.8}{3825}$, dated 15 August 1864.

RESOLUTION, by the Government of *India*, Public Works Department.

* * * * *

4. The Governor General in Council next proceeds to remark on the operations of the Canal Department, reviewed in detail in these two reports.

GANGES CANAL.

5. The progress of the irrigated area and the income have continued, though slowly, till the Rubbee of 1862-63, when a most serious and lamentable falling off has taken place, consequent on the stoppage of the canal, caused by accidents to the falls.

6. The net return for 1861-62 is found to be one-sixth per cent. on the capital sunk, and out of seven lakhs of rupees income, the irrigation produced six lakhs. The net profits are 32 per cent. of the gross income, and amount to about $2\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs.

For the year 1862-63 there is a deficit, or excess of charge over income, of one lakh. There is a falling off of $1\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs on the income, and an increase of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs on the charges, making a total decrease of $3\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs as compared with the previous year.

7. It is at once observable, from a comparison of the Ganges Canal returns with those of the other irrigation canals of these Provinces, that the system of irrigation in the districts traversed by the Ganges Canal is still very immature. Thus, while one cubic foot of discharge per second on the Ganges Canal in 1861-62 irrigated on an average 77 acres, on the East Jumna Canal it irrigated 236 acres, and on the West Jumna Canal 211 acres.

8. If the irrigation from the Ganges Canal were extended in the same proportion as in the two older canals, the gross income would probably increase, at existing rates, from seven to not less than 20 lakhs* of rupees, being about 10 per cent. on the capital sunk on the works. To obtain an estimate of the possible
net

* 4,850 cubic feet per second, at 220 acres, give 10,67,000 acres. This, at Rs. 1.9 per acre, gives about 20 lakhs.

net income, the question of outlay must be considered. On the Eastern and Western Jumna Canals the total expenditure seems to vary from Rs. 0.4 to Rs. 0.6 per acre, averaging, say, Rs. 0.5; but this does not include the charges for the maintenance of rajbhas, or main water courses, which would increase the amount by about one-fourth, so that the actual cost may be taken at Rs. 0.625, or 10 annas an acre on the average. On the Ganges Canal (excluding 1863-64) the corresponding charge is from Rs. 1.2 to Rs. 1.3 per acre. This difference is of course mainly owing to the relative small acreage (about one-third of what it might be) under irrigation in the case of the Ganges Canal; but as there seems no special reason to suppose that when the irrigation is fully developed, the charges on the Ganges Canal should exceed the rate on the other canals, the charges might, in the event supposed, increase from $4\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs, the present expenditure, say to $6\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs,* leaving the probable net income about $13\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs, which is equivalent to 7 per cent. on 195 lakhs, the capital sunk at the end of 1861-62.

9. The object to be at present effected is the speedy extension of irrigation, as far as practicable, and every effort should be made to accomplish this. The present condition of the canal, however, is no doubt most unfavourable to this extension; and it is observed that, owing to the accidents before referred to, the acreage for 1862-63 was only 206,000 acres against 372,000 acres in 1861-62. But this should lead to the outlay upon maintenance and repairs being very carefully scrutinized, to bring down the charges as much as possible. It will be long, his Excellency in Council fears, before this canal pays even 4 or 5 per cent. on the capital sunk.

10. Comparing the charges for 1861-62 with those of 1862-63, it is observed that the following is the result:—

	1861-62.	1862-63.	More.	Less.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Establishment - - - - -	2,35,614	2,52,288	16,674	—
Contingencies - - - - -	22,058	16,564	- -	5,494
Repairs - - - - -	2,05,249	3,44,129	1,38,880	—
Plantations - - - - -	16,240	10,888	- -	5,352
Deductions from revenue - - - -	- -	9,059	9,059	—
TOTAL - - - Rs.	4,79,161	6,32,928	1,64,613	10,846
			1,53,767	

The sum entered as a deduction from revenue should properly have been a charge under establishment, being money paid away in connection with the collections of water rate. There is, therefore, an increased charge for 1862-63, under the head of establishment, of 25,733 rupees, with a reduced acreage of irrigation, and a reduced income under every sub-head, aggregating 1,73,522 rupees. The large increase of charge under the head of repairs, being over $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of rupees, is no doubt mainly due to the accidents already referred to; but both of these increased charges call for special explanation.

11. Acre for acre, the maintenance charges on this canal are rather more than double those of the Eastern Jumna Canal. There is, however, no proper classification of the charges, and it is not possible to make any close comparison. The Governor General in Council would wish to see introduced a regular classification both of charges for maintenance and also of revenue receipts for all irrigation canals, in the manner adopted in the revenue accounts of railway companies, from a comparison of which, on the various canals, the relative economy of the management, and attention to the development of revenue, could really be tested, which

* One million acres, at Rs. 6.25, gives $6\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs.

which at present is hardly possible. The attention of the Superintendent General of Irrigation should at once be directed to this.

12. Without desiring that it shall be followed as a precise model for this classification, the following will serve to illustrate more clearly what is meant:—

REVENUE ACCOUNT of the GANGES CANAL for the Year 1864-65.

EXPENDITURE.		PER CENT.	RECEIPTS.		PER CENT.
<i>Establishment :</i>			<i>Irrigation :</i>		
	<i>Rs.</i>			<i>Rs.</i>	
Proportion of general charges - - -	30,000	4.7	350,000 acres - -	4,51,362	84.9
Engineering - - -	2,00,000	32.3	Navigation - - -	46,833	9.0
Revenue - - -	61,396	9.0	Mill rents - - -	12,946	2.2
Contingencies - - -	16,564	2.5	Sale of produce - -	14,473	2.7
	3,07,960	48.5	Miscellaneous - - -	6,664	1.2
<i>Works :</i>				532,278	100.0
<i>Main Canal and Branches.</i>					
Masonry works - - -					
Banks and channels - -					
Head supply - - -					
<i>Rajbuhas and Water-courses :</i>					
Masonry - - - - -					
Earthwork - - - - -					
	3,44,129	49.9			
Plantations - - -	10,888	1.6			
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>	6,32,928	100.0	Balance, Loss - <i>Rs.</i>	1,00,650	

Subsidiary to such a general account, there should be an analysis of the main items of charge and income, and a comparison with the results of former years' operations and an explanation of the causes of increase or decrease. By close attention to such calculations, and the comparison of the results of one canal with another, the Irrigation Department will be in a position to exercise that thorough and intelligent control over its operations which is quite essential for a completely successful administration. The Governor General in Council cannot doubt that, had such comparisons of results been made habitually, the necessity for many modifications and improvements would have become apparent long since. In the absence of the needful details, no further comments of value can be made on the minor items of income, nor on any of the elements of charge.

13. But on one most important point the Governor General in Council has no difficulty in arriving at a distinct conclusion, to which the attention of the Lieutenant Governor should at once be directed. This is, that there appears no doubt that the rates charged for water for irrigation on this and other canals in these Provinces, call for re-adjustment and general increase. The rates on the Ganges Canal are more nearly what seems reasonable than those on some of the other canals; but here, too, some addition seems called for at once. It is to be regretted that sufficient rates were not demanded at first, as it may not be so easy to introduce a proper system of rates now as it would have been at the outset. The Government of India is clearly of opinion, however, that such rates as are shown to be fairly chargeable, having regard to the just claims of the

Government to a suitable return on the capital sunk on the works on the one hand, and to the known capabilities of the land on the other, should be adopted at once wherever practicable, and generally be introduced by degrees as occasion allows.

14. The calculations of the probable income and return upon capital made in para. 8 of this resolution, are based on the present discharge of 4,850 cubic feet per second. Assuming, however, with Colonel Turnbull (*vide* his letter, No. 741, dated 21st June 1862, and paras. 87 to 113 of the Report for 1862-63), 5,500 cubic feet per second as the quantity likely to be utilized eventually, and taking the area irrigated at the reduced amount of 200 acres per cubic foot of discharge, or, in all, 1,100,000 acres, the present average water rate of Rs. 1·6 per acre would give an average income for irrigation of, say, 17,60,000 rupees. The addition of miscellaneous receipts would bring up the total sum likely to be realized to 20 lakhs. Then, taking Colonel Turnbull's estimate of the ultimate capital expended on the canal, 235 lakhs, and adding 40 lakhs for the cost of the remodelling of the bed, a total capital charge is obtained of 275 lakhs. Next, reckoning the charge for maintenance, to be quite safe, at Rs. 0·75 per acre irrigated, or, on 1,100,000 acres, 8½ rupees lakhs nearly, the net income may be estimated at about 11½ lakhs, being at the rate of something over 4¼ per cent. on the capital.

15. To give a probable return of 10 per cent. on the capital, which the Governor General in Council considers may fairly be anticipated from works of this sort, the rate per acre should be increased from Rs. 1·6 to Rs. 3·02.*

16. Supposing, however, that a cubic foot of water will irrigate as much as 250 acres, and that the charge for maintenance per acre can be reduced to Rs. 0·5, the minimum on the Eastern Jumna Canal, including rajbaha maintenance, the rate of revenue to give 10 per cent. would be Rs. 2·3 per acre.† On the whole, it may be assumed that the average rate should not be less than Rs. 2·8 per acre to ensure 10 per cent. net profit on the capital sunk.

17. The water rates charged at present on the Ganges Canal are stated to be—

	Per Beegah.	Per Acre.
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
For Sugar-cane - - -	2 12 -	4 6 5
„ Gardens, rice - - -	1 9 -	2 8 -
„ Indigo, cotton, &c. - -	1 - -	1 10 8
„ Other grains - - -	- 12 -	1 3 2½

On the Eastern Jumna Canal, the rates are—

	Per Beegah.	Per Acre.
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
For Sugar-cane - - -	1 9 -	2 8 -
„ Gardens, &c. - - -	1 4 -	2 - -
„ Indigo, &c. - - -	- 15 -	1 8 -
„ Other grains - - -	- 8 4	- 13 4

The

* Income :		<i>Rs.</i>	†		<i>Acres.</i>
1,100,000 acres, at Rs. 3·02, =	-	33,25,000	5,500 cubic feet, at 250 acres, =	-	13,75,000
Miscellaneous, say	-	2,50,000			
Total	- - -	35,75,000	Income :		
			13,75,000 acres, at Rs. 2·3, =	-	31,87,500
			Miscellaneous, say	-	2,50,000
			Total	- - -	34,37,500
Charges :			Charges :		
1,100,000 acres, at Rs. 0·75, =	-	8,25,000	13,75,000 acres, at Rs. 0·5, =	-	6,87,500
Net	- - -	27,50,000	Net	- - -	27,50,000

The main difference between the rates on the two canals is owing to the charge for the maintenance of the rajbuhās or main water courses falling on the Government on the Ganges Canal and on the cultivators on the Eastern Jumna Canal. This accounts for a difference of five annas per beegah, or eight annas per acre. The rate for sugar-cane has purposely been fixed low on the Eastern Jumna Canal; but the exact reason is not stated, and it seems to be the consequence of former custom rather than anything else. (*Vide* Superintendent General of Irrigation, North Western Provinces, No. 990, dated 10th July 1863, and No. 1796, dated 21st August 1863).

18. This system of discriminating rates is, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, altogether a mistake. There should be but one rate for all crops, except sugar-cane, and this rate his Excellency in Council thinks might, for the present, be *Rs.* 2·4 per acre; for sugar-cane the rate might be fixed at 5 rupees, being somewhat more than double the former. This would almost amount to saying that there should be one rate for all crops which require one season to mature, and double for that crop which requires two seasons. The above rates refer to *Tor* irrigation, that is, by natural flow; for *Dal* irrigation, or for water raised artificially, the rate will be reduced, as at present, one-third; that is, to *Rs.* 1·8 and *Rs.* 3·4 per acre.

19. From Colonel Turnbull's figures it would appear that the following is the approximate distribution of the classes of crop in 100 acres of irrigation:—

	Rate.	Acres.	
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
1st Class sugar-cane - - - - -	4 6 5	12	52 13 -
2d Class „ - - - - -	2 8 -	20	50 - -
3d Class „ - - - - -	1 10 8	51	85 - -
4th Class „ - - - - -	1 3 2	17	20 6 -
		100	208 3 -
One-third Dal - - - - -	- - -	- - -	69 6 -
On which deduct one-third of rate - - -	- - -	- - -	23 2 -
NET on 100 acres, say - - -	- - -	- - -	185 - -

At the rates now proposed the figures would be as follows:

	<i>Rs.</i>
Sugar-cane, 12 acres, at <i>Rs.</i> 5 - - - - -	60
Other crops, 88 acres at <i>Rs.</i> 2·4 - - - - -	198
Total - - -	258
Deduct for Dal, 1-9th - - -	29
Net on 100 acres - - -	229

20. These rates, therefore, would give a return of about 10 per cent. on the suppositions named in paragraph 16; namely, that one cubic foot of water irrigates 250 acres, and that the charges do not exceed *Rs.* 0·5 per acre, which suppositions are not at all likely to be realized for many years, if ever. On the more likely supposition, of one cubic foot of water giving irrigation to 200 acres,

and the charges, amounting to Rs. 0.75 per acre, the net return would be only 7 per cent.*

21. For the encouragement of contracts for the irrigation of villages, which is most desirable, a reduction of 20 per cent. might be allowed where a contract, on fair terms, and for a term of not less than 10 years is taken up. A suitable reduction might be made in like manner for contracts for shorter periods.

22. Cultivators refusing to accept these rates should not obtain any water at all.

23. It may be remarked that the above rates are based on an acreage. Should the system of charging by the volume of water hereafter be found practicable, which, however, seems still very problematical, a corresponding adjustment of the rates could, of course, be readily made. It is believed that, in fact, the progress of events will be from a payment on an acreage by measurement to a payment of a lump sum on the ascertained average acreage for a series of years. A fixed area of irrigating opening may be found to suffice for this acreage, and the known discharge in cubic feet from this opening may then be taken as a new basis for calculating the rate of the lump-sum payment for purposes of comparison. It seems very doubtful whether a system of payment by volume can ever take root, excepting in this manner. The great object in all cases, however, should be to get rid of all detailed measurements of land or crops, as the basis of the charge for water rate, and the introduction of lump-sum payments.

24. The obvious advantages of a system such as is here described would be, that a minimum of detailed supervision and interference would be attainable, while the establishments and charges of collection, and at the same time the chances or opportunities for abuse of power, would be reduced as much as possible. Combined with this, there would be a direct encouragement of the growth of the more valuable crops.

25. It is the desire of the Governor General in Council that measures shall at once be taken for the introduction of the two rates of Rs. 2.4, and 5 rupees per acre, above noticed, and that no time should be lost in preliminary discussions on the subject. His Excellency in Council is well aware that much has been said, and may still be said, on the subject of these water rates, and he appreciates fully the anxious desire exhibited by the officers of the Irrigation Department to limit to the utmost the burdens placed on the cultivators using canal water. But the experience of the older canals in these very Provinces, and of the results of all irrigation in India generally, leaves no doubt on the mind of the Governor General in Council that the present rates on the Ganges Canal are far too low, and that the rates proposed will not be in excess of the reasonable capabilities of the cultivators to pay, nor of the just claims of the Government to receive. Any representations that the Lieutenant Governor may desire to make on this subject will be attentively considered, but meanwhile immediate steps should be taken for carrying out the increase of rates as now directed.

26. The Governor General in Council further desires that it shall be plainly understood that the Government gives no pledge that the rates now fixed shall be maintained for any determined or lengthened period. On the contrary, the Government will reserve to itself the right of increasing the rates whenever the fair value of the water may warrant it. It is the first duty of the Government to endeavour to adjust the burdens on the country in an equitable manner, and it is only by carefully husbanding the resources of the State, and firmly requiring a fair contribution from all classes in accordance with their means, that the advantages which have now been provided to the cultivators of the districts irrigated

* Income :		Rs.
1,100,000 acres, at Rs. 2.3 =	- - - - -	25,30,000
Miscellaneous „	- - - - -	2,25,000
Total - - -		27,55,000
Charges :		
1,100,000 acres, at Rs. 0.75	- - - - -	8,25,000
Net - - -		19,30,000

gated by this canal, at the expense of the country at large, can be extended to other parts of India which are less favoured by nature, and have, if possible, still stronger claims on the Government.

27. Before leaving this subject, it is further necessary to refer to a question on which his Excellency in Council is aware that there has been much discussion from time to time, namely, the connection between the charges made as water rate, and those made as land revenue. In theory his Excellency in Council considers that the best plan would be to assess the land simply with reference to its natural productive powers and capabilities, without regard to artificial irrigation, levying a water rate to be fixed with reference to the additional fertilizing properties of the canal water. But, in practice, by now following this course, where the assessment has already been enhanced on account of the advantages given to land by the introduction of canal irrigation, a portion of the present land revenue might very possibly be lost without recovering the amount in the shape of water rent. The land revenue, therefore, where now virtually composed in part of water rent, should not be reduced; but credit to a corresponding extent should be allowed to the cultivator in reckoning his water rates, and this portion of the land revenue should henceforth be credited as canal revenue. There might, under such circumstances, be two scales for the price of water; one for villages so assessed at the higher rate, and one for those on which no part of the revenue consisted of water rent. These views have already been briefly enunciated in Home Department Despatch, No. 544, dated 4th June 1864, regarding the Permanent Settlement in the North Western Provinces, para. 24.

28. In the districts watered from the Ganges Canal, the Governor General in Council believes that there has been no increase to the land revenue since the opening of the canal; and, if that be the case, these remarks have no application to this canal, and the rates before mentioned, of Rs. 2·4 and 5 rupees per acre respectively, should be introduced everywhere along it.

29. Where it is found, however, after proper investigation, that the land revenue rates have been enhanced so as virtually to include a portion of the charge for canal water, the rates above noted (which the Government of India intends to be applicable to all the irrigation canals of the North Western Provinces without exception) may be reduced in a corresponding degree. But such reductions in the fixed water rate should only be allowed to follow a strict examination of the facts, and should be duly attested in every case both by the revenue and canal officers, who will be jointly responsible that the interests of the Government are carefully guarded.

EASTERN JUMNA CANAL.

30. The results of the two years' operations on this canal are very satisfactory. The net income gives a return of more than 10 per cent. for 1861-62, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for 1862-63 on the capital sunk (now amounting to 14,34,000 rupees), irrespective of the enhanced land revenue. The following statement of the net income of this canal since 1858-59 is interesting:—

	Rs.
1858-59 - - - - -	96,308
1859-60 - - - - -	1,68,053
1860-61 - - - - -	1,71,937
1861-62 - - - - -	1,47,142
1862-63 - - - - -	1,38,321

The year 1860-61 was exceptional. The gradual increase of the revenue is seen to be directly dependent on the increase in the number of acres irrigated by the same quantity of water brought into the canal. One cubic foot of water in 1861-62 supplied water to 235 acres, which, in 1858-59, supplied only 148 acres. It is to be regretted that the acreage has not been given for 1862-63.

31. The Governor General in Council is gratified to observe the extensive introduction of the contract system on this canal, and Major Brownlow's efforts to this end are entitled to much praise. It would have been better if the sum realized under contract had been mentioned, as distinguished from that paid on measurement of the crops. This should be attended to hereafter.

32. The miscellaneous collections continue nearly stationary. As compared with 1858-59 there has, however, been a considerable falling off. The reason of this should be explained. His Excellency in Council is of opinion that, if more attention were paid to the plantations and to the development of produce from the land in the occupation of the canal, a steadily increasing income should be obtained. The canal officers should be invited to consider this point. The increased utilization of the motive power of the canal water should also receive attention.

33. As already noticed, the returns for this canal, which have been submitted for the year 1862-63, give no statement of the area irrigated, owing, it is said, to the introduction of the contract system. It is, however, most desirable that these figures should continue to be given for statistical purposes, and his Excellency in Council considers that there should be no difficulty in obtaining, at all events, a fairly approximate account of the acreage irrigated, without causing interference with the cultivators. The putwaries might be bound to furnish statements of the irrigation to the canal officers, and these could readily be checked so as to ascertain their substantial correctness by the ordinary canal establishments.

34. Colonel Turnbull should, therefore, be instructed to arrange for the supply of this information for the future, and to take care that proper attention is paid to the regular record of all the main facts that form useful standards of comparison in the operations of all the canals under his charge.

35. Amongst these points, the volume of discharge calls for particular attention. The quantity of water brought into the canal head, and the quantity thrown off by escapes, being regularly recorded, the quantity actually utilized (subject to loss by absorption and evaporation) can be ascertained with fair accuracy. All the registers of the canals should, as early as possible, be brought under an uniform system, as to this record, and in future years these facts should be distinctly stated. The comparison of the quantity of water utilized, with that brought into the canal, and of the acreage irrigated per cubic foot utilized, and of the income and charge per acre and per cubic foot utilized, will form the main tests of the efficiency of the administration and the practical utility of the works.

36. Another very important point, a knowledge of which is quite necessary to admit of a complete estimate of the value of the canal operations, is the character of the rains. So long as the payment for irrigation on any canal is mainly based on detailed measurements of crops, the greater or less abundant supply of rain will seriously affect the extent to which the cultivators take the canal water. It is known that registers of rain-fall are kept at many points along the canals in the North Western Provinces and by the revenue district officers. A more systematic review of this important matter should form a prominent point in all future reports of this nature.

37. The Governor General in Council believes that the fluctuations in the revenue of this canal during the last few years have been almost entirely due to the variations of the seasons, and he observes with satisfaction that there has been so small a reduction in the net income consequent on what are termed by the Superintendent two unusually wet seasons. As the value of irrigation becomes better known, and the system of contracts extends, the cultivators will arrange their agricultural operations with less close dependence on the natural seasons and increased reliance on the artificial water supply. The permanent advance made in the extent of irrigation on this canal subsequent to the last famine year is most striking. A like result is known to have occurred on the Western Jumna Canal after the famine of 1837-38.

38. Having reference to the observations contained in paras. 27 to 29 of this Resolution, his Excellency in Council desires that inquiry be at once made as to the extent to which the ordinary land revenue has been enhanced in the districts watered from this canal, consequent on the introduction of canal water, and that the result of this inquiry may be communicated at an early date in as complete a form as possible. The regulation of the rates to be charged on this canal, in conformity to the orders above given, will be made to depend on the result of these investigations. The sum by which the ordinary revenue may be found to be

be enhanced will henceforth be made to appear as an addition to the canal revenues, and will be brought forward in the public accounts as such. The Lieutenant Governor will see that the best approximation possible is made in this adjustment. Great precision will perhaps not be possible; but such a fair estimate of the increase of revenue should be made as will suffice to effect the adjustment of the water rates in the manner already explained.

39. The Governor General in Council has observed with satisfaction the successful operations of the officers on this canal in draining swamps in its vicinity. His Excellency trusts that increased attention will continue to be paid to this most important subject. It would be satisfactory to the Government of India to hear whether the Sultanpore Swamp, and other similar swamps lately operated on, were originally caused by the canal.

40. His Excellency in Council considers some explanation to be called for as to the increase of the establishment charges, from 43,500 rupees in 1858-59 to 57,000 rupees in 1861-62, amounting to 13,500 rupees. If this increase has been wholly for revenue establishments it will not be out of proportion to the increase of area irrigated, but no details are given in respect to it, and it is requested that these may be furnished.

41. As to the repairs on this canal they at first appear to stand at a very low amount, as compared to those on the Ganges Canal. But on the Eastern Jumna Canal the original cost, and the repairs of the main water-courses, are charged directly to the cultivators. No clear details of the results of these operations are given, but on the one hand it appears that the annual charge for repairs of this class amount to a sum, varying from 34,000 rupees to nearly 40,000 rupees, which is nearly as much as the whole sum expended on the repairs of the main canal. Also it is observed that very large sums have been realised as repayments of tucavay advances, varying from 80,000 rupees to 1,10,000 rupees in a year. It is presumed that the main cause of the great difference between the charges for maintenance and the repayments, is that the latter include repayments for the original cost of the watercourses.

42. These annual reports should give clear statements of all such subsidiary accounts and transactions. It is plain that the actual ultimate charge falls on the cultivators equally, whether paid in the shape of a refund of tucavay or as a water-rate, and that the actual original charge falls on the Government equally, whether disbursements for such works appear as imperial works or tucavay advances.

43. But it seems to the Governor General in Council that this complicated system of advances and repayments should not be allowed to continue. On the Ganges Canal the whole of the main watercourses are constructed and maintained at the cost of the Government, and this obviously seems the proper course to adopt on all Government Canals. There should be one account of all Government expenditure and one account of all receipts. The present system is most cumbersome, and, though sanctioned by custom, seems to have very little that can be advanced in its favour. The Governor General in Council desires that steps may be taken for substituting the more simple procedure of the Ganges Canal on the Eastern Jumna Canal without delay. It may fairly be assumed, that the receipts from the cultivators till now (supposing all arrears of claims fairly made from year to year under the original arrangements), have given the Government a reasonable return for their advances, or direct disbursements for maintenance; hence the Government can, without objection, waive all claims to further reimbursements. Hereafter the increased water-rate will cover all these charges. On the other hand it may fairly be said that the very low rates of charge, till now levied by the Government, will justify the arrangement by which the cultivators have hitherto been made to pay the cost of all main water-courses. With the introduction of the higher rates, the Government will for the future undertake the construction and maintenance of all Rajbhas at its own cost, and all existing works of this class, should now be transferred to the Government.

44. The extent to which the complications of this system of tuccavy have gone is shown by the following figures :—

	Direct Revenue.		Tuccavy Refunds.		TOTAL.	
	Amount.	Per Cent.	Amount.	Per Cent.	Amount.	Per Cent.
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
1858-59 - - -	1,37,000	63	81,000	37	2,18,000	—
1859-60 - - -	2,08,000	70	89,000	30	2,97,000	—
1860-61 - - -	2,91,000	62	1,13,000	28	4,04,000	100
1861-62 - - -	2,51,000	73	95,000	27	3,46,000	—
1862-63 - - -	2,56,000	75	86,000	25	3,42,000	—

Hence the indirect payments of the cultivators for their watercourses have never been less than one-fourth, and have at times been upwards of one-third of their direct payments. Colonel Turnbull (para. 6 of his No. 990, dated 10th July 1863), when discussing the water-rates on the Eastern Jumna Canals, states that on an average for the last eight years, the following had been charges :—

	Rs.
Water-rate - - - - -	1,57,444
Rajbuha clearances - - - - -	49,201

Showing that the extra charge for watercourses had been nearly one-third of the direct charge levied as water-rate. The practical result of this may be thus stated with reference to the returns of 1861-2. The actual rate paid per acre would be Rs. 1.37 instead of Rs. 1.01; per cubic foot of water the receipts would be 324 rupees instead of 255 rupees. The charges also would be increased from Rs. 0.45 to Rs. 0.57 per acre, and from 105 to 134 rupees per cubic foot of discharge.

45. Referring next to the condition of the works on this canal, it seems to the Governor General in Council necessary, with reference to the effect of floods, as set forth in the reports, to inquire whether a permanent head dam should not be constructed. Such a work would give the engineers a complete command over the River Jumna, and by means of it the Jumna floods might be kept entirely out of this and the Western Jumna Canals; in the latter of which most serious injury is known to arise by reason of them. There is ground for believing that such a work would neither be seriously difficult to construct nor very costly, and it is requested that the subject may be duly considered.

46. The only other point, calling for remark, is the system of reckoning the interest on the capital sunk on the works referred to in paragraph 32 of the report for 1862-3. It has been ruled by the Government of India that the surplus of income may be set off against the gross capital charge to the extent of any supposed deterioration in the works, and no more, so that the works shall always be chargeable with interest on what may be regarded as the present value of the block.—(Vide Appendix, Public Works Code, pages 43-44.)

DOON CANALS.

47. The general results of these canals, in a financial point of view, his Excellency in Council regrets to be obliged to consider altogether unsatisfactory. The Doon canals continue to be worked at an absolute loss, amounting in each of the last two years to about 5,000 or 6,000 rupees, independently of the interest on the capital, which is 4 lakhs or more.

48. The

48. The following are the results of the last three years:—

YEAR.	Gross Revenue.	Total Charge.	Deficit.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1860-61 - - -	14,922	15,351	429
1861-62 - - -	16,011	22,543	6,532
1862-63 - - -	15,649	20,979	5,330

The revenue is almost stationary, and the charges appear to be increasing.

49. The acreage irrigated per cubic foot of water is, on an average of three years, somewhat more than on the Ganges Canal, being about 84 acres for the year. The maintenance charges per acre irrigated have varied from two rupees to *Rs.* 2·6 in the last three years. Per cubic foot of water they have been from 167 to 235 rupees. The corresponding figures for the Eastern Jumna Canal are per acre *Rs.* 0·45, and per cubic foot of water 80 to 105 rupees, not including the charges on main watercourses, which would increase the above figures to *Rs.* 0·57 and *Rs.* 134.

50. The gross income per acre appears to have been about the same as on the Ganges Canal, *Rs.* 1·9. Per cubic foot of water it varied from 141 to 167 rupees, which is rather in excess of the Ganges Canal. This comparison, however, gives a very incomplete idea of the actual facts, for one-half the total income of these canals being derived from mills (23,322 out of 46,582 rupees in three years), the above rates of income are more than double what is in fact realised for irrigation.

51. From a table given in the report for 1862-63, it is seen that the water rates per acre are as follows:—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
1st Class - - - - -	1	4	-
2d Class - - - - -	-	10	-
3d Class - - - - -	-	8	-

These charges are most incommensurate with the value of the water. At the rates named, as those which the Governor General in Council desires to be adopted generally, the income would be increased on the present acreage by about 20,000 rupees, leaving a net income of 15,200 rupees. This is something under 3½ per cent. on the capital sunk, a return which is still very unsatisfactory.

52. The position of these canals therefore calls for special consideration, both as to increase of rates and reduction of expenses, and the Governor General in Council requests that the rates for irrigation shall at once be revised, so that the lands irrigated be made to pay a fair revenue on the average of years. The Lieutenant Governor is requested to take the necessary steps for arranging the rates in a manner suitable to the special conditions of the cultivation in the Doon, and especially the rapidly extending tea cultivation, on the general basis explained in the former part of this Resolution. If the rates there named are not sufficient to reimburse the Government for its outlay on these works, a still higher rate must be charged, but the charge should at all events at once be increased to those rates.

53. The Governor General in Council cannot acquiesce in the proposals made in paragraph 8, page 44 of the Report, to reduce the charge for interest on that part of the capital sunk in these canals, which represents the value of the works, as giving a supply of drinking water to the town of Dehra. On the contrary, the Lieutenant Governor should consider what special charge should be made against the towns of Rajpoot and Dehra for the use of the canal water for drinking purposes. These towns are now wealthy enough to be able to bear a proper share in the expenses of the works by which they are supplied with this necessary of life, and there seems no reason why they should not be required to make

make a moderate payment on this ground. The local officers should consider how such a charge may best be levied. Perhaps a contribution from the municipal funds would be the simplest way of adjusting the matter.

ROHILKHUND CANALS.

54. In these returns the Nugeena Canal is not included. It is requested that information may be given how the accounts of income and expenditure of this canal are treated. Even though it be thought desirable to continue the management of this canal under the district civil officers, it seems the proper course to deal with its financial results, in connection with other similar works, and it is requested that this may be done henceforth, or that the Government of India may be satisfied that there is sufficient reason for not doing it.

55. The irrigation works, under the Canal Department, seem to pay nearly 7 per cent. on the capital expended on the completed portions. The charges for maintenance are very moderate, but the lowness of the rate charged for the water, 3 annas 9 pie per beegah, or 6 annas an acre, is remarkable, and calls for explanation.

56. The results of the operations of the last three years are as follows :—

—				Gross Income.	Total Charges.	Net Revenue.
				<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1860-61	-	-	-	36,674	29,053	7,621
1861-62	-	-	-	35,633	25,489	10,144
1862-63	-	-	-	33,218	21,627	11,591

The returns for 1860-61 and 1861-62 do not show the detailed charges in a form that admits of proper comparison with 1862-63, but the reduction of charge appears to have arisen from economy in establishments, which is satisfactory. Some part of the saving has arisen from making the collections more completely through the District Revenue officers. The variation in the income is not important.

57. The acreage irrigated per cubic foot of discharge seems satisfactory, being something under that on the Eastern Jumna and Western Jumna Canals. The expenses compared with the acreage irrigated, are but little more than one-half of those of the Eastern and Western Jumna Canals, and one-fourth of the Ganges Canal. Compared with the discharge, the results are equally in favour of the Rohilkund Canal, and Mr. Battie's management of these works seems to call for special commendation. The attention of Colonel Turnbull should be directed to these points.

58. Unless some satisfactory reason can be given for adopting a contrary course, the Governor General in Council will expect the water rates to be gradually raised on these canals to the general extent already ordered for the Ganges Canal.

59. The very profitable results obtained from these works show the importance of hastening the completion of the Kylas Canal which still continues unfinished. The explanation given in the report of the cause of this is not satisfactory. The further development of irrigation from the minor streams of Rohilkund seems most desirable in the light of these reports, and the attention of the Lieutenant Governor is requested to the matter. The improvement of the Nugeena Canal would probably be found financially expedient. The whole subject is one calling for early and careful consideration; as there seems every reason to think that with water rates properly adjusted, an important increase of revenue might be obtained from the steady maintenance and extension of a series of small works, such as the Rohilkund Canals.

AGRA IRRIGATION WORKS.

60. The financial condition of these works is not clearly explained. During the year 1861-2, an increase of capital appears of 36,000 rupees, increasing the amount invested by nearly one-half. A still larger outlay took place in 1862-3, viz., 42,100 rupees; what this money has done is not explained distinctly. Excluding this charge, the profits for 1861-2 would have been $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., while in 1858-9, they were as high as 5 per cent. In 1862-3 there is a deficit of 750 rupees.

61. The following are the main features of the results of these works:—

	Capital Sunk.	Total Income.	Total Charges.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1860-1 - - -	89,000	8,800	—
1861-2 - - -	1,25,000	12,700	11,600
1862-3 - - -	1,67,000	14,100	14,900

This is far from satisfactory at first sight. The attention of the officers in charge of these works must at once be directed to the necessity for so arranging matters that no further outlay takes place, for which some sufficient return is not secured. If this has, in fact, been done by the operations already carried out, a more clear explanation of the circumstances should be given. The Governor General in Council trusts to see some decided advantage from the late arrangements by which these works have been placed under a scientific officer.

62. The income seems to be derived in part from irrigation properly so called, and in part from land submerged by the action of the embankments. The acreage irrigated is stated to be 31,513 acres for 1861-2, and 34,960 acres for 1862-3, giving a return of 12,600 and 14,000 rupees respectively. This is a trifle less, therefore, than 4 annas per acre. Whether this can be considered a fair rate, depends on the extent of the benefit obtained from the works, and in regard to this, nothing can be ascertained from the report. His Excellency in Council will be glad to have the exact circumstances considered as early as possible, and the results of the inquiries submitted for further orders. In these works, as in all others of this class, it is quite essential that the Government shall be fairly remunerated for their outlay, provided the land can, at the same time, be fairly made to bear the additional burden.

GENERAL RESULTS.

63. The following is a general review of the position of the irrigation works in the North Western Provinces as they stood at the end of the year 1862-3:—

	Capital Sunk.	<i>Rs.</i>
Ganges Canal - - -	- - - - -	2,00,63,399
Eastern Jumna Canal - - -	- - - - -	14,34,490
Doon Canal - - -	- - - - -	4,75,874
Rohilkund Canal - - -	- - - - -	2,23,881
Agra Irrigation Works - - -	- - - - -	1,67,103
TOTAL - - -		<i>Rs.</i> 2,23,64,747

Say $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling.

INCOME and CHARGES for 1862-63.

	Gross Income.	Mainte- nance.	General Direction.	Total Outlay.	Profit.	Loss.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Ganges Canal - -	5,32,278	6,32,928	77,957	7,10,885	- -	1,78,607
Eastern Jumna Canal -	2,15,574	77,253	19,607	96,860	1,18,714	—
Doon Canal - - -	15,649	20,979	2,476	23,455	- -	7,806
Rohilkund Canal - -	33,219	21,627	3,681	25,308	7,911	—
Agra Irrigation Works -	14,112	14,866	1,940	16,806	- -	2,694
TOTAL - - - Rs.	8,10,832	7,67,653	1,05,661	8,73,314	1,26,625	1,89,107

NET LOSS - - - Rs. 62,482

64. From these figures it may be calculated that the following are the percentages of income and charge:—

Per-centage of Gross Income on Capital.

Ganges Canal - - -	2½ per cent.
Eastern Jumna Canal - - -	15 „
Doon Canal - - -	3½ „
Rohilkund Canal - - -	15 „
Agra Works - - -	8½ „

Per-centage of Total Outlay on Income.

Ganges Canal - - -	133 per cent.
Eastern Jumna Canal - - -	45 „
Doon Canal - - -	149 „
Rohilkund Canal - - -	75 „
Agra Works - - -	120 „

These results are plainly far from satisfactory as a whole, though they give reasonable grounds for expecting that these works may be made fairly remunerative if proper attention be paid to them. It may be added that these figures include the charges for general direction, which are not taken into account in the detailed statements of the several works.

65. The Governor General in Council cannot conclude this review of the operations of this highly important branch of the administration without stating the conviction left on his mind, by a consideration of all the facts that have been now before him, that a closer attention to the financial scope of the operations of the irrigation department has become necessary. His Excellency in Council has much satisfaction in looking back to the continued activity and intelligence that has characterized the operations of many of the officers of the canal department of the North Western Provinces, and he is happy to be able to add his testimony to the important services that have been rendered to the country through their instrumentality. But the progress that has thus far characterized the operations of the canal department must be still further advanced, and the knowledge derived from the experience of the past must be applied to improve to the utmost all branches of its administration.

66. The Governor General in Council desires to impress on the Government of the North Western Provinces the increasing importance of watching, with close attention, the development of irrigation in the districts of Upper India. The high value to the cultivators of works, designed for this object, is too well known to call for special comment. But to admit of the Government extending them

them to all parts of the country, as fully as may be desired, it is quite essential that it should be shown that they may, as a rule, be made remunerative to the State. The outlay required for the development of this class of works can only be legitimately incurred so far as the increased income to be realized from them is shown to be able to compensate for the original charges. Apart from the general great importance of obtaining an increased revenue, without which all material and social progress becomes difficult, the special necessity for an ample return being secured on the outlay of public money on irrigation works, is thus strongly made apparent. The Government of India anxiously desires to do what may be practicable in the way of extending the benefits of irrigation to all districts of India. But it will obviously be a necessary preliminary, before any extraordinary outlay on such works can be sanctioned, or recommended for sanction to Her Majesty's Government, that decisive proof shall be given, that there is reasonable ground for expecting that no financial embarrassment or loss shall arise from such outlay.

67. His Excellency in Council feels quite satisfied that irrigation works carefully designed, executed, and maintained, may be made highly profitable to the State, and at the same time to the cultivators, and he must require that renewed attention shall be given to that most important part of the duties of the officers charged with the direction of the canal department, which is concerned with the financial results of these works.

68. The superior officers of the Irrigation Department must not be content to leave the administration of the canals in the position in which they find it. They must earnestly apply themselves to placing the financial results of all of these operations, without exception, on a thoroughly sound basis. In doing this, they will receive every support from the Governor General in Council. But all officers of this department must understand that the Government of India will henceforth expect that every one of them constantly keeps in view the primary importance of making the works in his charge productive of a fair money return to the State. They must make themselves acquainted with the practical result of the agricultural operations with which their duties are so much involved, and watch carefully the interests of the Government by seeing that fair rates are charged for the water, neither in excess of the capabilities of the land to pay nor short of the equitable return that may be expected from the capital sunk on the works. A close economy in all work and establishment charges must be maintained, and an intelligent comparison of the results obtained under various systems or individuals constantly kept up. It is thus only that this most useful branch of the administration can be placed on the footing of efficiency at which the officers of the department should steadily aim, and which the Governor General in Council hopes they may soon attain in the management of all the important works under them. Some of these works have already been brought into a highly satisfactory condition, and his Excellency in Council trusts that all exceptions to this rule may soon cease.

EAST INDIA (CANALS).

COPY of RESOLUTION by the Government of
India, Public Works Department (Nos. 656-8
dated 15th August 1864) published in the
"Supplement to the Gazette of India, December
31st, 1864," relative to the CANALS of the
NORTH WEST PROVINCES.

(*Mr. John Benjamin Smith.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed
8 June 1865.

EAST INDIA (CIVIL SERVICE).

REGULATIONS made by the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA IN COUNCIL, with the Advice and Assistance of the Civil Service Commissioners, for the EXAMINATION of CANDIDATES for Admission to HER MAJESTY'S CIVIL SERVICE of INDIA.

India Office,
7 February 1865.

E. D. BOURDILLON,
Secretary, Public Department.

EXAMINATIONS FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

REGULATIONS.

IN [*] an examination of candidates will be held in London. [] candidates will be selected, if so many shall be found duly qualified. Of these [] will be selected for the Presidency of Bengal ([] for the Upper Provinces, and [] for the Lower Provinces), [] for that of Madras, and [] for that of Bombay. Notice will hereafter be given of the days and place of examination.

2. Any natural-born subject of Her Majesty who shall be desirous of entering the Civil Service of India will be entitled to be examined at such examination, provided he shall on or before the [] † [] have transmitted to the Civil Service Commissioners—

- (a.) A certificate of his birth, showing that his age on the [] † [] will be above [] ‡ [] years, and under [] † [] years.
- (b.) A certificate, signed by a physician or surgeon, of his having no disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity, unfitting him for the Civil Service of India.
- (c.) Satisfactory proof of good moral character.
- (d.) A statement of those of the branches of knowledge, hereinafter enumerated, in which he desires to be examined.

3. In any case in which a doubt may arise as to the eligibility of a candidate in respect of age, health, or character, such inquiries as may be necessary will be instituted by the Civil Service Commissioners.

4. The

* For the next examination, the date will be June 1865.

† For the next examination, the date will be 1st May 1865.

‡ For the next examination, the limits will be 17 and 22. In future competition, it is intended that the maximum limit shall be 21.

REGULATIONS FOR THE EXAMINATION OF

4. The examination will take place only in the following branches of knowledge:—

English Language and Literature :	Marks.
Composition - - - - -	500
English Literature and History, including that of the Laws and Constitution - - - - -	1,000
	1,500
Language, Literature, and History of Greece - - - - -	750
Ditto - - - - - Rome - - - - -	750
Ditto - - - - - France - - - - -	375
Ditto - - - - - Germany - - - - -	375
Ditto - - - - - Italy - - - - -	375
Mathematics, Pure and Mixed - - - - -	1,250
Natural Science, that is (1) Chemistry, (2) Electricity and Magnetism, (3) Natural History, (4) Geology, and (5) Mineralogy - - - - -	500
* * No candidate will be allowed to be examined in more than three of the branches of knowledge included under this head ; and the total (500 marks) may be obtained by adequate proficiency in any three.	
Moral Sciences, that is, Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy -	500
Sanskrit Language and Literature - - - - -	375
Arabic Language and Literature - - - - -	375
	7,125

5. The merit of the persons examined will be estimated by marks, and the number set opposite to each branch in the preceding regulation denotes the greatest number of marks that can be obtained in respect of it.

6. No candidate will be allowed any marks in respect of any subject of examination unless he shall be considered to possess a competent knowledge of that subject.

7. The examination will be conducted by means of printed questions and written answers, and by *viva voce* examination, as may be deemed necessary.

8. The marks obtained by each candidate in respect of each of the subjects in which he shall have been examined will be added up, and the names of the [] candidates who shall have obtained a greater aggregate number of marks than any of the remaining candidates will be set forth in order of merit, and such candidates shall be deemed to be selected candidates for the Civil Service of India. They shall be permitted to choose according to the order in which they stand, as long as a choice remains, the Presidency (and, in Bengal, the division of the Presidency) to which they shall be appointed.

9. Selected candidates before proceeding to India will be on probation for two years, during which time they will be examined periodically with the view of testing their progress in the following subjects:—

	Marks.
1. Oriental Languages :	—
Sanskrit - - - - -	500
Vernacular Languages of India (each) - - - - -	400
2. The History and Geography of India - - - - -	350
3. Law - - - - -	1,250
4. Political Economy - - - - -	350

In these examinations, as in the open competition, the merit of the candidates examined will be estimated by marks, and the number set opposite to each subject denotes the greatest number of marks that can be obtained in respect of it

it at any one examination. The examination will be conducted by means of printed questions and written answers, and by *viva voce* examination, as may be deemed necessary. The marks obtained at each of such periodical examinations will be added to those previously or subsequently obtained. The last of these examinations will be held at the close of the second year of probation, and will be called the "final examination," at which it will be decided whether a selected candidate is qualified for the Civil Service of India.

10. No candidate will be permitted to proceed to India until he shall have passed the final examination, and received a certificate of qualification from the Civil Service Commissioners, or after he shall have attained the age of twenty-four years and six months.*

11. The selected candidates who at the final examination shall be found to have a competent knowledge of the subjects specified in Regulation 9, shall be adjudged to have passed, and to be entitled to be appointed to the Civil Service of India.

12. The seniority in the Civil Service of India of the selected candidates shall be determined according to the order in which they stand on the list resulting from the final examination.

13. No person will, even after passing the final examination, be allowed to proceed to India unless he shall comply with the regulations in force, at the time, for the Civil Service of India, and shall be of sound bodily health and good moral character. The Civil Service Commissioners will require such further evidence on these points as they may deem necessary before granting their certificate of qualification.

14. Applications from persons desirous to be admitted as candidates are to be addressed to the Secretary to the Civil Service Commissioners, Dean's-yard, London, S.W.

* In future years, it is intended that the limit shall be 24.

EAST INDIA (CIVIL SERVICE).

REGULATIONS made by the SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR INDIA IN COUNCIL, with the Advice
and Assistance of the Civil Service Commis-
sioners, for the EXAMINATION of CANDIDATES
for Admission to HER MAJESTY'S CIVIL SER-
VICE OF INDIA.

(Presented pursuant to Act 21 & 22 Vict. c. 106, s. 32.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
13 February 1865.

EAST INDIA (DHAR).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 29 March 1865;—for,

“COPY of further CORRESPONDENCE in the case of *Dhar*, from the 15th day of February 1860, to the same date in 1865, including the REPORT of the Agent to the Governor General for *Central India* in August 1864.”

India Office, }
6 April 1865. }

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political Department.

(*Mr. John Benjamin Smith.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
7 April 1865.

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COPY of further CORRESPONDENCE in the case of *Dhar*, from the 15th day of February 1860, to the same date in 1865, including the REPORT of the Agent to the Governor General for *Central India*, in August 1864.

Foreign (Financial) Department.—No. 180.

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*,
dated Fort William, 22 November 1861.

Sir,

WE have the honour to transmit a copy of a Report* on the Finances of the Dhar State, since it has been under British administration, together with copy of our orders thereon. Letter dated 4 September 1861.
* Page 6.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Canning.*
H. B. E. Frere.
Cecil Beadon.
R. Napier.

(No. 397.)

From Colonel Sir *R. C. Shakespear*, K.C.B., Agent Governor General for Central India, Indore, to *Cecil Beadon*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta; dated Indore Residency, 18 August 1860.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that, during the night of the 10th instant, the Ranee of Dhar sunk under the disease of dropsy.

2. I enclose a letter in original (copies being kept for this office), No. 50, of date 13th instant, from the Superintendent of Dhar, transmitting an abstract translation of a memorandum which the deceased lady gave with her own hand to Lieutenant Wood.

3. That paper contains 10 separate requests by the late Ranee.

4. It was evidently prepared by the people about her, and the 8th request is simply to secure the officers from responsibility for the act of the Ranee.

5. I do not attach any importance to the paper, and though I have not failed in offering my condolences, still I do not think that either the interests of the Dhar State, or of the British Government, will suffer detriment from the demise of the lady.

6. I have the honour to forward copy of my instructions to Lieutenant Wood, before he proceeded to join his appointment, and it will be seen that I considered his main difficulties would arise from the efforts of the Ranee, or rather the people about her, to obtain a share in the administration.

7. I trust that my instructions to Lieutenant Wood will be honoured with the approval of his Excellency, the Viceroy in Council.

(No. 50 of 1860.)

From Lieutenant *J. C. Wood*, Superintendent, Dhar, to Colonel Sir *R. Shakespear*, K.C.B., Agent Governor General for Central India; dated 13 August 1860.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith an abstract translation of a memorandum written by her Highness the late Ranee, on the 7th instant, three days before her death.

The document was made over to me at the last interview I had with the Ranee (on the night of the 9th of this month).

2. I would add, that I was so anxious to become personally acquainted with any further wishes of her Highness, during intervals of returning consciousness, that I slept at the palace on the night of the 9th; the Ranee intimated that she had something particular to communicate to me in private. I was at the palace on the 10th of August, during the day time, but the Ranee was too ill to receive a visit from me.

Shortly after midnight, her Highness expired.

3. It is possible that, when her papers are examined, some documents may be found in which mention has been made of the particular matter which her Highness did not wish to communicate through another person.

ABSTRACT TRANSLATION of MEMORANDUM, written under the direction of her Highness (the late Ranee), dated the 7th August 1860, and bearing her signature.

The Ranee desired.

1. That all matters connected with the State should be conducted in the name of the young Rajah.

2. That old Government servants alone should carry on the duties of the several departments, as the officers appointed during the period of confiscation are an unnecessary expense to the State.

3. That the chhatra in course of construction to the memory of her Highness's deceased husband, be erected in a manner suited to the dignity of the Raj.

4. That all jageers be reinstated.

5. That the khasgee should be exempted from British management.

6. That the vakeels at Indore and Bhopawar be allowed to remain in their appointments, as the office was one which reflected honour on the State.

7. That all loyal servants of the state should be specially rewarded for services rendered during the régency. The Ranee did not have an opportunity of rewarding them herself, though she often wished to do so.

8. That the Ranee was alone responsible for all payments and expenses incurred under her own orders since the death of the late Rajah, no subordinate officers, or others, sharing the responsibility.

9. That the private accounts of the khasgee dookan had been examined and found correct up to date.

10. That provision be made, as hitherto, for all members of the Rajah's family (including her Highness's).

Remarks by Superintendent.

Under the orders of Government, appointing a British officer to manage the Principality during the minority, this request could not be complied with.

Government having approved of a recommendation to this effect, made by the Agent Governor General, hereditary officers will, by degrees and as speedily as possible, fill all the posts as held before the confiscation; one or two exceptions in the Persian department will, for some time, be unavoidable.

The Agent Governor General informed the Ranee that a certain sum should be set apart yearly for this purpose. This arrangement (when the estimate is sanctioned) will be carried into effect without unnecessary delay.

The case of each jageerdar, not yet investigated, will be inquired into and reported to the Agent Governor General.

Government approved of the Agent Governor General having declined to put the khasgee under the management of the Ranee.

The vakeels will continue in their appointments until the Agent considers it necessary to abolish the office. It seems advisable not to interfere with the established usage, the salary of the officers being kept within proper bounds.

This will form the subject of a special reference, should the circumstances of the case be such as to deserve the consideration of superior authority.

This item calls for no remark, for the present at least.

The accounts will be examined and balanced.

This request will be complied with in the spirit of the orders of Government.

INSTRUCTIONS for Lieutenant *Wood*, Superintendent, Dhar.

1. THE whole of the administration of Dhar State in all its branches, is placed under your sole and entire control.

2. No expenditure whatever is to be made without your consent.

3. You will explain to the Ranee, the Rajah, and officers of the State, that the above two rules will be rigidly maintained by me during the minority.

4. But, for your own guidance, I wish to explain that, though I think it essentially necessary that the sole control and responsibility should rest with you, still I think success in your present employment will mainly depend upon your not interfering in details.

5. The delicacy and the difficulty of your position arise from two causes—

1st. The position and influence of the Ranee.

2d. The hereditary nature of all offices under the Dhar Government.

6. The Regent will strain every nerve and employ every device to get a leading share of the administration into her own hands. This must be steadily opposed; for that lady's share in the misconduct of the Dhar State precludes her from authority after the restoration.

7. Your temper will be sorely tried by numerous intrigues and machinations to thwart your plans, and to compel you to have recourse to the Ranee's influence.

8. If your temper should fail, I think it quite possible that the lady may succeed in bringing your administration to a dead lock.

9. My information is, that the Rajah is very much under the influence of a female relative of his own, who had very considerable influence during the life of the late Rajah, and that the latter lady and the widow of the late Rajah are rivals for power. My impression is, that the Rajah himself is by no means deficient in ability, and, were I undertaking your duty, my first plan would be to bring forward the Rajah himself as much as possible, and interest him in all the details of his administration. A better education it would be impossible to give him than daily acquaintance with transactions of his own State. I think you will find him less frivolous and volatile than most young men of his age.

10. Of the two ladies, I should prefer the Rajah's own relative gaining influence rather than the Ranee.

11. The British Government has only one object in view in its connection with the Dhar State, and that is to bring the affairs of that Government into a prosperous condition, and so to educate the Rajah as to give him the best chance of managing affairs judiciously and well on his attaining his majority.

12. I come now to the second difficulty, which I have mentioned above. I look upon the hereditary tenure of office as part and parcel of a native Rajpoot Government, and I think that if it were desirable to set it aside, it would be found impossible to do so; that is, supposing we got rid of the whole of the hereditary officers during the minority, the Rajah would find himself compelled to reinstate them on his attaining his majority.

13. We thus start hampered as to the officers whom you will have to employ, and they, for generations, have habitually taken perquisites and derived emoluments, which, according to our system, would be considered equivalent to bribery and corruption.

14. We have no right to apply our code of honour to such men. I would be lenient to their offences, while I did my utmost to control their excesses.

15. I think you will find that, according to their own system, they have minute records of all decisions of the former ruler and of his predecessors, and that they possess full information of all matters connected with the State, and that some of the members of the different hereditary families are quick and efficient men of business.

16. The late minister has incurred the serious displeasure of Government, and must on no account be retained in office; whether he shall remain at Dhar or be removed, is a point which will have to be decided after you have ascertained full particulars regarding him, and his influence, if allowed to remain.

17. I consider it fortunate that the office of minister is at present vacant; it will be better not to fill it up during the minority, as its functions ought to rest with you.

18. Your duties in the Revenue Department will, I think, after the experience you have had, be very simple; but there is one point to which I should wish to draw your attention. In Native States, such as Dhar, the jageerdars, and even the zemindars, hold a much higher position than men of the same rank in our own provinces; they are, and I think they ought to be, in a great measure independent within their own limits on many minor points, which in our own territories we take out of their hands. The whole of the

Pergunnah of Budnawar, for instance, is held by thakoors who pay tanka instead of jumma. If these men are well managed, they will become a source of great strength to you; but if our regulations were rigidly applied to them, they would be very speedily driven to rebellion. In all quarrels between them, I think you should reserve to yourself, personally, not only the investigation and the decision, but the communication of that decision. They will receive direct from you, especially when you have gained influence with them, cheerfully any order you may find necessary to dictate, which, if it reached them through one of your subordinate officials, they might resent.

19. In judicial matters there are only two general rules, which I would lay down.

In criminal cases I would prefer fine to imprisonment; but, of course, the latter punishment is the only one that can be administered to such races as the Bheels and Mageers. Corporal punishment for trivial cases should be freely administered in lieu of short periods of imprisonment to the above races.

20. In disputes attended with violence, or even wounding, I think the razeenama of the injured party should very generally be considered sufficient atonement.

21. In all civil suits I would strictly insist upon a decision by a punchayet; the decision to be confirmed by you, and when once you have satisfied yourself of its justice, to be rigidly and promptly enforced by your own authority. In the above I have, intentionally, confined myself to general rules, and abstained from details. To define those would be only to hamper you, and, I think, unnecessarily and inconveniently. It is impossible that any rules, however precise, can embrace all the complications that will come before you. I have defined all the general principles that I think essential, and I confidently leave details, trusting to your tact, temper, and judgment, to execute them satisfactorily.

22. I consider your appointment, as superintendent of Dhar, confers upon you, during the minority, the full powers of a magistrate, whenever the necessity arises for your exercising them.

23. Your first duty will be to endeavour to ascertain the exact state of the finances of the Dhar Government, and having ascertained its present liabilities, the next step will be to master the details of the income and expenditure, and so to regulate the latter as to ensure a substantial, though not large surplus, when the minority ceases. I have shown you the whole of the correspondence regarding Dhar, which will, I think, be useful to you; and though I by no means wish you to consider it necessary to consult me in all your arrangements, still I shall be most happy to assist you with advice, or to ease you of responsibility whenever you solicit my assistance. I think you should, within the present month, report on the existing liabilities of the State; and during the month of September on the prospects of the income and the expenditure coming within safe bounds.

24. The Government of India will take a great interest in your proceedings; but in fixing so large a salary, and selecting an officer of your standing and experience, I think that the intention has been to leave you in a more independent position than that which is occupied by most officers in charge of a district of equal size and revenue.

(Foreign Department.—No. 3794.)

From *C. U. Aitchison*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India, to Colonel Sir *R. C. Shakespear*, K.C.B., Agent Governor General for Central India; dated Fort William, 31 August 1860.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter and its enclosures, No. 397, dated 18th instant, reporting the death of the Ranee of Dhar, and forwarding a copy of your instructions to the superintendent on his proceeding to join his appointment, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to inform you that your proceedings are approved.

(No. 320 of 1861.)

From Colonel Sir *R. C. Shakespear*, K.C.B., Agent Governor General for Central India, to Lieutenant Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William; dated Indore Residency, 4 September 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to submit the following report on the finances of the Dhar State since they have been administered by a British officer.

2. On

2. On the 21st May 1860, I proceeded to Dhar, for the purpose of explaining to the young Rajah and to the Ranee, the final orders of Government regarding the Dhar State. My proceedings on that occasion were fully detailed in my letter to your address, No. 207, of date 22d May 1860, and the approval of Government of them was conveyed in letter of your office, No. 1994, of date 15th June.*

3. On the 7th August 1860, Captain Wood assumed charge as Superintendent of Dhar, and visited Indore *en route* to that place. On that occasion, I drew up and made over to him a memorandum of instructions for his guidance. A copy of them was forwarded with my letter, No. 397, of 18th August 1860, and they were approved of by Government in your office letter, No. 3794 of date 31st August 1860.

4. You will observe that I impressed upon Captain Wood that the British Government had but one view in its connection with the Dhar State, and that was to bring the affairs of that Government into a prosperous condition; and so to educate the Rajah as to give him the best chance of managing the affairs of his State judiciously and well, on his attaining his majority.

The first step I directed his attention to was, to ascertain the exact state of the finances of the Dhar Government; and, having ascertained its present liabilities, to regulate the expenditure with the income, so as to ensure a substantial surplus when the minority ceased.

5. Captain Wood, in a letter, No. 70, of 4th October 1860, solicited permission to disburse one lac, forty thousand, two hundred and ninety seven rupees, eleven annas and five pies (*Rs.* 1,40,297. 11. 5.), on account of pay for 29 months, due to the relatives, pensioners and servants, of every description of the State. *Rs. 1,40,297. 11. 5.*

Some of these persons were suspected of complicity in the rebellion, and I directed him to make inquiries regarding each of them, and I also called on him to state, in detail, the means by which he had arrived at the conclusion that the arrears as mentioned by him, were actually due.

I pointed out the grave objections to servants, particularly those who kept up horses, remaining in arrears 29 months; and I directed, wherever the service could be proved beyond a doubt, that the arrears should be paid up at once, and arrangements made for punctual payments for the future.

On the 8th November 1860, Captain Wood, with a report, No. 83, Appendix (A.), forwarded three Papers, A. B. C., which, with his letter, are sent in original. It was incomplete in many respects, and before Captain Wood could supply the information called for by me, he was obliged to leave from sickness.

6. On Captain Creagh assuming charge, I directed him to go carefully over the whole of the accounts sent by Captain Wood. I annex his report, No. 100, of date 18th April 1861, with enclosures in original. Appendix (B.)

7. Captain Creagh's investigation of the Dhar accounts led to the discovery of enormous sums due to the State prior to our assumption of the management, and when Lieutenant Ward took charge of the Dhar Superintendency, I sent an able accountant from this office to assist him in going through the whole of the accounts. I enclose Lieutenant Ward's letter in original, No. 184, of 27th ultimo. Appendix (C.)

8. This investigation terminated in the following result:—

Debts due by the Dhar State up to 21 May 1861 - *Rs.* 3,82,863. 13. 10.

Debts due to the Dhar State - - - - *Rs.* 7,73,059. 13. 3.

9. Immediately the above points had been satisfactorily established, the arrears due were paid off, and arrangements made for recovering the balances due to the State.

10. The accounts have been repeatedly gone over and examined, and on the 27th August 1861, after allowing for the payment of establishments for August, and

* See Parliamentary Paper, No. 30, of Session 1861, pp. 68-75.

and all arrears of every description, there stood a cash balance in favour of the State :—

		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
In Indore Treasury	- - - -	2,55,459	3	4
In Dhar Treasury	- - - -	72,016	4	8
		<u>Rs. 3,27,475</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>-</u>

Rs. 4,46,821.10.4. In addition to the above cash balance actually in hand, there is a sum of four lacs, forty-six thousand, eight hundred and twenty-one, ten annas and four pies, the whole of which may be considered as recoverable debt ; its details are as follows :—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Sums for which arrangements have been entered into to pay by instalments	- - - - -	2,96,110	1 10
Sums for which arrangements are now being made for realisation	- - - - -	1,43,711	8 6
Sums for which property is held in mortgage	- - -	7,000	- -
		<u>Rs. 4,46,821</u>	<u>10 4</u>

Rs. 3,00,000. 11. After most minute and repeated inquiries, I am able to report that on the 1st of this month, the Dhar surplus cash exceeded three and a quarter lacs, and that its recoverable debts were very near three lacs of rupees ; and I beg it may be remembered that this favourable result, is after every liability of every sort has been met, and even after the pay of the establishment for August has been deducted.

12. Regarding the three Appendices (A. B. and C.), I beg to make the following remarks :—

The paper marked (C.) of both Appendices (A.) and (B.) is the annual expenditure of the State.

Lieutenant Wood's estimate is lower than can be carried out, or indeed than is desirable. For the present, I would take Captain Creagh's estimate :

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Revenue	- - - - -	4,02,543	4 -
Expenditure	- - - - -	3,25,498	7 5
Annual Surplus	- - -	<u>Rs. 77,044</u>	<u>12 7</u>

Rs. 79,535. 14. 13. We commenced our administration of the Dhar finances on the 14th February 1858, with a cash surplus of seventy-nine thousand, five hundred and thirty-five, and fourteen annas ; on the 1st September 1861, the cash surplus is three lacs and twenty-five thousand rupees. During the three and a half years, we have accumulated a surplus of two lacs and forty-five thousand, which is exactly at the rate of seventy thousand rupees per annum. But we have paid off the Ranee's and other debts, and I think I may safely put down the surplus at seventy-five thousand rupees a year.

Rs. 3,25,000.

Rs. 2,45,000.

Rs. 70,000.

Rs. 75,000.

14. With reference to Appendix (C.), it will be noticed from paragraph 19 of Lieutenant Ward's letter, that the Dhar Government, like almost every other Native State, mixed itself up with the transactions of several mercantile firms. No less than six different firms are enumerated. My instructions to Lieutenant Ward are to withdraw slowly but steadily from all connection with these mercantile firms ; and, in the meantime, to insist upon the accounts of every firm, and every office, being submitted through one department alone.

Rs. 35,174.

Rs. 75,000.

Rs. 1,10,174.

15. Paragraphs 13 and 14 of his letter require particular notice. One native firm owes the Dhar State thirty-five thousand, one hundred and seventy-four rupees. In that firm the Durbar share of capital is seventy-five thousand rupees, so that the total amount risked by the Dhar Government is one lac, ten thousand one hundred and seventy-four.

The firm is in reality insolvent, but has outstanding debts, and undertakes to pay by instalments.

My instructions regarding this firm to Lieutenant Ward will be to compromise the

the whole sum of one lac, ten thousand one hundred, and seventy-four rupees, for a payment by half-yearly instalments, and to complete such an arrangement as will totally break off the connection of the State with the native firm.

Rs. 1,10,174.

16. It now remains to submit the account from our first connection with the Dhar finances up to present date.

I beg attention to paragraph 21 of my letter, No. 207 of 22d May 1860, and the account which accompanied it. That account was avowedly only an approximation; it has been revised, and the correct account from 14th January 1858 to 5th June 1860, is enclosed Appendix (D.)

Appendix (E.) is the account from 6th June 1860 to 5th June 1861, and from the last-mentioned date to the 22d August 1861. The account is given amongst the enclosures with Lieutenant Ward's letter (Appendix (C.))

I trust that the accounts may, (D.) and (E.), be approved of, and kept for record in your office; and that the Appendices (A.) (B.) (C.) may be returned when no longer required.

(No. 83 of 1860.)

From Lieutenant *J. C. Wood*, Superintendent, Dhar, to Colonel Sir *R. C. Shakespear*, K.C.B., Agent to the Governor General for Central India; dated Dhar, 8 November 1860.

Sir,

In compliance with the orders contained in your instructions, supplied to me in August last, I have the honour to submit the following report on

The existing liabilities of the State; and

The prospects of the Income and Expenditure;

and I forward Statements (A.) (B.) (C.) noted as per margin,* regarding which I shall have occasion to make remarks in detail.

2. Preserving the order of the information called for by you, I proceed to notice

The existing Liabilities of the State.

I am happy to say that the liabilities are entirely covered by the amount of hard cash to the credit of the Dhar State. There will, moreover, be a balance of one lac, fifteen thousand and fifteen rupees three annas and one pie, in hand after the payment of the several items, Nos. 1 to 12, entered in Statement (A.)

3. It will be seen from item 1 of the credit side of the Statement, that the account has been brought up to the 31st October 1860. This is the actual cash account in the Dhar and Indore treasuries, and has nothing to do with cash balances in the several Mahals. I am unable to prepare the Mofussil accounts until the reports of the Kamasdars are regularly sent in.

4. Of the manner in which accounts have been kept in the Mofussil, I hope to report when the present system is improved. Out of seven Kamasdars only two send accounts monthly, the rest send them yearly. I have ordered all the Kamasdars to send in their accounts of receipts and expenditure monthly. Without such an arrangement there is no timely check on the proceedings of these officers.

5. The account up to the 31st October 1860 shows the balance, after payment of all Sudder and Mahal establishments, for the month of September last, excluding only the public and private servants in the employ of the Rajah and the Durbar, who are considerably in arrears of pay, and regarding whom I addressed you on the 4th ultimo (No. 70). You directed the payment of some servants, and have called upon

* (A).—Abstract Statement of the cash balance standing to the credit of the Dhar State, together with an account of the liabilities of the State up to that date.

(B).—Statement showing the receipts and disbursements of the Dhar State, through her late Highness the Ranee of Dhar, from the 1st October 1858 to the 6th August 1860.

(C).—Detail Statement of present and proposed annual expenditure.

upon me for explanation regarding the service of others. A reply will be submitted shortly. Respecting these, it will be found that their salary is debited in item No. 9 of Statement (A.), which includes pay for September 1860.

6. As to the former liabilities of the Dhar State, item No. 1 is very trifling, being about 300 rupees. Inquiry is being made into the matter, which will be quickly disposed of. This item represents a balance of 1,400 rupees, minus 1,100 rupees, which will be carried to the credit of the State, which had a counter claim.

7. Items 2 to 8 will be found on the credit side of Statement (B.) The money was borrowed by the late Ranee, to enable her to carry on the affairs of the Durbar, and the Commissariat department, &c. &c., which were kept quite distinct from the province of the native managers, Meer Shahamut Ally and Baboo Umber Loll, my predecessors. In paragraph 23 of your letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, No. 207, dated 22d May last, you observed that the Ranee estimated the amount borrowed by herself, from the date of annexation (February 1858) to the time of your writing (May 1860), at two lacs of rupees, and you added, that you feared the amount would exceed that sum. On inspection of Statement (B.), you will perceive that only Rs. 135,019. 12. 9. were actually expended by her Highness up to the 1st of May 1860, but had she paid the Durbar officers in full up to that date, she would have expended about one lac and a quarter more up to the time that you wrote your letter alluded to in this paragraph. In addition to Rs. 135,019. 12. 9., Rs. 16,250. 6. were spent by the Ranee in May, June, July, and six days in August 1860. (As I took charge of the treasury on the 6th August, no sum has since been expended without my express order by warrant on the treasurer.) The whole sum therefore expended by her Highness amounts to Rs. 151,270. 12. 9.

8. Hitherto I have noticed all claims against the Dhar State; I now write very briefly regarding the claims of the Dhar State against Izaradars, and others, for arrears of revenue, &c. I beg to state, that I am making careful inquiry into the condition of the villages in which the arrears exist, and if the jumma is excessive, relief will be afforded. Until the investigation is completed, it is difficult to say what arrears of revenue may still be collected.

Item, No. 9, Debit Account, 84, 108 rupees.

Arrears of pay due to the relatives of the Rajah to pensioners, durbar officers, karkoons, &c.

9. This amount shows the balance of arrears of pay for the petty, public, and private servants of his Highness, in arrears for 29 months, which were ordered by you, in letter dated 4th October, to be paid, and I have since advised you of the disbursement of 10,000 rupees, in part payment, collectively to officers of the Durbar, &c. to whom pay was due for a similar period, and who were greatly pressed for money.

Item, No. 12, Rs. 64,901. 13. 3.

Collection from confiscated jagheers in deposit.

10. The jagheers are seven in number. Six of them were held by the relatives of the Rajah. These six estates were confiscated when the confiscation of the Dhar state took place. I have made every inquiry, and finding that the six jagheerdars were in no way mixed up in the rebellion, it will be my pleasureable duty to report each case, with a recommendation that the jagheers may be restored. Meanwhile, in my estimate of liabilities against the State, I enter the amount collected from the six jagheers as a sum which will have to be refunded. The 7th, and only remaining jagheerdar, is Ramchunder Rao Bappoojee, the ex-minister of Dhar, and as his case is being drawn up by me unavoidably at great length, it would be premature to show the collections from his jagheer (Rs. 20,943. 12. 9. from 14th February 1858 to 31st October 1860), otherwise than on the credit side of my accounts. This amount, and the total of the collections of the six jagheers, have, of course, been included in the credit side of my Treasury accounts.

Statement (B).

11. Adverting to this statement, I beg to remark that I have minutely examined the items of receipt and disbursement through the late Ranee.

12. The disbursements, viz., Rs. 151,270. 2. 9., correspond with the receipts, there being no balance of cash in hand. The two first pages of the statement show the receipts and disbursements from 1st March 1858 to 30th of April 1860, and this division will be found convenient in referring to the statement made by the late Ranee, to the effect that up to May 1860 she thought she had expended about 2 lacs of rupees.

The second division of the account, pages 3 and 4, shows the amount expended from the 1st of May 1860 to the 6th of August last, the date on which, as I have before observed, I took charge of the Treasury. In those three months and a few days, her Highness spent Rs. 16,250. 6. This expenditure was great

as

as far as items 21, 24, 30 and 32, are concerned; but I learn that the extra expense was incurred owing to ceremonies and rejoicings which took place after the restoration of the State was officially announced.

13. This statement generally does not call for further remarks from me, as in paragraph 24 of your letter to the Secretary to the Government of India of the 22d of May last, you have explained that with reference to the debt which the Ranees had contracted, you and Captain Cumming found your "position as regards that lady to be most difficult and delicate."

14. I now come to notice Statement (C.), which details present and proposed expenditure. Statement (C).

It will be seen that the present expenditure is (about) Rs. 3,18,203. 15. 9.

The income is Rs. 4,02,543. 4.; this includes 8,500 rupees collections from the ex-minister's jagheer, but it does not include the collections of the other jagheers mentioned above in paragraph 10.

I have already made some reductions in establishments and miscellaneous expenditure, and the proposed expenditure at present is estimated at Rs. 2,89,967. 3. 9., being a surplus of about 1 lac and 20,000 rupees annually.

15. Other reductions will be made by degrees, though as soon as practicable, without impairing the efficiency of the several establishments.

16. Under "present expenditure," I beg to make the following observations.—

The cavalry is a very heavy item of expense, and affords but little benefit to the Dhar State.

Item 15.
Is not the Cavalry,
Rs. 22,872.

The present strength is—

	Rs.
1 Ressaldar Bahadoor - - - - -	100 per month.
1 Jemadar - - - - -	50 "
7 Duffadars, at 28 rupees - - - - -	196 "
78 Sowars, at 20 " - - - - -	1,560 "
TOTAL - - -	Rs. 1,906 monthly,

Or 22,872 rupees, as above, annually.

It is proposed to reduce the cavalry to—

	Rs.
1 Ressaldar Bahadoor - - - - -	100 per month.
1 Jemadar - - - - -	50 "
2 Duffadars, at 28 rupees - - - - -	56 "
2 Naib ditto, at 24 " - - - - -	48 "
40 Sowars, at 20 " - - - - -	800 "
TOTAL - - -	Rs. 1,054 monthly,

Or 12,648 rupees annually.

These horsemen should be located at head-quarters, Dhar, their services being available at any time for district duty, and only for duty out of the district when absolutely required.

Out of 9 officers and 78 troopers, 7 officers and 63 troopers are on command at Burwanee and Mehidpoor: viz. 3 officers and 41 troopers at Burwanee, and 4 officers and 22 troopers at Mehidpoor; leaving only 2 officers and 15 troopers for duty in the Dhar territory.

17. On the reduction being sanctioned, the 5 surplus duffadars and 36 sowars (78 minus 42 plus 2 naib duffadars) might be transferred to some irregular or local cavalry corps.

To reduce the heavy expenditure, I would propose to send the whole of the cavalry to the officer commanding the corps to which the extra men were to be transferred, and allow that officer to choose the 5 duffadars and 36 sowars; and I would make the best of the remainder.

18. The only other alternative is to give the extra men, on discharge, a gratuity of four months' pay each in cases in which the discharge is taken voluntarily. But this should be done immediately, for the delay of every month tells.

19. Item No. 16.—Late Malwa Contingent, infantry and artillery doing duty as infantry.

The present yearly expenditure is 20,448 rupees, and I propose to reduce it to 6,972 rupees.

The following is the present state of the Infantry and Artillery :—

	Subadar.	Jemadar.	Havildar Major.	Drum Major.	Havildar.	Naik.	Sepoys.	Gun Lascar.	Head Driver.	Drummers.	Drivers.
Infantry :											
Present at head quarters -	1	1	1	1	4	7	69	-	-	2	-
Command Khull -	-	1	-	-	4	4	55	-	-	1	-
Command Oojein -	-	-	-	-	1	-	8	-	-	-	-
On leave -	-	-	-	-	3	2	20	-	-	-	-
On medical leave -	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
	1	2	1	1	12	13	154	-	-	3	-
Artillery :											
Present at head quarters -	-	1	-	-	2	1	20	4	1	-	8
On leave -	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	3
	-	1	-	-	2	1	22	4	1	-	11

It is proposed to reduce the detachment to—

	Rs.
1 Subadar -	30
1 Jemadar -	20
1 Pay Havildar -	14
5 Havildars, at 9 rupees -	45
5 Naicks - at 7 " -	35
2 Buglers at 6 " -	12
1 Classee -	5
70 Sepoys - at 6 rupees -	420

TOTAL - - Rs. 581 per mensem,

Or 6,972 rupees per annum, as stated above.

From the tabular statement just given, it will be seen that 20 officers, 91 sepoy, 2 drummers of the infantry are at head quarters, as well as 4 officers, 22 gunners, 4 gun-lascars, 1 head driver, 11 drivers of the artillery.

The remainder of the infantry are on command south of the Nerbudda, and at Oojein, viz.: 9 officers, 55 sepoy, 1 drummer, south of Nerbudda; and 1 officer, 8 sepoy at Oojein.

20. In addition to the above, there are at head quarters—

	Rs.
1 English writer -	25 per month.
1 Tindal -	7 "
1 Bhisty -	5 "
1 Hospital dresser -	7 "
1 Blacksmith -	10 "
1 Sweeper -	4 "

TOTAL - - Rs. 58 monthly,

Or 696 rupees annually.

It is intended to reduce the whole of these six individuals.

21. The whole of the remains of the late Malwa Contingent, infantry and artillery, now forming the additional force paid by the Dhar State at the rate of a little more than 20,000 rupees a year, behaved well during the disturbances, and all officers and men beyond the proposed strength should be transferred to some local corps.

With respect to these men, I beg to refer to your letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, No. 6, dated 30th January 1860, a copy of which is annexed for convenient reference.

22. Issreepersaud's Cavalry, raised in 1858 by order of the Agent Governor General, and the late Malwa Contingent, infantry and artillery, have cost the Rs.1,41,658. 14. 6. Dhar State the enormous sum of one lac and forty-one thousand six hundred and fifty-eight rupees fourteen annas and six pie, up to the end of last month (October), from January 1858.

23. In addition to this, the Dhar State contributes 20,000 rupees towards the Malwah Bheel Corps.

24. I am aware that you are anxious to reduce the expenditure under the heads Cavalry and Malwa Contingent, infantry and artillery, and I hope that measures will be taken by Government to effect this object as soon as practicable.

25. The

25. The detachment of the late Malwa Contingent Infantry, proposed to be kept up, are well drilled, and would be required to garrison the fort of Dhar.

I have obtained a copy of the plan of the fort from Captain Baigrie, Assistant Quartermaster General's Department, Bombay, and a separate report will be submitted with my reasons for recommending the maintenance of this fortified work.

General Remarks.

26. The betrothal of the young Rajah Annund Rao is engaging the careful attention of the Durbar and myself.

I have addressed you demi-officially as to the family into which it is hoped that the Rajah will be able to marry. A negotiation is now on foot.

27. It was my principal care, on taking charge of my young ward, to see that he attended to his studies, and I soon arranged for his Highness to sit with me in Kutcherry.

I would here mention, that I hold my Court in one wing of the palace. The young Rajah occupies the other wing, and our intercourse is consequently very frequent.

Anund Rao Powar is a most amiable prince, and is most ready to follow the advice I give him. I have scarcely had time to mark the progress made in his studies.

The death of the Ranee, his late brother Eswunt Rao's widow (on the 10th of August), four days after I arrived at Dhar, threw him into mourning, and many days were unavoidably lost in ceremonies attending the funeral.

28. I beg to forward herewith statements showing receipts and disbursements from the 6th June 1859 to the 5th June 1860, the close of the local year of account. With advertence to the several items of deposit, I would state that all such items are being gradually disposed of, and will not be allowed to remain long in the floating account.

(A).—ABSTRACT STATEMENT of the CASH BALANCE standing to the Credit of the DHAR STATE on the 31st October, together with an Account of the Liabilities of the State up to that Date.

CREDIT.				DEBIT ACCOUNT.			
		Rs.	a. p.			Rs.	a. p.
1	Amount of hard cash standing to the credit of the Dhar State on the 31st October 1860.	3,64,833	10 4	1	Balance due to creditors unsettled in the time of Meer Shahamat Allee, Officiating Superintendent of Dhar.	300	- -
2	Add security, in cash, to be refunded to account on disposal of case. See Item 6 D., Statement (B.)	4,000	- -		Money Borrowed by the late Ranee:		
				2	Due to Ramchunder Gunes, Sowcar, being money borrowed by the late Ranee.—See Item 5 C., Statement (B.)	27,370	7 9
					Balance of interest due - - - - -	700	- -
				3	Due to ditto - ditto.—See Item 12 C., Statement (B.)	12,740	7 9
					Balance of ditto - ditto - - - - -	150	- -
				4	Khundey Rao Narayen) See Item 7 C. and 14 C.,	5,948	9 -
				5	Ditto - ditto -) Statement (B.) - - -	954	11 9
				6	Balance, that is interest due.—See Item 8 C., Statement (B.); 25,001 rupees paid from Treasury, in part liquidation.	1,631	13 3
				7	Balance due to Soorutram Gooindram.—See Item 9 C., Statement (B.)	20,000	- -
					Interest due on 20,000 rupees - - - - -	425	- -
				8	From Sowar Ram Himutram.—Item 10, Statement (B.)	25,000	- -
					Interest due on 25,000 rupees - - - - -	2,655	- -
				9	Arrears of pay due to the relatives of the Rajah, to pensioners, Durbar officers, karkoos, &c., up to 30th September 1860.	84,108	- -
				10	Amount expended from August to October, on the visit of the Rajah of Dewas, uncle of the present Rajah of Dhar.	4,255	- -
				11	Amount expended in Modhukhana (Commissariat Department, for public and private purposes) for August and September 1860.	2,674	8 6
				12	Collections from six out of seven confiscated jagheers, in deposit.	64,901	13 3
TOTAL - - Rs.		3,68,833	10 4	TOTAL - - Rs.		2,53,818	7 3

Dhar, 8 November 1860.

(signed) J. C. Wood,
Superintendent, Dhar.

STATEMENT (B.) showing the RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS on Account of the DHAR STATE, through her late Highness the Ranee of Dhar, from 1 March 1858 to 6 August 1860.

Cr.

Dr.

RECEIPTS.			Total of Each.	Grand Total.	DISBURSEMENTS.			Total of Each.	Grand Total.
		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
1	Receipts for Karkoonce and Potedaree.	2,168 6 3			1	Advance to Mankurries - -	270 - -		
2	Sale of Grass, &c. - - -	591 1 -			2	" Durrukdars and Karkoons.	7,719 14 6		
3	Receipts from different sources	1,126 4 -			3	" Khasburdars and other public servants.	18,552 13 6		27,012 12 -
4	Advance from Dhar Treasury -	10,000 - -			4	Payments for religious purposes	19,582 11 6		
5	From Ramchunder Gunesh, Sowcar.	27,370 7 9			5	Grass purchased for horses -	2,887 13 -		
6	From Rajasur Gunesh - -	12,114 7 -			6	Paid into Dhar Treasury on account of— Security of Bhew Rao Rs. Bhosla - - 2,000 Atta Hoossain - 2,000	4,000 - -		
7	From Khundey Rao Narain -	5,948 9 -			7	Stationery - - - -	427 12 6		
8	From Bagjee Ruttonjee - -	25,001 - -			8	Presents on annual holidays -	3,725 10 -		
9	From Soorutram Gooindram -	20,000 - -			9	Kothar expenses - - -	9,729 - 3		
10	From Sawaeram Himmātrām -	25,000 - -			10	Repairs of buildings - - -	4,562 4 -		
11	From various petty traders -	5,669 9 9			11	Travelling expenses - - -	2,107 4 6		
					12	Fireworks on holidays - - -	172 - -		
					13	Interest paid to Sowcars - -	4,439 2 -		61,733 9 9
						Private :			
					14	Advance paid to relatives and private servants.	18,033 1 3		
					15	Purchase of cloth - - -	9,666 4 3		
					16	Kothar expenses - - -	15,720 14 9		
					17	Presents on various occasions -	1,236 1 -		
					18	Miscellaneous (repair of tents, palanquin, medical drugs, &c. &c.).	1,616 7 3		46,272 13 -
	From 1 March 1858 to 30 April 1860.	- - -		1,35,019 12 9		From 1 March 1858 to 30 April 1860.	- - -		1,85,019 2 -
12	Borrowed from Ramchunder Gunesh.	12,740 7 9			19	Paid advance to certain Durbar servants.	193 1 3		
13	Borrowed from Rajasur Gunesh	358 10 6			20	Repair of buildings - - -	571 11 6		
14	Borrowed from Khundey Rao Narain.	954 11 9			21	Payments for religious purposes	2,131 15 3		
15	Received from various petty traders.	2,196 8 -			22	Presents to various persons -	598 12 9		
					23	Travelling charges - - -	183 8 9		
					24	Kothar expenses for public horses and other cattle, &c.	2,222 10 -		
					25	Fireworks - - - -	124 1 3		
					26	Advance paid to private servants	137 - 3		
					27	Purchase of cloth - - -	2,743 15 6		
					28	Payments for medicine - - -	283 3 3		
					29	Books and photographic apparatus.	2,712 - -		
					30	Kothar expenses for Rajah's family and certain private servants.	2,785 3 3		
					31	Stationery - - - -	77 10 3		
					32	Miscellaneous - - - -	1,685 8 9		
	From 1 May 1860 to 6 August 1860.	- - -		16,250 6 -		From 1 May 1860 to 6 August 1860.	- - -		16,250 6 -
GRAND TOTAL of Receipts from 1 March 1858 to 6 August 1860 - - - -				Rs. 1,51,270 2 9	GRAND TOTAL - - - Rs. 1,51,269 8 9				

Dhar, 8 November 1860.

(signed) J. C. Wood,
Superintendent, Dhar.

(C).—DETAIL STATEMENT of Present and Proposed ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.

PRESENT ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.			PROPOSED ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.		
No.	Detail of Expenditure.	Amount Annually.	Amount Annually.		
		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		
1	Salary of superintendent - - - - -	12,000 - -	12,000 - -		
2	Pay of superintendents, Sudder Office - - - - -	8,244 - -	7,044 - -		
3	Ditto, dewanee adawlut - - - - -	624 - -	624 - -		
4	Ditto, kotwallies - - - - -	528 - -	528 - -		
5	Ditto, school - - - - -	1,000 - -	1,000 - -		
6	Ditto, dispensary - - - - -	666 2 -	666 2 -		
7	Ditto, gaol - - - - -	780 - -	180 - -		
8	Ditto, opium establishment - - - - -	3,600 - -	3,600 - -		
9	Mofussil revenue, police, and civil establishments - - -	23,426 4 -	22,000 - -		
10	Charitable pensioners paid through koomasdar - - -	205 - -	205 - -		
11	Bhoomias, paid through koomasdar - - - - -	2,457 - -	2,457 - -		
12	Payments for maintenance of temples, &c., through koomasdar. - - -	6,958 1 9	6,958 1 9		
13	Presents to zemindars annually through koomasdar - -	800 - -	800 - -		
14	Two Khasgee Establishments :				
	Establishment - - - - -	2,920 8 -	* 1,400 - -		* Amalgamated in the Dhar Pergannah.
	Expenses for religious purposes - - - - -	2,791 - -	2,791 - -		
15	Issreepersands cavalry, raised out of Dhar - - - - -	22,872 - -	12,648 - -		
16	Late Malwa Contingent, infantry and artillery, doing duty as infantry. - - -	20,448 - -	6,972 - -		
17	Contribution towards Malwa Bheel Corps - - - - -	20,000 - -	20,000 - -		
	Dhar State Troops :				
18	Infantry, armed with flint musket - - - - -	13,000 - -	13,000 - -		
19	Horsemen - - - - -	43,000 - -	30,000 - -		
20	Sebundies - - - - -	12,156 - -	10,000 - -		
21	Body-guard, horsemen - - - - -	6,957 - -	6,957 - -		
22	Ditto - footmen - - - - -	3,125 - -	3,125 - -		
23	Elephant and camel establishment - - - - -	1,152 - -	1,152 - -		
24	Feeding of elephants and camels - - - - -	3,780 - -	3,780 - -		
25	Pay of relations of the Rajah - - - - -	37,020 - -	37,020 - -		
26	Charitable pensioners, paid through Durbar - - - - -	1,768 - -	1,768 - -		
27	Service pensioners, paid through Durbar - - - - -	1,199 - -	1,199 - -		
	Officers of the Durbar :				
28	Mankuries - - - - -	2,806 - -	2,806 - -		
29	Durruckdars - - - - -	1,262 - -	1,262 - -		
30	Officers of departments - - - - -	3,296 - -	3,296 - -		
31	Karkoons attached to the Durbar - - - - -	5,834 - -	3,000 - -		
32	Hoozrias, hulkaras, palkee bearers - - - - -	3,125 - -	3,125 - -		
33	Every other description of petty, public, and private servants -	8,604 - -	8,604 - -		
34	Personal expenses of the Rajah, including every item of expenditure. -	18,000 - -	18,000 - -		
35	Miscellaneous expenses of the Durbar, travelling allowance, repairs of palace, &c. -	4,000 - -	4,000 - -		
36	Allotments for presents for religious and charitable purposes -	9,000 - -	9,000 - -		
37	Entertainment of guests from neighbouring States, &c. - -	5,000 - -	5,000 - -		
38	Contingent expenses of superintendent's office, including food for gaol prisoners, stationery, &c. -	1,500 - -	1,500 - -		
39	Repairs of opium agency bungalow, gaol, &c., pay of overseer -	1,800 - -	2,000 - -		
40	Cleaning out and repairing tanks at Dhar and in the district -	500 - -	1,500 - -		
					Repairs to roads in the town and in the district.
					Construction of small bridges at Dhar and the neighbourhood.
					Yearly expenditure (for four years to come) towards building a mausoleum for the late Rajah, Eswunt Rao.
					Conservancy improvements in the town of Dhar, construction of drains, &c.
	TOTAL - - - Rs.	3,18,203 15 9	289,967 3 9		N.B.—Income, Rs. 4,02,543. 4.

Dhar, 8 November 1860.

(signed) J. C. Wood,
Superintendent, Dhar.

(No. 100 of 1861.)

From Captain *W. Creagh*, Officiating Superintendent, Dhar, to Sir *R. C. Shakespear*, K.C.B., Agent Governor General for Central India; dated Dhar, 8 April 1861.

Sir,

IN reply to paragraph 2 of your letter, No. 528, dated the 27th March 1861, calling for further information on certain points of Captain Wood's report, No. 83, of date 8th November 1860, I have the honour now to submit it.

2. Paragraph 4 of that report is the first on which information is required, and the following is a true copy of a memorandum left in the office by Captain Wood, dated 28th December 1860, in answer.

"I beg to state that whereas on my taking charge of the Dhar District, the kamasdars used to send in their Treasury accounts yearly, they now send them in monthly.

"2d. The pergunnah accounts can now be checked monthly instead of yearly, as before.

"With regard to the English Treasury accounts, I would remark that Umber Lall Baboo introduced the system of translating the Treasury accounts into English; that officer, however, had the Treasury accounts translated weekly, but since my incumbency the Treasury accounts have been translated daily.

"3d. I have very often examined and signed the translation into English of the accounts closed on the very day the examination took place."

(signed) *J. C. Wood.*

3. Regarding paragraph 2, I can find no record of Captain Wood's in the office relative to the inquiries he proposed making, as to whether the rents of certain villages in which arrears existed were excessive or the contrary, but Major Cumming informs me that, on assuming temporary charge of the office, he inquired into the case of three of the largest farmers, by whom arrears were due; these men pleaded that they were entitled to remission on the ground that they had been induced to sign the agreement for the full amount by the late Rajah, under the promise that a large remission should be made, and that their signature was only required to induce the smaller farmers to sign without demur.

These men were called into Kutcherry, and the opinion of the leading Sirdars of the State was taken in the matter, when it was decided that the actual account of the first years for which they held villages should be examined, and the rent fixed according to it; this was done, and the amount paid shows a loss to the State of Rs. 2,363. 3. 3. There are no other claims for arrears that seem to require a special notice.

4. With reference to paragraph 10 of the Report, the following is a true copy of a memorandum left by Captain Wood, dated 29th December 1860, by which it will be seen that six of the jagheerdars referred to were in no way mixed up with the rebellion.

"I beg to remark that I have made inquiry, and find that none out of the six jagheerdars named below were in any way implicated in the rebellion at Dhar.

"*Sumbhajee Rao*, jagheerdar, is brother of the present Rajah of Dhar, but is a little more than four years old; he lives in the Deccan.

"*Khaseebae Saheb* holds a jagheer. She is sister of the present Rajah, and was not in any way mixed up in the disturbances at Dhar in 1858. Lives at Dhar.

Dada

" *Dada Satey*, grandson of a brother of Maina Bae Sahib. He is now about 14 years of age. He took no part in the rebellion in 1858, at which time he was but 12 years old; lives at Dhar.

" *Raojee Elwunday*, grandson of a sister of Maina Bae Sahib, aged about 52 years, was not implicated in the rebellion. Resides at Dhar.

" *Krustnarao Sinday*, grandson of a sister of Maina Bae Sahib, aged about 26 years, was in no way mixed up in the disturbances in 1858.

" *Raojee Satey*, son of a brother of Maina Bae Sahib, aged about 45 years, was not implicated in the rebellion.

" The jagheers of these six persons, all belonging to the family of the present Rajah of Dhar, were confiscated; and as there is no suspicion even of their having taken any part in the rebellion, I would beg to recommend that their jagheers (all in the Dhar district) may be restored to them.

" I am further of opinion, that all collections made on account of their jagheers whilst under confiscation, be restored to them in full from the date of the confiscation of the jagheers.

(signed) " *J. C. Wood.*"

5. With reference to paragraph 25 of the Report, it has been arranged that 100 rank and file, with a proportion of commissioned and non-commissioned officers from the Bhopal levy, should remain to garrison the Dhar State, and be paid by that state, so long as it is under British management.

6. The final orders of Government, forbidding the repair of the parapets and breach in the walls of the fort, have been received.

7. Regarding the wish expressed in the letter under reply, that the accounts compiled by Captain Wood should be again carefully gone over and examined, I beg to inform you, that having been put in the way of it by Major Cumming, I have gone through the whole, item by item, and have prepared fresh accounts, lettered as Captain Woods' are with remarks entered where any discrepancies occur. I have also brought them up to the present time; several alterations and, in many cases, reductions have been effected by Major Cumming; these will be seen by an examination of the paper marked (C.) I should state that Captain Wood has, in his Appendix marked (C.), proposed very great reductions, but has left nothing in the office to show in what manner they are to be arrived at. The plan appears to have been framed with the assistance of a person, by name Raghoonath Naraen, who is now away at Poonah, and no one else in the office can afford the slightest information, they saying they were not consulted, and were in ignorance of what was being done.

8. In several instances, as is separately noticed, Captain Wood appears to have been misinformed as to the present expenditure, as a reference to the office accounts has shown, besides which, he has omitted several items at the end of his account marked (C.), which I have entered as "extra items," regarding the expenditure for which there is not the slightest doubt, Major Cumming having been present when they were inquired into. He appears, also, too sanguine about making reductions; that they can be made there is no doubt, but they must be done gradually. This particularly refers to the expenditure for troops, whose pay was increased at the time of the rebellion very much; a slight reduction was afterwards made, but not near to the extent of the increase, and at the present time, when food is so dear, it would be hard to think of reducing their pay to their former rates, but it may be done hereafter, and a considerable saving will thereby be made.

To make the reduction at once may have been a project of Captain Wood's.

All new enlistments, however, are ordered to be made at the rates in force before the Mutiny.

9. Appendix (A.) is an abstract statement of the cash balance standing to the credit of the Dhar State, together with an account of its liabilities.

10. In Items 1 and 3 you will observe there is a sum of Rs. 35,110. 15. 6. due to two sowcars; Items 2 and 4 being the interest on it calculated to 1st May. This money was borrowed by the late Ranee, and should at once be liquidated. I therefore propose, if you have no objection, as these men are residents at Indore, to give them orders on the officer in charge of the money deposited to the credit of the Dhar State for the whole of their demands, as also to the men named in Items 5 and 6, whose principal has been already paid, but whose interest has been left unsettled. And the balance of the deposit I would withdraw from Indore whenever convenient to you, and place in the treasury here; that being, I understand, the intention of Government contained in a copy of a telegram sent to this office.

11. For its protection, I would send a suitable guard from this place.

12. Item 7, 50,000 rupees, is merely a transfer from the Khasgee (Ranee) treasury to the State one, and can be repaid when convenient.

13. The remaining items of the statement are sufficiently explained in the body of it, without further notice being taken of them.

14. Appendix (B.) is a statement showing the arrears due to the relatives of the Rajah, servants, &c. up to the beginning of the present year. Since then payment has been made, as far as it can be done, monthly.

The names in this list have been carefully gone over by Major Cumming, who erased several names contained in a former one, for want of proof.

You have already, I believe, partly sanctioned the payment of those arrears, but I will wait until I hear from you again, before proceeding to do it.

15. Appendix (C.) I have already alluded to; by this estimate a yearly saving of Rs. 77,044. 12. will be effected, but this in time will be much increased, as for instance, after the fourth year, the sum of 12,500 rupees will be removed from the list of "items of expenditure," together with other small matters.

16. Appendix (D.) is a statement of the actual number of men (horse and foot), together with the district police employed and paid by the Dhar State, with also their different rates of pay.

There is nothing more in your letter under reply that requires answering.

(A).—ABSTRACT STATEMENT of the CASH BALANCE standing to the Credit of the DHAR STATE, up to 16 April 1861, together with an Account of the Liabilities of the State up to that Date.

CREDIT.			DEBIT.		
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>			<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	
Amount of Cash in the Treasury on this 16th day of April 1861 - - - - -	1,04,995 13 -		1. Cash due to Ramchunder Gunesh, being Money borrowed by the late Ranee - - - - -	15,110 15 6	
Value of Gold and Silver Ornaments in Treasury -	1,132 8 -		2. Interest to ditto up to 1st May 1861 - - - - -	1,428 2 -	
Cash in deposit in Indore Treasury - - - - -	3,28,155 12 4		3. Cash due to Soorutram Gobindram, borrowed as above - - - - -	20,000 - -	
			4. Interest to ditto up to 1st May 1861 - - - - -	1,249 - 9	
			5. Interest on 25,000 rupees to Bagjee Rutfunjee, principal having been paid - - - - -	1,683 10 3	
			6. Interest on 25,000 rupees, Sowaram Humutram, principal having been paid - - - - -	3,269 11 9	
			7. Cash borrowed from Khasgee (Ranee's private) Treasury for repayment of loans to Sowcars -	50,000 - -	
			8. Various petty Traders - - - - -	400 - -	
			9. Arrears of Pay up to 1st January 1861, as per Appendix (B.) - - - - -	85,625 13 6	
			10. Arrears of Pay for February and March - - - - -	6,313 7 -	
			11. Durbar Expenses for - ditto - - - - -	6,000 - -	
			12. Miscellaneous for - ditto - - - - -	6,500 - -	
			13. Superintendents Pay for January, February, and March - - - - -	2,415 6 -	
			Sundry amounts of Cash placed in Treasury as deposits, most of which will be reclaimed -	24,239 15 4	
			Collections from seven confiscated Jagheers in deposit - - - - -	44,327 5 9	
				2,68,563 7 10	
			Balance to Credit - - - - -	1,65,720 9 6	
TOTAL - - - Rs.	4,34,284 1 4		TOTAL - - - Rs.	4,34,284 1 4	

(signed) W. Creagh,
Officiating Superintendent of Dhar.

(B).—STATEMENT showing ARREARS of PAY Due to the undermentioned RELATIVES of the RAJAH, OFFICERS of the DURBAR, and various Establishments, from 1 March 1857 up to 31 December 1860.

No.	NAMES.	Arrears of Pay and Allowance per Month, as per Major Cumming's List.	Number of Months Due.	Total Amount of Arrears.	Amount Received.	Amount now Due.		
	RELATIVES :	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
	Narainrao Dhundheray - -	80 11 8	34	2,744 12 8	- - -	2,744 12 8		
	Muheeprao Tatia Saheb - -	66 10 8	"	2,266 8 -	- - -	2,266 10 8		
	Khunderao Annundrao - -	16 10 8	"	566 10 8	- - -	566 10 8		
	Madhorao of Soopa - - -	16 10 8	"	566 10 8	- - -	566 10 8		
	Jugjeewanrao Powar - - -	8 5 4	"	283 5 4	- - -	283 5 4		
	Estwuntrao Patell, of Nassick -	8 5 4	"	283 5 4	- - -	283 5 4		
	Bhaao Saheb, of Multhon; his son, Sumbhajeero - - - -	250 - -	"	8,500 - -	- - -	8,500 - -		
	Khaseebaec Sahiba - - -	750 - -	"	25,500 - -	6,000 - -	19,500 - -		
	Annundrao Dada Sattay - -	10 6 9	"	384 5 6	75 - -	279 5 6		
	Raojee Elwunday - - -	10 6 9	"	354 5 6	125 - -	229 5 6		
	Raojee Sattay - - -	20 13 3	"	708 2 6	130 7 6	577 11 -		
	Bhugwuntrao Banday - - -	333 5 4	"	11,333 5 4	1,300 - -	10,033 5 4		
	Suntajeero Bhonslay, of Moongee -	88 12 -	"	3,017 8 -	3,564 6 9	- - -	546 14 9 over paid.	
	Jeejaeero Soorvey - - -	86 - -	"	2,924 - -	1,260 - -	1,664 - -		
	Khunderao Bhoslay - - -	62 - -	"	2,108 - -	336 - -	1,772 - -		
	Rajaba Soorvey - - -	62 - -	"	2,108 - -	200 - -	1,908 - -		
	Carried forward - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Rs. 51,175 2 8		

No.	NAMES.	Arrears of Pay and Allowance per Month, as per Major Cumming's List.	Number of Months Due.	Total Amount of Arrears.	Amount Received.	Amount now Due.		
		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
	RELATIVES—continued.							
	Brought forward					51,175 2 8		
	Bhewrao Panbund	24 8 -	34	833 - -	346 8 -	486 8 -		
	Suntajerao Ruveerao Sinday	51 - -	"	1,734 - -	501 - -	1,233 - -		
	Bhaoo Bhoslay	61 - -	"	2,074 - -	225 - -	1,849 - -		
	Dada Sinday	25 - -	"	850 - -	300 - -	550 - -		
	Krustnarao Sinday	10 6 9	"	351 5 6	75 - -	279 5 6		
							55,573 - 2	
	MANKURREES:							
	Vinaakrao Tapkeer	36 6 6	"	1,237 13 -	360 - -	877 13 -		
	Bhasker Rao Handay	26 - -	"	884 - -	175 - -	709 - -		
	Khunderao Tapkeer	31 9 6	"	1,074 3 -	215 - -	859 3 -		
	Gungajie Jugtap's son, Kissourao	19 - -	"	646 - -	195 7 -	450 9 -		
	Bapoo Meekum	39 10 6	"	1,348 5 -	350 - -	998 5 -		
	Gunpute Salovkee	23 6 6	"	795 13 -	200 - -	595 - -		
	Baboorao Murrall	14 - -	"	476 - -	25 - -	451 - -		
	Madhorao Dhumdheray's son, Dada	19 - -	"	646 - -	150 - -	496 - -		
	Bulwuntrao Jadhaw	25 - -	"	850 - -	250 - -	600 - -		
							6,037 11 -	61,610 11 2
	DURRUCKDARS and KARCOONS:							
1	Martundrao Muccoond	32 3 5	34	1,095 4 2	227 - -	868 4 2		
2	Amrotrao Sadasew	64 8 8	"	2,194 6 8	1,104 12 6	1,089 10 2		
3	Bulwuntrao Bapoojee and Martund							
	Buherao	62 4 3	"	2,117 - 6	209 - -	1,908 - 6		
4	Dajee Gungadhur	17 2 6	"	583 5 -	496 9 3	86 11 9		
5	Bulwuntrao Govind	12 1 6	"	411 3 -	422 - 9	- -	10 13 9	
6	Dhondoo Hurry, substitute for							
	Dhondoo Succaram, died 30th							
	January 1861	5 - -	"	70 - -	55 - -	115 - -		
7	Nagesh Bhugwunt	5 13 -	"	197 10 -	115 - -	82 10 -		
8	Bujajee Narain's brother, Khunde-							
	rao Narain	16 4 3	"	553 - 6	100 - -	453 - 6		
9	Luchmon Balajee Wakunkur	49 4 3	"	1,675 - 6	527 - -	1,148 - 6		
10	Purusrum Pandoorung, died on 30th							
	January 1860	6 4 -	"	212 8 -	150 12 -	61 12 -		
11	Govind Wisswas	118 2 3	"	3,846 12 6	3,846 12 6	- -	352 - -	
12	Ragho Narain	47 - -	"	1,598 - -	1,950 - -	- -		
13	Govind Pandoorung	10 - -	23m. 16d.	325 5 4	- -	325 5 4		
14	Luchmon Bulwunt	44 8 6	34	1,514 1 -	970 12 -	543 5 -		
15	Gungadhur Bulwunt	25 - -	"	850 - -	298 - -	552 - -		
16	Wisswanath Wittul	20 1 -	"	682 2 -	229 6 9	453 11 3		
17	Ramchunder Succaram	16 2 8	"	549 10 8	234 14 -	314 12 8		
18	Bhaoo Gungadhur	9 8 -	"	323 - -	171 - -	152 - -		
19	Appajee Bhugwunt	7 13 -	"	265 10 -	92 - -	173 10 -		
20	Appajee Ramchunder; this indi-							
	vidual on the part of Bulwuntrao							
	Govind	10 1 6	"	343 3 -	112 12 -	230 7 -		
21	Wittul Rughoonath Attay	8 1 3	"	274 10 6	125 4 -	149 6 6		
22	Raojee Trimbeck	22 5 -	"	758 10 -	280 - -	478 10 -		
23	Crustnarao Bapoojee Salay	8 - -	"	272 - -	232 - -	40 - -		
24	Appajee Dhondew	33 10 -	"	1,143 4 -	269 7 6	873 12 6		
25	Narain Rajaram	8 - -	"	272 - -	140 - -	132 - -		
26	Shamrao Rughoonath	12 - -	"	408 - -	178 - -	230 - -		
27	Ramchunder Bulall	10 14 6	"	370 13 -	110 - -	260 13 -		
28	Bapoo Nuthoo and Hurry Nuthoo	32 5 3	"	1,099 2 6	243 2 -	856 - 6		
29	Sreeput Moreswar Master	20 - -	4	40 - -	60 - -	20 - -		
30	Amrota Kassar	5 - -	10	50 - -	50 - -	- -		
31	Rungeelchund Shroff	5 - -	"	170 - -	30 - -	140 - -		
32	Apajee Sadasew	28 2 -	3m. 22d.	105 - -	100 - -	5 - -		
33	- Ditto	8 2 -	30m. 7d.	245 10 6	- -	245 10 6		
							11,989 9 4	
	PENSIONERS' CHARITY:							
1	Govindrao Muheput	24 4 -	34	824 8 -	- -	824 8 -		
2	Bapoojee Khunderao	14 8 9	"	494 9 6	- -	494 9 6		
3	Ramrao Narain	12 2 -	"	412 4 -	- -	412 4 -		
4	Crustnarao Gopall	14 - -	"	476 - -	60 - -	416 - -		
5	Succaram Naraen	4 - 7	"	137 3 10	- -	137 3 10		
6	Madhow Guness, of Pundhurpoor	20 - -	"	680 - -	175 - -	505 - -		
							2,789 9 4	
	PENSIONERS' SERVICE:							
1	Awdhootrao Jagoonath	42 14 9	34	1,459 5 6	200 - -	1,259 5 6		
2	Succaram Wisswanath	32 4 -	"	1,096 8 -	300 - -	796 8 -		
3	Ramchunder Prubhakur	23 6 -	"	794 12 -	152 - -	642 12 -		
4	Widow of Naraen Gunesh	6 - -	"	204 - -	50 - -	154 - -		
							2,852 9 6	
	EXTRA KARCOONS:							
1	Succaram Goray	8 - -	2	16 - -	- -	16 - -		
2	Dhondoo Jeewajee	8 - -	2	16 - -	- -	16 - -		
3	Motee Futechund	8 - -	2	16 - -	- -	16 - -		
4	Pandoorung Khunderao	8 - -	2	16 - -	- -	16 - -		
5	Wamon Atmaram	8 - -	2	16 - -	- -	16 - -		
							80 - -	17,711 12 2
	Carried forward	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Rs. 79,322 7 4

No.	NAMES.	Arrears of Pay and Allowance per Month, as per Major Cumming's List.	Number of Months due.	Total Amount of Arrears.	Amount Received.	Amount now Due.		
		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
	Brought forward - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	79,322 7 4
	KARCOONS:							
1	Gunesh Rughoonath - - -	10 1 6	32	323 - -	156 - -	167 - -		
2	Vistnoo Govind - - -	7 - -	"	150 - -	50 - -	100 - -		
3	Apajee Naraen - - -	16 2 9	12m. 23d.	206 7 -	- -	206 7 -		
4	Shunker Wamon - - -	8 - -	32	256 - -	182 - -	74 - -		
5	Seetaram Trimbeck - - -	15 - -	34	510 - -	125 - -	385 - -		
6	Crustna Kassar - - -	5 - -	30	150 - -	40 - -	110 - -		
7	Madharao Krustna - - -	18 9 -	30	556 14 -	15 - -	541 14 -		
8	Gunesh Ramchunder - - -	5 - -	34	170 - -	40 - -	130 - -		
9	Krustnarao Master - - -	16 - -	18m. 7d.	291 10 -	210 - -	81 10 -		
10	Vittooo Kuplay - - -	5 - -	14	70 - -	- -	70 - -	1,865 15 -	1,865 15 -
								81,188 6 4
	Additional Statement of Arrears due, from 6th June 1857 to 28th February 1858:							
1	Narian Rao Mama Dhumdheray -	80 11 8	8m. 25d.	713 1 9	- -	713 1 9		
2	Muheeputrao Tatia, of Soopa -	66 10 8	"	588 14 3	- -	588 14 3		
3	Krustnarao Anundrao Khunderao -	16 10 8	"	147 3 6	- -	147 3 6		
4	Madhowrao Powar, of Soopa -	16 10 8	"	147 3 6	- -	147 3 6		
5	Jugjeewanrao Powar - - -	8 5 4	"	73 9 9	- -	73 9 9		
6	Eswuntrao Powar, of Nassick -	8 5 4	"	73 9 9	- -	73 9 9		
7	Sumbhajeerao Powar, of Multhun -	250 - -	"	2,208 5 4	- -	2,208 5 4		
8	Govindrao Muheeput - - -	24 4 -	"	214 3 3	- -	214 3 3		
9	Bapoojee Khunderao - - -	14 8 9	"	128 7 11	- -	128 7 11		
10	Ramrao Naraen - - -	12 2 -	"	107 1 8	- -	107 1 8		
11	Succaram Naraen - - -	4 - 7	"	35 10 6	- -	35 10 6	4,437 7 2	4,437 7 2
							<i>Rs.</i>	85,625 13 6

(signed) *W. Creagh,*
Officiating Superintendent, Dhar.

A B S T R A C T.

	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
Relatives - - - - -	55,573 - 2
Mankurrees - - - - -	6,037 11 -
Durruckdars and Karcoons - - - - -	11,989 9 4
Pensioner Charity - - - - -	2,789 9 4
Pensioner Service - - - - -	2,852 9 6
Extra Karcoons - - - - -	80 - -
Karcoons - - - - -	1,865 15 -
Additional Statement of Arrears due, from 6th June 1857 to 28th February 1858 - -	4,437 7 2
Eighty-five thousand six hundred and twenty-five rupees thirteen annas and six pies -	85,625 13 6

(signed) *W. Creagh,*
Officiating Superintendent, Dhar.

(C.)—DETAIL STATEMENT of ANNUAL EXPENDITURE, proposed by Captain Wood, and that now existing.

No.	DETAIL of EXPENDITURE.	Proposed by Captain Wood.			Present Expenditure.		
		Amount Annually.			Amount Annually.		
		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1	Salary of Superintendent - - - - -	12,000	-	-	11,269	8	-
2	Pay of Superintendent's Sudder Offices - - - - -	7,044	-	-	7,297	2	-
3	" Dewanee Adawlut - - - - -	624	-	-	1,464	-	-
4	" Kotewallee - - - - -	528	-	-	592	8	-
5	" School - - - - -	1,000	-	-	1,000	-	-
6	" Dispensary - - - - -	666	2	-	666	10	8
7	" Gaol - - - - -	180	-	-	372	-	-
8	" Opium Establishment - - - - -	3,600	-	-	3,600	-	-
9	Mofassil Revenue, Police, and Civil Establishments -	22,000	-	-	23,426	4	-
10	Charitable Pensioners, paid through Kamavisdar -	205	-	-	205	-	-
11	Bhoomias, paid through Kamavisdar -	2,457	-	-	2,457	-	-
12	Payments for Maintenance of Temples, &c., through Kamavisdar -	6,958	1	9	6,958	1	9
13	Presents to Jamadars annually, through Kamavisdar -	800	-	-	800	-	-
	Khasgee Establishment :						
14	{ Establishments - - - - -	1,400	-	-	1,296	-	-
	{ Expenses for religious purpose - - - - -	2,791	-	-	2,791	-	-
15	Issreepersad's Cavalry, raised out of Dhar - - - - -	12,648	-	-	15,588	-	-
16	Late Malwa Contingent, Infantry and Artillery doing duty as Infantry -	6,972	-	-	11,388	-	-
17	Contribution towards Malwa Bheel Corps - - - - -	20,000	-	-	20,000	-	-
	Dhar State Troops :						
18	Infantry, armed with Flint Muskets - - - - -	13,000	-	-	15,038	4	-
19	Horsemen - - - - -	30,000	-	-	42,432	-	-
20	Seebundeers - - - - -	10,000	-	-	12,366	-	-
21	Body Guard, Horsemen - - - - -	6,957	-	-	7,356	-	-
22	" Footmen - - - - -	3,125	-	-	3,125	-	-
23	Elephant and Camel Establishment - - - - -	1,152	-	-	1,689	-	-
24	Fooding of Elephants and Camels - - - - -	3,780	-	-	3,780	-	-
25	Pay of Relations of the Rajah - - - - -	37,020	-	-	24,641	-	-
26	Charitable Pensioners, paid through Durbar - - - - -	1,768	-	-	1,066	8	-
27	Service Pensioners - - ditto - - - - -	1,199	-	-	1,254	9	-
	Officers of the Durbar :						
28	Mankurrees - - - - -	2,806	-	-	2,508	12	-
29	Durruckdars - - - - -	1,262	-	-			
30	Officers of Department - - - - -	3,296	-	-	9,036	12	-
31	Karcoons attached to Durbar - - - - -	3,000	-	-			
32	Hoojrias, Halkaras, Palanquin Bearers - - - - -	3,125	-	-	3,125	-	-
33	Every other description of Petty, Public, and Private Servants - - - - -	8,604	-	-	8,604	-	-
34	Personal Expenditure of the Rajah, including every item of Expenditure -	18,000	-	-			
35	Miscellaneous Expenses of the Durbar, Travelling Allowance, Repairs of Palace, &c. - - - - -	4,000	-	-	36,000	-	-
36	For Religious and Charitable purposes - - - - -	3,000	-	-			
37	Entertainment of Guests - - - - -	5,000	-	-			
38	Contingent Expenses of Superintendent's Office, including Food for Gaol Prisoners, Stationery - - -	1,500	-	-	2,100	-	-
39	Repairs of Opium Agency Bungalow, Gaol, &c.; Pay of Overseer, Clearing out and Repairing Tanks, and all Public Works - - - - -	2,300	-	-	6,000	-	-
40	Tomb of late Rajah - - - - -	12,500	-	-	12,500	-	-
	Carried forward - - - Rs.	2,88,967	3	9	3,03,793	15	5

No.	DETAIL of EXPENDITURE.	Proposed by Captain Wood.			Present Expenditure.		
		Amount Annually.			Amount Annually.		
	Brought forward - - -	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
		2,88,967	3	9	3,03,793	15	5
	Extra Items, not noticed by Captain Wood :						
1	Grant to Temples, paid from Treasury - - -	-	-	-	8,944	8	-
2	Allowance to Ouchitrao - - - - £. 2,400	-	-	-	2,760	-	-
	" Widow of Brijlall, Jamadar - - - 120	-	-	-			
	" Lallchund Turvee - - - 240	-	-	-			
3	Miscellaneous :—Including Batta to Troops when marching—Chikli Fund—Hucks of Jamadars—Re- pairs of District Offices—Clothing Chuprassees, &c. &c.	-	-	-	10,000	-	-
		Rs.	2,88,967	3 9	3,25,498	7 5	

MEMORANDUM.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Income of State, as per Captain Wood's Estimate - - -	4,02,543	4	-
Deduct Amount, Expenditure - - - - -	3,25,498	7	5
Balance - - - Rs.	77,044	12	7

Dhar, }
18 April 1861. }(signed) W. Creagh,
Officiating Superintendent, Dhar.

(C. 2.)—REMARKS on the Items of EXPENDITURE where a Difference occurs between Captain Wood's Proposal and that now existing.

1. *Present Expenditure*.—Salary of Superintendent, Rs. 11,269. 8. Difference caused by military net pay being deducted.

2. *Pay of Sudder Office*.—Present salary, Rs. 7,297. 2. Captain Wood proposed to reduce the Sudder Office to 7,044 rupees, but how, does not appear.

3. *Dewanee Adawlut*.—Present expenditure, 1,464 rupees. Captain Wood entered this item at 624 rupees. He appears to have been misinformed on this head, and to have charged the yearly sum of 840 rupees under the head of Durruckdar Karcoon.

4. *Kotwallee*.—Present expenditure, Rs. 592. 8. The former Kotwal, who was not an old servant of the Durbar, received 30 rupees per mensem. On his discharge, an old servant, whose pay amounted to Rs. 35. 6., was put in; hence an increase of Rs. 64. 8. on Captain Wood's estimate. On this man's vacating the appointment, the salary will be reduced to 30 rupees per mensem.

6. *Malwa Dispensary*.—Rs. 666. 10. 8. A difference here of eight annas and eight pie.

7. *Gaol*.—Present expenditure, 372 rupees. Captain Wood only entered the pay of the Daroga 15 rupees per mensem; besides this, there is a monthly charge of 16 rupees yearly; 192 rupees for doctor and sweeper.

9. *Mofussil Revenue and Police*.—Present expenditure, Rs. 23,426. 4. Captain Wood proposed to reduce this to 22,000 rupees, but how, does not appear.

14. *Khasgee Establishment*.—Present expenditure, 1,296 rupees. Captain Wood entered this item at 1,400 rupees.

15. *Iscrepersaud's Cavalry*.—Present fixed expenditure, 15,588 rupees. This troop will be further reduced by 12 sowars, as casualties occur, lowering the expenditure by 2,880 rupees per annum.

16. *Late Malwa Contingent*.—Present expenditure, 11,388 rupees. This is an increase on Captain Wood's estimate; he only proposed 70 sepoy, there are now 100.

18. *Dhar Infantry, Flint Muskets*.—Present expenditure, Rs. 15,038. 4. Captain Wood entered this as 13,000 rupees, which, as far as I can learn, was the cost during the lifetime of the late Rajah. The pay of these men was increased in 1857. Captain Wood has left no record as to how he meant to reduce the expenditure to 13,000 rupees. The pay of new enlistments is, however, fixed at five rupees per mensem, and this, in time, will reduce the charge.

19. *State Horsemen*.—Present expenditure, 42,432 rupees. Captain Wood proposed to reduce this item to 30,000 rupees, how, does not appear. The present number (206) does not seem excessive, and the pay of each man is 17 rupees per mensem.

20. *Sebundeas*.—Present expenditure, 12,366 rupees. Captain Wood entered this item at 12,156 rupees, and proposed to reduce it to 10,000 rupees. He left no statement, but it is said that he meant to reduce new men to four rupees. The present pay is five rupees, which does not seem excessive.

23. *Elephant and Camel Establishment*.—Present expenditure, 1,689 rupees. Captain Wood put this down at 1,152 rupees, but another elephant and 12 camels have since been entertained.

25. *Pay of Relations of the Rajah*.—Present expenditure, 24,641 rupees. Captain Wood entered this item at 37,020 rupees, but Major Cumming reduced it as above. It is possible that some of the reductions may have to be hereafter remitted.

26. *Charitable Pensioners through Durbar*.—Present expenditure, Rs. 1,066. 8. Captain Wood entered this item at 1,768 rupees, but Major Cumming struck out two, as having been brought on the strength without authority.

27. *Service Pensioners*.—Present expenditure, Rs. 1,254. 9. Captain Wood entered this item at 1,199 rupees. The difference is caused by an allowance granted in kind being now paid in money.

28. *Mauncurrees*.—Present expenditure, Rs. 2,808. 12. Captain Wood entered this item at 2,806 rupees; difference Rs. 2. 12. is accounted for by a money payment being given in lieu of a payment in kind.

29, 30, 31. *Durruckdars—Officers of Departments—Karcoons attached to Durbar*.—Present expenditure, Rs. 9,036. 12. Captain Wood put down these three items at 10,392 rupees, and proposed to reduce them to 7,558 rupees, but there is no record to show by what means.

38. *Contingent Expenses of Superintendent's Office—Feed of Prisoners—Stationery, &c.*—Captain Wood estimated this item at 1,500 rupees; 2,100 rupees appears nearer the mark.

39, 40. *Repair of Bungalow and other Buildings*.—These items are not clearly stated in Captain Wood's estimate. Repair of road about the town, and all public works, may be estimated at 6,000 rupees.

41. *Tomb of the late Rajah*.—12,500 rupees. This expense is only to be incurred for four years, when the sum of 25,000 rupees will have been arrived at, it being the sum fixed on for the purpose of building the tomb.

Dhurmada Dewusthan.

	Rs.	a.
1. Paid from Treasury - - - - -	8,944	8
2. Paid to Ouchet Rao - - - - -	2,400	-
3. Paid to Widow of Brijlal Jemadar - - - - -	120	-
4. Lallchund Turvee - - - - -	240	-
5. Miscellaneous:—Including Batta to Troops when Marching, —Checklee Fund—Huks of Zemindars—Repairs of District Offices—Clothing Chuprassees, &c. - - - - -	10,000	-

(signed) *W. Creagh.*

Officiating Superintendent, Dhar.

(D.)—PRESENT STATE of the TROOPS and DISTRICT POLICE Employed in the Dhar State.

	Ressaldar or Subadar.	Jemadar.	Colour and Drill Havildar or Drum Major.	Kote Duffadar or Pay Havildar.	Duffadar or Havildar.	Naeb Duffadar or Naïques.	Buglers and Drummers.	Sowars or Privates.	Total of all Ranks.	Karoon.	Bhistee.	Sweeper.
Bhopawur Levy - - -	-	1	-	1	1	2	-	57	62	-	-	-
Bhopal Levy - - -	1	1	1	1	5	5	-	100	114	-	1	1
Regular Infantry - - -	2	2	5	2	29	-	9	132	181	-	1	1
State Horsemen - - -	-	-	-	4	18	-	-	183	205	-	-	-
Body Guard, Footmen - -	-	11	-	-	11	-	-	170	192	1	-	-
District Police - - -	-	16	-	-	8	-	-	244	268	-	-	-
TOTAL - - -	3	31	6	8	72	7	9	886	1,022	1	2	2

(signed) *W. Creagh.*

Officiating Superintendent, Dhar.

Dhar, 18 April 1861.

ABSTRACT showing Monthly Amount of Pay received by the Troops Employed in the State of Dhar.

No.		Total of Each.	Total.	Grand Total.
	BHOPAWUR LEVY:	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
1	Jamadar - - - - -	- -	50 - -	
1	Kote Duffadar - - - - -	- -	33 - -	
1	Duffadar - - - - -	- -	28 - -	
2	Naib Duffadars - - - - -	24 -	48 - -	
57	Sowars - - - - -	20 - -	1,140 - -	1,299 - -
	BHOPAL LEVY:			
1	Subadar - - - - -	- -	50 - -	
1	Jemadar - - - - -	- -	30 - -	
1	Drum Major - - - - -	- -	11 - -	
1	Pay Havildar - - - - -	- -	19 - -	
5	Havildars - - - - -	14 - -	70 - -	
5	Naiks - - - - -	12 - -	60 - -	
100	Privates - - - - -	7 - -	700 - -	
1	Bhistee - - - - -	- -	5 - -	
1	Sweeper - - - - -	- -	4 - -	949 - -
	REGULAR INFANTRY:			
2	Soobedars - - - - -	30 - -	60 - -	
2	Jamadars - - - - -	20 - -	40 - -	
2	Pay Havildars - - - - -	12 - -	24 - -	
3	Colour ditto and Drill Havildars - - - - -	10 - -	30 - -	
2	Drill ditto - - - - -	9 - -	18 - -	
29	Havildars - - - - -	8 - -	232 - -	
132	Privates - - - - -	6 - -	792 - -	
9	Buglers and Drummers - - - - -	- -	48 3 -	
1	Bhistee - - - - -	- -	5 - -	
1	Sweeper - - - - -	- -	4 - -	1,253 3 -
	STATE HORSEMEN:			
4	Kote Duffedars - - - - -	21 - -	84 - -	
18	Lance ditto - - - - -	18 - -	324 - -	
184	Sowars - - - - -	17 - -	3,128 - -	3,536 - -
	BODY GUARD FOOTMEN:			
11	Jamadars - - - - -	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 8 - - \\ \text{to} \\ 15 - - \end{array} \right\}$	102 - -	
11	Duffedars - - - - -	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 5 - - \\ \text{to} \\ 8 - - \end{array} \right\}$	70 8 -	
163	Privates - - - - -	5 - -	815 - -	
7	- ditto - - - - -	4 - -	28 - -	
1	Karcoon - - - - -	- -	10 - -	1,025 8 -
	DISTRICT POLICE:			
16	Jamadars - - - - -	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 5 - - \\ \text{to} \\ 9 - - \end{array} \right\}$	100 - -	
8	Duffedars - - - - -	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4\frac{1}{2} - - \\ \text{to} \\ 7 - - \end{array} \right\}$	41 - -	
3	Privates - - - - -	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4 10 - \\ \text{to} \\ 5 - - \end{array} \right\}$	14 6 -	
175	- ditto - - - - -	4 - -	700 - -	
19	- ditto - - - - -	3 8 -	66 8 -	
47	- ditto - - - - -	3 - -	141 - -	1,062 14 -
TOTAL Monthly Charge - - - Rs.				9,125 9 -
TOTAL Annual Charge - - - Rs.				1,09,506 12 -

(signed) *W. Creagh,*
Officiating Superintendent, Dhar.

(No. 184 of 1861.)

From Lieutenant *H. C. E. Ward*, Officiating Superintendent, Dhar, to Colonel Sir *R. C. Shakespear*, K.C.B., Agent Governor General for Central India; dated Dhar, 27 August 1861.

Sir,

CAPTAIN WOOD in his letter to your address, No. 83, of date 8th November 1860, gave detailed statements of the cash balances in hand at the time of his receiving charge of the Superintendent's office; the receipts and disbursements made by order of H. H. the late Raneé of Dhar, and also a statement showing the present and proposed expenditure.

2. In paras. 14 and 15 of the above mentioned letter, Captain Wood states that some reductions have already been made, and that others will be made by degrees, so as to reduce the annual expenditure to the amount proposed in his statement marked (C.). Unfortunately, Captain Wood's illness prevented his carrying his intentions into effect, and no records are to be found in this office showing in what way his proposed reductions were to be carried into effect without impairing the efficiency of the different establishments.

3. Major Cumming after careful examination of the Dhar accounts reduced the pay of the relatives of the Rajah from 37,020 rupees (the annual amount proposed by Captain Wood) to 24,641 rupees, and Captain Creagh has explained in the Enclosure marked (C.), and of his letter, No. 100, of date 18th April 1861, the difference between each item of expenditure now existing, and the proposed scale of Captain Wood, showing the cause of, and the reasons for, the increased expenditure.

4. Captain Creagh in the 8th paragraph of his letter above mentioned, shows that he does not consider it possible that the expenditure can be reduced to the extent proposed by Captain Wood, or indeed below the scale proposed in the Enclosure marked (C.) of his letter, though the arrangements mentioned in the latter part of the same paragraph will after a time cause a certain reduction in the expenditure for troops; but this being a matter of time alone, the scale proposed by Captain Creagh is the one at present in use, and by which all the accounts are checked.

5. Appendix (A.) of Captain Creagh's letter above referred to showed a cash balance in favour of the Dhar State, after the payment of all liabilities, of 1,65,720 rupees; but on my receiving charge of the Superintendent's office, Captain Creagh informed me that he had, after very careful and minute inquiries into the Dhar accounts, found that they were in such a complicated state that to go through them thoroughly would occupy much more time than could be devoted to them by the Superintendent, without detriment to his other duties, and that he had therefore written to you, asking you for the services of a professional accountant, for the sole purpose of examining the accounts. Captain Creagh also informed me that he had just discovered, that nearly every one of the creditors of the State was indebted more or less to one or the other of the different treasuries, and that he had therefore declined paying any of the claims, pending the result of a rigid inquiry.

6. Almost immediately after my arrival I addressed you again on the subject of an examination of the accounts by a professional accountant, who could devote his whole time to the work; and Pundit Sroop Narain of the Indore Office was sent to Dhar; after a month's hard work he gave me the result of his inquiries, in a statement herewith annexed marked (A.) and (B.), showing that on the 21st May 1861 debts were due by the Dhar State to the amount of Rs. 3,82,863. 13. 10. (as per Statement (A.)), while the claims of the State for advances made from its different treasuries amounted, after deducting the disputed sum of Rs. 15,051. 3. 9. to the amount of Rs. 7,73,059. 13. 3. (as per Statement (B.)).

7. As soon as I received the report of Pundit Sroop Narain on the accounts, I immediately ordered the payment of the arrears of pay due to the State servants, pensioners,

pensioners, Rajah's relatives and others, according to the list made out by Captain Creagh, deducting the amount of the State claims.

8. Enclosure (B.) of Captain Creagh's letter above referred to shows that the arrears of pay from the 1st March 1858 to 31st December 1860, due to the servants and officers of the State therein enumerated, together with the petty servants of the Durbar, amounted to Rs. 85,625. 13. 6., and from 1st January to 31st May 1861 an additional sum of Rs. 6,908. 12. 7. was found to be due; thus making a total of Rs. 92,534. 10. 1., which has been paid, partly by Captain Creagh, and partly by me.

The annexed statement of Pundit Sroop Narain, marked (A.), shows that there was claimable from the above servants and officers of the State the sum of *Company's* Rs. 73,974. 5. 3.; of this sum Rs. 28,383. 14. 6. has been carried to the credit of the parties indebted and for the realisation of the remainder. Lists of all the debtors have been made over to the Bukshee, with directions to deduct from the pay of each individual one fourth ($\frac{1}{4}$) monthly, and to send in returns after each distribution of pay, showing what amount had been deducted and what balance still remained due. The same statement shows three items, one of Rs. 4,997. 9. 8. under the head of deductions made on account of the firm of Ramchunder Gunesh, another of Rs. 892. 15. 6. as deductions on account of the firm of Shunkur Pandoorung, and the third of Rs. 2,743. 1. 3. has been realised from money held in deposit by five of the individuals mentioned in Statement (B.); on both of the above firms the State has claims; of the first I will speak more fully hereafter, of the latter I need only say that it is insolvent, and all debts which are collected are paid into the State Treasury to liquidate its claims; these two sums have therefore been carried to the credit of the two firms respectively, making with Rs. 31,126. 15. 9. above mentioned, a total sum of Rs. 37,017. 8. 11. satisfactorily accounted for.

9. The same statement shows that Rs. 46,953. 12. 0. are the collections from seven confiscated jagheers, six of these jagheers have been, agreeably to the instructions conveyed in your letter, No. 816, of date 25th April 1861, restored to their respective owners, and the revenues collected during the time of their confiscation been repaid. The seventh jagheer belonged to the ex-Dewan, regarding whom your instructions were conveyed to me in letter No. 1636, of date 17th July 1861, and consequently the collections of his jagheer, Rs. 20,638. 6. 9., have been carried to the credit of the Dhar State. The collections of the jagheer of Sumbhajeero Powar, amounting to Rs. 17,728. 7. 3., together with all pay due to him, are kept in deposit in the Dhar Treasury, the owner of the jagheer, the Rajah's brother, Eswunt Rao Powar, being only four years old and absent in the Decan; the balance, Rs. 8,586. 14. 0., is the sum that has been repaid to the five remaining holders of jagheers.

10. Before any of the payments above mentioned were made, the amount of advances received by the different individuals from State treasuries (or from either of the two firms in which the State holds shares, and through which many of its advances used to be given, Ramchunder Gunesh and Rajasur Gunesh) was carefully calculated and deducted; any sums thus deducted being carried to the credit of the debtors in the different accounts of the several treasuries from which the advances were originally made.

11. The statement of the Dhar Treasury account from 6th June 1860 to 5th June 1861, forwarded by me on the 23d of June 1861, will show that the first six items of the liabilities showed in Enclosure marked (A.) of Captain Creagh's letter, have been paid in full through the Indore Treasury (Rs. 42,741. 7. 6.); that the seventh item of the same Enclosure has been, agreeably to instructions conveyed in paragraph 8 of your letter, No. 816, of date 25th April 1861, struck out of the account; also that the items, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, have been paid; regarding item No. 13 no orders have yet been received; of the cash in deposit Rs. 6,388. 9. 10. have been claimed and paid.

12. With reference to the remaining claims of the Dhar State for the repayment of advances, &c., made from its different treasuries, shown in Statement (A.), I beg to offer the following remarks:—

The disputed claims are accounted for as I have before mentioned, "loss to the State."

Rs. 11,784. 7. 3. are returned as held on mortgage; of this sum 3,980 rupees have been paid, and the articles mortgaged returned to their owners. For the remainder *Rs.* 7,804. 7. 3. orders have been issued to the holders of such property to make arrangements to redeem their goods, otherwise they will be sold by auction, and the proceeds carried to the credit of the State.

For the payment of *Rs.* 82,191. 13. 6. engagements have been entered into for regular instalments.

Rajasur Gunnessh.

13. I now proceed to mention the two firms in which the State has shares, whence, in addition to the above-mentioned sum of *Rs.* 82,191. 13. 6. for which engagements have been entered into for instalments, the firm of Rajasur Gunnessh has already arranged to pay an instalment of 3,000 rupees a-year, and is now willing to make over all debts collected to the State on condition of receiving the assistance of the State in the collection of its numerous debts.

In January of the present year the accounts of the firm were, by order of Major Cumming, examined by a puncheat: the result showed a balance in favour of the State of 82,501 rupees, and the payment of the instalment above mentioned was fixed. Owing to some irregularities in the accounts, not discovered at that time, which were fortunately provided for by an order of Major Cumming's, the present account shows that *Rs.* 14,228. 10. 9. more was due to the State by the firm, and arrangements are now being made for the settlement of the State claims by an engagement to pay a higher yearly instalment.

The account of the State with the firm now stands thus:—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Advances made from the State Treasuries - - - - -	1,58,709	4	3
Deduct Fotchdaree account due by the State to the firm - - -	88,319	4	6
Balance - - - - -	70,389	15	9
Add amount due to Ramchunder Gunness on account of Rajasur Gunness - - - - -	33,474	3	9
Making amount claimable from the firm a total sum of - - - <i>Rs.</i>	1,03,864	3	6

This does not include the State's claim for interest on account of its shares, which has not even been calculated for (7) seven or (8) eight years, and which in the present dilapidated state of the firm there appeared to be so very little chance of ever obtaining, that I have omitted the claims of interest altogether from the account, and only made arrangements for the collection of the principal; therefore the claim of the firm against the State for *Rs.* 88,319. 4. 6. has been carried to its credit, and arrangements made for the recovery by fixed instalments of the balance to the State as shown above.

Ramchunder
Gunnessh.

14. The other firm in which the State has shares to a great extent, and with which arrangements for the liquidation of its claims are now being made, is that of Ramchunder Gunnessh.

The amount of unadjusted advances received by this firm from different State treasuries is *Rs.* 2,66,679. 10. 6., of this sum the State share in the capital of the firm is 75,000 rupees, leaving a balance of advances due to the State of *Rs.* 1,91,679. 10. 6. Against the State the firm has counter claims for Fotchdaree and other accounts amounting to *Rs.* 1,51,508. 0. 8., and deducting the sum of *Rs.* 4,997. 9. 8, accounted for in paragraph 8 of this letter, a balance of *Rs.* 35,174. 0. 10. remains due to the State.

It appeared to me, however desirable it might be, to be impracticable to dissolve all connection between the firm and the State; as should that course be determined on, the State would be a great loser, as a close examination of the accounts showed that the firm, as far as its cash assets went was insolvent, and the only way in which there appeared to me to be any real chance of realising the State balance was to continue the connection, and thereby give the firm authority

authority to realise its very numerous outstanding claims on different people in the Dhar district. Should it be made known that the State had withdrawn its support and claimed full payment of all the balance due, *Rs. 35,174. 0. 10.* and share of the capital, 75,000 rupees, total *Rs. 1,10,174. 0. 10.*, the firm would at once become insolvent and there would be great difficulty in collecting and realising the State claims, whereas now the firm is ready to enter into an engagement to pay by instalments the balance due of *Rs. 35,174. 0. 10.*, as well as for the share of capital, if necessary, *Rs. 75,000* and, with a little assistance, there will be no difficulty in collecting the outstanding debts; but it will of course be a work of time.

15. The sum of 1,51,508 rupees has, therefore, been credited to the firm of Ramchunder Gunnesh, and arrangements made for the liquidation of the balance due by the firm, *Rs. 35,174. 0. 10.*, to the State by an engagement to pay by instalments; the amount has not yet been fixed, and cannot be until I am informed what you may think fit to order regarding the connection or otherwise of the State with the firm.

16. I have delayed bringing the connection of the State with these two firms to your notice for this reason:

That there is still one treasury, the Rozee Jamadar Khana (broken up in the time of the late Rajah), whose accounts have not yet been examined, and consequently there is still some slight uncertainty as to the correctness or otherwise of the accounts here given. I have called for the accounts of this treasury frequently, but they are nowhere to be found; and after search has been made everywhere, I do not think that it will be any use delaying this report longer.

A proclamation was issued throughout the city and district, that claims not sent in within two months would not be attended to; that period having passed no claims will now be heard, consequently there is not so much necessity for the accounts of the above-mentioned treasury.

17. The remaining claims of the Dhar State are divided into four classes, as follows:—

1. Debts due by men of credit.
2. Debts due by parties who have no assets, but have claims against others by the realisation of which the State demands might be satisfied.
3. Debts to be realised with difficulty.
4. Debts, part of which above are recoverable.

The two latter include money owed by Nadar parties (absentees), and by the estates of deceased individuals, the total amount of which is *Rs. 49,393. 5. 6.*

These debts are undisputed, but there is little chance of their ever being recovered; the amount is spread over 100 individuals, of many of whom there is not the slightest trace. Lists have been made over to the treasurer, with orders to endeavour to find out and report in how many cases there is any chance or probability of the State demands being realised even in part.

Lists of the first and second have been made over to the Kamadar of Dhar, with orders to make such arrangements to realise the money as may be convenient to the creditors, to assemble Punchayets in all cases of dispute or difficulty, and to report monthly to me the amount realised, and the amount for the payment of which engagements to pay by instalments have been entered into.

The balance shown in these four lists, together with the one of the State servants getting pay before mentioned, as made over to the Buckshee, amount to *Rs. 1,93,104. 14. 0.*; of this should be deducted *Rs. 49,393. 5. 6.*, shown to be almost irrecoverable, and the recoverable balance will be *Rs. 1,43,711. 8. 6.*

18. The claims of the Dhar State may be classified thus:—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
1. Disputed and recommended to be given credit for - - -	15,051	3	9
2. Claims on servants of the State getting pay, and for the liquidation of which arrangements have been made, <i>vide</i> para. 8 of this letter	37,017	8	11
3. Held on mortgage, ditto, <i>vide</i> para 12 - - - - -	7,804	7	3
4. Credited to the firms of Ramchunder and Rajasur Gunnessh, <i>vide</i> paras. 13, 14, 15 - - - - -	2,39,827	4	6
5. Sums for which Kist Bundee payment have been arranged, <i>vide</i> paras. 15, 16, and 17 - - - - -	2,96,110	1	0
6. Debts supposed to be irrecoverable, <i>vide</i> para. 17 - - - - -	49,393	5	6
7. Balance of claims recoverable, for which arrangements are being made, <i>vide</i> para. 17 - - - - -	1,43,711	8	6
	7,88,915	8	3
Deduct supposed loss on sale of mortgaged property - - -	804	7	3
Balance - - - - - <i>Rs.</i>	7,88,111	1	0

19. The above particulars relate to the accounts of the six firms and treasuries, viz.:—

1. Reasut Jamadar Khana;
2. Khasgee Jamadar Khana;
3. Hujoor Jamadar Khana;
4. Sewaee Juma Jamadar Khana;
5. The firm of Ramchunder Gunnessh;
6. The firm of Rajasur Gunnessh;

with which the Dhar Durbar banked, or was associated as shareholders; there are still other and most complicated accounts of sums due from the different district officers. There is no difficulty subsequent to the sequestration of the State, *i.e.*, the month of February 1858; all is clear from that period; but prior to it all was confusion, until Pundit Sroop Narain's investigation of the accounts.

20. The debts due by the Dhar State are put down in the annexed list at *Rs.* 99,061. 12. 11.; of this sum one item, aggregating *Rs.* 29,186. 12. 7. has been accounted for in para. 9 of this letter, and *Rs.* 30,144. 13. 4. were paid on the 26th June 1861, so that there only remain *Rs.* 39,730. 2. 2. to be paid.

21. The cash balance on 5th June 1861 is shown to be *Rs.* 4,36,288. 8. 4., and the liabilities are as follows, *Rs.* 39,730. 2. 2.

On this side we may calculate on recovering *Rs.* 4,46,821. 10. 4. of the debts due to the State, so that on 22d August 1861 I may confidently report a surplus balance in hand of *Rs.* 8,39,027. 4. 6., and its details are as follows:—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Cash in Indore Treasury - - - - -	2,55,459	3	4
Cash in Dhar Treasury - - - - -	1,36,746	6	10
Recoverable debts - - - - -	4,46,821	10	4

22. I have the honour to annex two statements marked (C.) showing the treasury accounts from 6th June 1861 to 22d instant, and (D.) showing the assets and liabilities of the Dhar State on 22d August 1861.

(A.)—ABSTRACT STATEMENT, showing the Debts due by the Dhar State up to 20th May 1861.

No.	N A M E.	Amount due for Arrears of Pay up to the end of December.	Amount due on Account of Attached Jagheers	Amount due on Account of Deposits.	On account of Fodcaee and other Accounts.	TOTAL,	On account of the State Treasury.	On account of the firm of Ranchunder Gunnesh.	On account of the firm of Shunker Pandoorung.	TOTAL.	BALANCE.	To be Credited to State at the end of the Year.
		<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a.</i> <i>p.</i>
1 to 20	Relatives, 20 in number.	59,525 5 3	26,315 5 3	3,543 3 -	- - -	89,583 8 3	18,400 3 3	600 10 3	3 12 -	19,004 - -	70,378 14 9	2,000 - -
to 26	Mankurees, 6 in number.	2,543 14 3	- - -	- - -	- - -	2,543 14 3	1,727 - 6	814 13 9	2 - -	2,543 14 3	- - -	- - -
to 49	Karcoons, 23 in number.	8,081 13 5	- - -	2,284 10 9	- - -	10,366 8 2	6,866 10 6	2,520 3 2	337 4 9	9,764 2 5	602 5 9	240 - -
to 54	Charity Pensioners, 5 in number.	11 - - -	- - -	2,951 14 9	- - -	2,962 14 9	- - -	11 - -	- - -	11 - -	2,951 14 9	- - -
to 57	Service Pensioners, 3 in number.	1,094 2 -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1,094 - -	853 3 9	239 2 3	1 12 -	1,094 2 -	- - -	- - -
to 71	Second grades, Karcoons, 14 in number.	1,208 12 6	- - -	35 - - -	- - -	1,243 12 6	536 12 6	614 5 -	92 11 -	1,243 12 6	- - -	- - -
72	Ranchunder Rao, Dewan.	- - -	20,638 6 9	- - -	- - -	20,638 6 9	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	20,638 6 9	- - -
to 100	Miscellaneous, 28 in number.	- - -	- - -	12,749 6 8	2,054 - -	14,803 6 8	2,743 1 3	197 7 3	415 7 9	3,356 - 3	77 - -	- - -
101	Rajasur Gunnesh -	72,464 10 2	46,953 12 -	21,564 3 2	2,054 - -	1,43,036 9 4	31,126 15 9	4,997 4 8	892 15 6	37,017 8 11	1,06,019 - 5	6,957 3 6
102	Ranchunder Gunnesh.	- - -	- - -	- - -	88,319 4 5	88,319 4 6	88,319 4 6	- - -	- - -	88,319 4 6	- - -	- - -
		- - -	- - -	2,432 5 6	- - -	1,51,508 - -	1,51,508 - -	- - -	- - -	1,51,508 - -	- - -	- - -
		72,464 10 2	46,953 12 -	23,996 8 8	2,39,448 15 -	3,82,863 13 10	2,70,954 4 3	4,997 9 8	892 15 6	2,76,844 13 5	1,06,019 - 5	- - -
											99,061 12 11	- - -

Carried to the credit
of the Dhar State.To be carried to the
credit of the firm.
To be carried to the
credit of the firm.Carried to the credit
of the Dhar State.

(signed) Sroop Narain.

Dhar, 21 May 1861.

(B.)—ABSTRACT of the STATEMENT showing the Claims of the DHAR STATE for Advances made from its several Treasuries up to 20th May 1861.

No.	N A M E.	Advances made from Hujior Jamundar Khana.	Advances made from Khasgee ditto.	Advances made from Sewae Jumo ditto.	Advances made from Reasut ditto.	Advances on Account of over payment of Pay.	TOTAL.	Disputed.	Balance.	Held on Mortgage.	Held on Instalment fixed for Payment.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1 to 164	Servants of the State getting pay, in number 164.	20,081 15 3	44,933 8 3	483 - -	8,178 5 6	297 8 3	73,974 5 3	2,026 12 9	71,947 8 4		
to 260	Soucars and men of credit, in number 96.	2,92,565 2 -	2,28,708 12 7	7,16,443 - -	31,936 14 -	- - -	5,69,673 12 9	11,815 2 -	5,57,858 10 9		
to 270	Debts due by men who have no cash, but claims on others, in number 10.	38,225 2 6	6,284 15 3	4,789 6 6	9,070 3 -	- - -	58,369 11 3	- - -	58,369 11 3		
to 318	Debts to be realised with difficulty, in number 48.	2,872 13 9	2,303 15 -	1,728 3 -	1,212 5 3	129 - -	8,246 5 -	71 10 3	8,174 10 9		
to 324	Debts, parts of which alone can be realised, in number 6.	11,626 14 1	15,670 12 3	- - -	18 2 3	- - -	27,315 12 6	- - -	27,315 12 6		
to 336	Debts due by Nadar parties, in number 12.	466 1 6	4,199 11 -	- - -	978 13 6	- - -	5,644 10 -	99 14 9	5,544 11 3		
to 408	Debts due by absentees, 72 in number.	34,934 5 -	5,220 12 6	47 - -	1,824 2 -	- - -	41,326 3 6	976 - -	40,350 3 6		
to 436	Debts due by the Estates of deceased individuals, in number 28.	3,263 7 3	31 5 6	- - -	265 6 -	- - -	3,560 2 9	61 12 9	3,498 6 9		
	Rs.	4,03,335 15 3	3,07,353 12 6	23,510* 9 6	53,484 3 6	426 8 3	7,88,111 1 -	15,051 3 9	7,73,059 13 3	11,784 7 3	82,191 13 6

Dhar, 31 May 1861.

(signed) Sroop Narain.

(C.)—STATEMENT of DHAR TREASURY ACCOUNT from 6th June 1861 up to 22d August 1861.

RECEIPTS.			TOTAL.		DISBURSEMENTS.			TOTAL.	
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>
1 Balance on 5th June 1861 in Indore Treasury - - - -	2,55,459	3 4			1 Paid to Dhar Troops and Establishments from 6th June 1861 to 22d August 1861 - -	24,139	11 10		
2 Balance on 5th June 1861 in Dhar Treasury - - - -	1,80,776	8 -			2 Paid to Jagheerdars on account of collections of estates, while confiscated - - - -	26,315	5 3		
3 Revenue collections of districts, Khasgee Estates, and Sewai Jumma - - - -	29,754	14 -	4,36,235	11 4	3 Paid to Pundit Sroop Narain and Gomashtha of Indore Treasury allowance for the time spent in the examination of the accounts - - - -	94	- -		
4 Refund from Indore on Treasury account of contingent charges of opium agency - - - -	100	- -			4 Paid to Durbar officials, pensioners, relatives and petty servants of the Durbar arrears of pay, from February 1858 to 31st July 1861 - - - -	1,03,740	13 1		
5 Recovered on the amalgamation of the different treasuries from the deposits held by officials and servants of the State, and carried to their credit in the account of the Riasut Jumdar Khana - -	61,539	6 -			5 Paid to relatives and Karcoons on account of deposits made in the year 1268-1269, including the pay of Sumbhaje Rao Powar from February 1858 to 31st July 1861, held in deposit in Dhar Treasury in charge of Baboo Sahib Moongee Walla -	29,104	7 11	1,83,394	6 1
6 Realised from the deposits held by the firm of Ramchunder Gunesh and carried to its credit - -	5,307	5 11	1,00,070	14 5	Balance :				
7 Collections from the Confiscated Jagheer of the ex-Dewan, carried to the credit of the Dhar State -	957	10 9			In Dhar Treasury - - -	1,36,746	6 10		
8 Amount Jumma : Collections of Jagheer and pay of Sumbhaje Rao Powar held in deposit - -	28,897	12 7			In Indore Treasury - - -	2,55,459	3 4	3,92,205	10 2
9 Miscellaneous deposits - -	10,395	9 11	39,293	6 6					
								5,75,600	- 3
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>			5,75,600	- 3					

Dhar, 27 August 1861.

(signed) *H. C. E. Ward,*
Officiating Superintendent.

(D.)—STATEMENT showing the Assets and Liabilities of the Dhar State, on the 22d August 1861.

ASSETS.			TOTAL.		LIABILITIES.			TOTAL.	
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>
Balance in Indore Treasury - -	2,55,459	3 4			Pay of the Dhar Troops and Establishments for the month of August 1861 - - - -	25,000	- -		
Ditto - Dhar ditto - -	1,36,746	6 10	3,92,205	10 2				25,000	- -
Recoverable Debts :					Arrears of pay, religious grants, &c. due to people absent in the Deccan and elsewhere, and to others whose claims are unsettled or disputed -	39,730	2 2		
Sums for which arrangements have been entered into, to pay by instalments - - - -	2,96,110	1 10						39,730	2 2
Sums for which arrangements are now being made for their realisation -	1,43,711	8 6			TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>	-	-	64,730	2 2
Sums for which property is held in mortgage - - - -	7,000	- -			Balance remaining after Payment of above Liabilities :				
			4,46,821	10 4	In Indore Treasury - - -	2,55,459	3 4		
					In Dhar ditto - - -	72,016	4 8		
					Recoverable debts as shown in the assets - - - -	4,46,821	10 4	7,74,297	2 4
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>			8,39,027	4 6				8,39,027	4 6

Dhar, 27 August 1861.

(signed) *H. C. E. Ward,*
Officiating Superintendent.

STATEMENT of TREASURY ACCOUNT of DHAR, from 14th February 1858, up to 5th June 1860.

RECEIPTS.	AMOUNT.	TOTAL.	DISBURSEMENTS.	AMOUNT.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
Balance of 14th February 1858 -	- - -	79,535 14 -	Paid on account of pay for 9½ months up to the end of February 1858 -	92,165 - 3	
DISTRICT REVENUE :			„ on account of pay of Bhopawur Levy -	1,22,521 7 7	
Dhar Mahal - - - -	2,88,855 14 10		„ Dhar State Troops Bhopawur Levy -	1,99,001 12 9	
Budnawur - - - -	2,51,835 10 6		„ Contribution to the M. B. Corps 1st Instalment of 1860 to 2d of 18 -	43,216 6 11	
Dhorumpoorie - - - -	64,120 9 7		„ loss to Dhar State; discount on Hoondree on Indore for the above sum -	48 12 9	
Kooksee - - - -	47,256 15 -		„ to Soidar Mahomed Jumadar on account of pay -	2,447 1 9	
Nalcha - - - -	33,087 7 9		„ to Lallehund Turvee -	120 - -	
Nemunpoor Muckrad - -	4,134 13 -		„ to Cheekly Lannah -	720 - -	
Jahageerpoor - - - -	1,339 7 6	6,90,630 14 2	„ on account of pay of the Superintendent's Establishment -	19,438 2 9	
			„ to Adawlut Establishment -	3,225 - -	
TRIBUTE OF TANKA :			„ to Kotewalee ditto -	1,021 9 -	
Alli Mohun Rajpoor :			„ to Schoolmasters -	2,194 7 3	
For Sumut year 1913 and Fuslee year 1264, second instalment -	5,000		„ to Opium Establishment -	8,645 1 2	
„ Fuslee year 1265, and Sumut 1914 -	10,000		„ on account of pay of Motre Garden -	414 - -	
„ Fuslee year 1265 and Sumut 1915 -	10,000		„ to pensioner Auchet Rao Powar up to the end of April 1860 -	5,600 - -	
	25,000 - -		„ to the widow of Brijlall Jemadar, on account of pension up to the month of March 1860 -	270 8 -	
Ahirwas :			„ to butler of travellers' bungalow on account of his pay -	91 - -	5,01,140 6 2
For Sumut year 1914 and Fuslee 1245 -	600				
„ Sumut year 1915 and Fuslee 1266 -	600	1,200 - -	FIXED EXPENDITURE :		
			Paid for religious endowments -	7,813 14 6	
Soondursee Sarawud :			„ on account of the pay of the camel drivers, &c. -	1,778 9 6	
For Sumut 1914 and Fuslee year 1265 A. D. 1857 -	666 10 8	26,866 10 8	„ on account of the pay of the elephant drivers, &c. -	5,075 3 6	
			„ to jail establishment and dieting prisoners -	4,449 3 6½	19,116 15 -½
KHASGEE ESTATE :					
Buddee - - - -	61,037 - 6		„ to Dhar Dispensary on account of pay -	668 5 2	
Chotee - - - -	37,256 6 6	98,293 7 -	„ on account of purchasing ammunition -	2,244 12 8	
			„ for making new building in the fort -	14,527 1 4	
SEWAE JUMMA :			„ for Kothar of the Rajah on account of purchasing grain and other &c. -	30,039 9 9	
Maunpoor road dues - -	28,226 6 10		„ for dress for Chuprassees of the Superintendent's Office -	950 11 8	
Unclaimed property - -	790 2 -		„ hire of carts -	103 - -	
Nuzrana - - - -	20 - -		„ to the Dewas Rajah, on account of share of Loondursee Sarawud at 7 rupees per cent. -	586 2 3	
Opium dues - - - -	5,158 7 -		„ to the Zemindars of Dhorumpoor, Jahagirpoor, and Thirkee, on account of their shares on Maunpoor-road dues, at 25 rupees per cent. -	5,196 10 7	54,316 5 5
Discount of rupees - -	54 11 -				
Dustoorree of pay of 9½ months, &c. -	255 15 9		Loss for sale of gram which was in the Dhar Fort -	1,573 11 -	
Fines - - - -	573 6 -		Amount paid for construction of Bhopawur Cantonment -	6,000 - -	
Kotewali Dhar - - - -	553 15 -				
Fees of Adawlut - - - -	3,963 2 -				
Sale of horses - - - -	6,367 11 -				
Sale of grass - - - -	18 10 9	45,982 7 4			
CONFISCATED JAHAGEERS :					
Sumbhaje Rao Powar - -	13,433 3 9				
Khassebae Saheb - - -	1,672 - -				
Ramchunder Rao Bapoojee -	19,812 10 9				
Annundrao Dada Satay - -	2,176 7 9				
Rowjee Elvenday - - -	1,375 7 6				
Krustnarao Linday - - -	1,012 8 -				
Raojee Satay - - - -	479 - -	39,961 5 9			
		12,909 - 7½			
Amount Jumma - - -	- - -	53,481 11 6			
Realised the old debts -	- - -				
Carried forward - - Rs.	- - -	10,47,661 7 -½	Carried forward - - Rs.	7,573 11 -	5,74,573 10 7½

RECEIPTS.	AMOUNT.	TOTAL.	DISBURSEMENTS.	AMOUNT.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
Brought forward - - -	- - -	10,47,661 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Brought forward - - -	7,573 11 -	5,74,573 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Soondursee Sarwund Tribute:			Paid for copper coinage, through the Kotewal of Dhar - - -	500 - -	
<i>Rs. a. p.</i>			Paid to the surveyors of the Vindhian Range - - - - -	237 14 -	
For the year 1858 666 10 8					8,311 9 -
Ditto - ditto 1859 354 - -			BALANCE.		5,82,885 3 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	- - -	1,020 10 8	Cash in Treasury up to 5th June 1860:		
			Cash in Dhar Treasury - - -	- - -	1,51,790 10 9
Difference between <i>H. Rs.</i> 2,611 2 7			Remitted to Indore:		
And Cos. - - <i>Rs.</i> 2,566 4 -			1859:	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	
44 14 7			12 March <i>H. Rs.</i> 50,000 - -		
			12 " <i>Co.'s Rs.</i> 50,000 - -		
Deduct 1 pie in the Indore Treasury account in ex- cess - - - - - 1			5 July - <i>H. Rs.</i> 86,000 - -		
			5 " <i>Co.'s Rs.</i> 14,000 - -		
	- - -	44 14 6		1,00,000 - -	
			18 July - - - <i>H. Rs.</i> 4,315 9 5		
			4 August - - - " 4,323 2 7		
			15 " - - - <i>Co.'s Rs.</i> 2,611 2 7		
			9 September - - - <i>H. Rs.</i> 3,710 8 1		
			30 " - - - " 5,000 - -		
			4 October - - - " 3,878 15 6		
			29 " - - - " 3,767 9 5		
			31 " - - - <i>Co.'s Rs.</i> 666 10 8		
			3 November - - - <i>H. Rs.</i> 4,127 12 9		
			9 " - - - " 5,000 - -		
			1860:		
			2 January - - - " 3,974 7 11		
			2 February - - - " 4,165 5 5		
			10 March - - - " 3,901 15 7		
			2 April - - - " 50,000 - -		
			2 " - - - " 4,613 12 7		
			7 May - - - " 4,806 14 -		
			30 " - - - " 4,166 8 8		
					3,13,030 7 2
			MALWA DISPENSARY.		
			Paid to the Superintendent of Dispensaries in Malwa, for Dhar Contribution to Charitable Hospi- tals - - - - -		1,020 10 8
TOTAL - - <i>Rs.</i>		10,48,727 - 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	TOTAL - - <i>Rs.</i>		10,48,727 - 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

ABSTRACT.

	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
Expenditure - - - - -	- - -	5,83,905 14 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Balance on 5th June 1860:		
In Dhar Treasury - - - - -	1,51,790 10 9	
„ Indore „ - - - - -	3,13,030 7 2	
		4,64,821 1 11
TOTAL - - <i>Rs.</i>		10,48,727 - 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dhar,
12 August 1861.](signed) *H. E. C. Ward*,
Officiating Superintendent, Dhar.

STATEMENT of TREASURY ACCOUNT of DHAR, from 6th June 1860 up to 5th June 1861.

RECEIPTS.	AMOUNT.	TOTAL.	DISBURSEMENTS.	AMOUNT.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
Balance of 6th June 1860.					
In Dhar Treasury - - -	1,51,790 10 9		Paid to Bhopawur Levy on account of their pay, including batta, up to 31st May 1861 - - -	44,483 7 9	
„ Indore, ditto - - -	3,13,030 7 2	4,64,821 1 11	To Dhar State Troops, ditto - -	72,732 7 2	
DISTRICT LAND REVENUE:			Contribution to the Malwa Bheel Corps up to 31st March 1861:		
Dhar Mahal - - - - -	1,47,492 13 -		For A. D. 1860 - - -	20,000 - -	
Budnawar - - - - -	76,148 9 6		„ „ 1861 - - -	10,000 - -	30,000 - -
Dhurrumporee - - - - -	32,069 6 3		To Lallchund Turvee, on account of pay up to 31st May 1861 - -	360 - -	
Kooksee - - - - -	23,822 12 -		„ Cheeklee Tannah - - -	240 - -	
Nalcha - - - - -	17,622 7 2		„ Superintendents' Establishments, on account of their pay - -	14,747 15 3	
Neemonpoor Muckrad - - -	2,391 7 3		„ Adawlut Establishment - -	1,586 - -	
Jehangeerpoor - - - - -	791 14 3	3,00,339 5 5	„ Kotewallee, ditto - - -	595 11 9	
TANKA OF TRIBUTE:			„ Opium, ditto, up to 31st May 1861 - - -	3,650 - -	
Ali Mohun Rajpore, 1st and 2d instalment of Sumut, 1916, Fuslee 1267 - - - - -	10,000 - -		„ Khansama of travellers' bungalow - -	66 2 -	
Ahirwas, for the year 1916, Fuslee 1267 - - - - -	600 - -		„ Camel drivers, on account of pay and provision up to 31st May 1861 - - -	668 8 6	
Soondersee Larawad,			„ Elephant drivers - - -	1,316 6 9	
For A.D. 1859 - - - <i>Rs. a. p.</i>			„ The pensioner Ameheettrao Powar, up to 31st April 1861 - -	2,400 - -	
„ „ 1860 - - - 666 10 8	979 5 4	11,579 5 4	„ The widow of Brijlall Jamadar, on account of her pay up to 28th February 1861 - - -	110 - -	
KHASGEE ESTATE:			„ Jail Establishment, on account of pay, including dieting - -	2,467 14 7	
Buddee Khasgee - - - - -	31,470 10 3		„ To the schoolmasters on account of pay - - -	1,018 2 1	
Chotee, ditto - - - - -	20,005 - 2	51,475 10 5	„ To the Dhar Dispensary - -	1,086 5 4	
SEWAREE JUMMA:			„ Religious endowments for Fuslee years 1266, 1267, and 1268 - -	18,994 8 6	
Manpoor road dues - - - -	1,829 - -		„ For Building Department - -	3,897 4 3	
Fines - - - - -	846 4 6		„ Miscellaneous charges - -	174 3 -	
Unclaimed property - - - -	4,026 - 8		„ To Jamadars of Dhurrumporee and Jahangeerpoor, on account of their shares - - -	299 5 2	
Kotewallee - - - - -	264 2 9		„ For killing tigers in the Dhar district - - - - -	92 - -	2,00,986 6 1
Nuzranah - - - - -	500 - -		Durban Functionaries, &c., &c.		
Fees of Adawlut - - - - -	1,295 13 9		Paid to the petty servants from 1st March 1858 to 31st May 1861	40,167 5 6	
Duning, or Tulbanah - - - -	240 12 3		„ Relatives, Karcoons, and Man-kurrees for their pay for ditto -	52,387 4 7	
Saving, or Buchut - - - - -	343 6 9		„ For the funeral ceremony of Her late Highness - - -	11,850 - -	
Sale of grass - - - - -	34 - -		„ For the Modheekhana of Durbar, from 7th August 1860 up to 31st May 1861 - - -	29,185 3 9	
Sale of horses - - - - -	304 - -		„ Miscellaneous charges - -	7,440 1 -	
Fotehdaree - - - - -	12 6 -	9,695 14 8	„ Guests - - - - -	4,255 - -	
Realised from Rasut Jamdar Khana	3,179 11 3		„ On account of different subjects of the Durbar - - -	1,27,469 7 6	
Ditto „ Hoojoor Jamdar Khana	498 13 -		„ Purchasing horses for the use of Rajah - - - - -	3,000 4 -	
Ditto „ Khasgee Jamdar Khana	52,138 9 -	55,817 1 3	„ Sowaree, expense when the Rajah went to visit Dewas - - -	5,000 - -	
Ditto „ Godown - - - - -	- - -	58 10 -	„ Famine in Hindostan - - -	500 - -	
CONFISCATED JAGHEERS:			„ Bringing back a horse which was plundered by Villaitee, on account of provision - - -	25 11 6	
Sumbhajeirao Powar - - - -	5,545 3 6		„ To Baloojee Bamnia - - -	49 1 -	2,81,329 6 10
Khaseebae Sahib - - - - -	587 1 6		„ To Raojee Sattey - - - -	70 - -	
Ramchunder Rao Bapoojee - -	1,647 15 3		„ From Amanut - - - - -	2,921 15 6	2,991 15 6
Raojee Elwundee - - - - -	185 5 3		Carried forward - - - <i>Rs.</i>	- - -	4,85,307 12 5
Crustnarao Sinday - - - - -	394 - -				
Annundrao Dada Satey - - -	775 - -	9,134 9 6			
Carried forward - - - <i>Rs.</i>	- - -	9,02,921 10 6			

RECEIPTS.	AMOUNT.	TOTAL.	DISBURSEMENTS.	AMOUNT.	TOTAL.
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
Brought forward - - -	- - -	9,02,921 10 6	Brought forward - - -	- - -	4,85,307 12 5
Confiscated Jagheers—continued.			27 and 28 May. Paid by order of the A. G. G. in letter No. 1018, of date 16th May 1861, to the English writer and mootsudee, late Bho- pawur Levy:		
Received from Captain Baigrie - - -	- - -	158 7 9			
Amanut Jumma - - - -	- - -	18,851 5 6			
			<i>Rs.</i>		
			As gratuity - - -	325	
			Ditto to Tindal of ditto	63	
				- - -	388 - -
			Balance on 5th June 1861 in Dhar Treasury - - - -	- - -	1,80,776 8 -
			Indore Treasury, up to 5th June 1860 - - - -	3,13,030 7 2	
			2d August 1860 - - -	4,894 3 9	
			27th August 1860 - - -	5,511 13 -	
			27th September 1860 - - -	4,764 2 11	
				3,28,200 10 10	
			DEDUCT:		
			Amount received from Indore Treas- ury:		
			26th April 1861. <i>Rs. a. p.</i>		
			paid to the M.		
			B. C. - - -	30,000 - -	
			28th May 1861, for liquidate the State debts of four sowars -	42,741 7 6	
				72,741 7 6	
					2,55,459 3 4
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>		9,21,931 7 9	TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>		9,21,931 7 9

Dhar, 12 August 1861,

(signed) *H. C. E. Ward,*
Officiating Superintendent, Dhar.

(Foreign Department.—No. 5612.)

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, c.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, to Colonel Sir *R. Shakespear*, K.C.B., Agent to the Governor General for Central India; dated Fort William, 28 September 1861.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter, dated 4th instant, No. 320, submitting a report on the finances of the Dhar State since it has been under British administration, I am directed to inform you that the Governor General in Council considers this report to be very satisfactory, and approves of the orders issued by you for severing the State from co-partnership with the various firms alluded to.

(Political Department.—No. 14.)

Sir *Charles Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council; dated 28 February 1862.

Para. 1. I HAVE considered in Council your Excellency's letter, No. 180, of the past year, relative to the administration of Dhar under British superintendence.

2. The principality of Dhar was confiscated in December 1857, and placed under British administration on the 14th February 1858.

3. At that time the Treasury was not only solvent, but showed (after providing for all liabilities) the considerable surplus of 79,535 rupees. I observe that this surplus had, up to the 1st September last, been increased to 3,27,475 rupees, or by 2,47,940 rupees, at the rate, that is, of nearly 75,000 Company's rupees a year; adding to this, the recoverable debts which have been carefully investigated by the successive superintendents of Dhar, and which amount to no less a sum than 4,46,822 rupees, I find that the total surplus at the credit of the Dhar State amounts to 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs.

Captain Creagh
and Lieutenants
Wood and Ward.

4. I concur with you in considering this result of a three and a half years' administration as very gratifying and highly creditable to the officers by whom it was conducted.

5. The State of Dhar was, I regret to observe, concerned in complicated transactions in virtue of its partnership with two mercantile firms, one at least of which is in an insolvent position. I entirely approve the measures taken to sever the State from so objectionable a connection, and gradually to recover the large balances due to it from both these firms.

6. I shall learn with much satisfaction, when the young Rajah shall have attained his majority, that you have been enabled to make over to him the management of his ancestral domains. If, however, this should not be the case, I think that you might advantageously exercise your judgment as administrators of the province, in expending a certain percentage of the annual surplus on works of public utility, calculated to promote the moral and internal prosperity of the country.

(Political Department.—No. 34.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*; dated
Fort William, 8 March 1862.

Sir,

WITH reference to our letter, No. 180, dated 22d November last, we have the honour to forward a copy of a letter from the agent to the Governor General in Central India, dated the 7th February, submitting a report on Dhar, for the period during which it was under the administration of Lieutenant Ward, the officiating superintendent, together with copy of our orders thereon.

2. We have expressed our approbation of Lieutenant Ward's administration of Dhar.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Canning,*
H. B. E. Frere,
Cecil Beadon,
R. Napier,
S. Laing,
W. Ritchie.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent Governor General for Central India, to
Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government
of India, Foreign Department. (No. 12, dated Indore Residency, 7
February 1862.)

Sir,

In forwarding, for submission to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, the accompanying report (in original) from Lieutenant Ward, officiating superintendent of Dhar, who is about to be relieved from that charge
by

by the permanent incumbent, Captain Wood, who has recently returned from England, I have the honour to make the following observations thereon :—

1. With respect to the young chief's marriage, there has been much anxiety felt for some time past on this point, and much difficulty has been experienced in obtaining a suitable alliance for the young rajah, the negotiations entered into with this object with the Gwalior and Baroda Courts, and I believe in other quarters, having, from one cause or other, broken down.

Sir R. Shakespear sanctioned, some months ago, an expenditure of one lakh of rupees on the occasion of the chief's marriage, but the latter's uncle and nearest relative (the Rajah of Dewas) has strongly urged that this sum will, for the reasons assigned in the report, be insufficient, and has solicited that while every effort shall be made to keep the expenses as little in excess of one lakh as possible, a margin of 50,000 rupees may be allowed to meet such excess.

He has further proposed, with the object of raising funds for this purpose, the imposition of the customary cess, styled a "Phala," levied on all the officials and people of the State on the occasion of the chief's first marriage, which will probably yield from 30,000 to 40,000 rupees.

I am clearly of opinion that we are in no way called upon to abolish a feudal cess of this nature, that has long obtained, and is fully recognised in the Dhar State, and that its levy should not be relinquished or prohibited merely because we are temporarily managing the State for the minor chief.

I have, therefore, informed Lieutenant Ward, that no objection should be raised to its imposition as usual, due care being only taken that extortion is not practised in its collection, and that it is not made a pretext for any further levy of an unauthorised description.

I have also sanctioned the sum allowed for the marriage expenditure being increased to one and a half lakhs, if absolutely necessary, such sum being of course inclusive of any amount realised from the marriage cess above referred to; and trust that these instructions will meet with the approval of Government.

2. In paragraph 3 Lieutenant Ward refers to the short period that has now to elapse ere the young chief attains his majority, and urges the necessity for the immediate appointment of a Dewan.

I think it is much to be regretted that the selection of a proper person to fill this post has not been made ere this, for it is hopeless to expect that the young chief will be able to carry on the administration in a satisfactory manner without the aid of an honest and competent Dewan; and there is now little time left to search for such a person, and none to train and prepare him for the duties of the situation, when found.

No time, however, should be lost in endeavouring to ascertain who is the fittest person available for the post, and I have accordingly requested Captain Wood to satisfy himself on this point, so as to be prepared at once to act on such orders as Government may be pleased to issue on the subject.

It is, of course, most important that the selection should be a palatable one to the young chief; and, if either of the two persons named by Lieutenant Ward in paragraph 12 of his report as being so is found qualified for the office, his nomination thereto would be easy and convenient.

3. In paragraphs 4 and 7 of his report, Lieutenant Ward refers to the revenue and financial arrangements of the State, for the settlement of which the services of a Dewan are urgently required.

The system he describes as obtaining in Dhar, as in most other native States, of farming out the pergunnahs to the highest bidders on short leases, is unquestionably the most vicious and ruinous to the people and, ultimately, the State itself, that could be devised; but, with the short period that has now to elapse ere we relinquish the management of the State, it will not be possible for us ourselves to introduce an improved revenue system and settlement of a permanent character.

The only thing that can be done with this object is to endeavour to induce the young chief and the person selected for the office of Dewan to adopt our views and advice in the arrangements of the new settlement, and this I will urge on Captain Wood to do, so far as he possibly can.

It would be a great matter, indeed, if these arrangements could be brought to include the grant to wutundars of their respective villages on leases for reasonably long periods, in other words, the introduction of the village lease system, which has, on the whole, been found to answer well in Gwalior, but, under the circumstances, unless adopted and supported by the chief and his minister, such a system would not work.

4. Paragraphs 5 and 6 of the report refer to the measures adopted for the recovery of the debts due to the State, which, in August last, amounted to Rs. 446,821. 10. 4. Of this sum 62,000 rupees have been adjusted up to 30th ultimo, leaving a balance of Rs. 384,821. 10. 4. still due.

Lieutenant Ward observes that, owing to want of leisure on the part of the officials, whose duty it is to arrange with the State debtors for the payment of their instalments, these arrangements are still incomplete; and he suggests the appointment of a karkoon for this special purpose, which I have sanctioned, as a temporary measure, and pending the appointment of a Dewan.

5. In paragraph 8 the good services of Gunput Rao Trimbuck Kumavisdar of Dhar are noticed, especially in reducing the large outstanding balances of revenue in his district, as shown in the appended statement marked A, and an increase of his salary from 76 rupees to 100 rupees is recommended. This I propose to sanction if, on further reference to Captain Wood, it appear proper and advisable.

6. Paragraphs 9 and 10 refer to the temporary reduction in the revenue, estimated at 3,000 rupees, consequent on the reduced sayer duties, and to the public works in progress, which are at present chiefly confined to the construction of the new road between Dhar and Doodee.

Reference is also made to the misapplication, by a Brahmin to whom it was entrusted, of a sum of 5,000 rupees left by the late Ranee to be distributed in charity, which, with the concurrence of the young chief, has been recovered and expended in the building of a dispensary, and other charitable and local works.

7. Paragraph 11 refers to an appended statement marked B. showing the present cash balance in favour of the Dhar State, amounting to Rs. 3,52,170. 1. 4., against Rs. 3,82,205. 10. 2. in August last. The decrease of, in round numbers, 30,000 rupees is not explained, but it probably proceeds from recent payments.

8. In conclusion, I have much pleasure in bringing to the notice of his Excellency the Viceroy, in connection with this report, that the late Sir R. Shakespear was much pleased with Lieutenant Ward's administration of Dhar while under his orders, and that this young officer appears to have shown both tact and good judgment in his mode of carrying on his duties as superintendent during the past nine months.

From Lieutenant *H. C. E. Ward*, Officiating Superintendent, Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent Governor General for Central India. (No. 33, dated Dhar, 30 January 1862.)

Sir,

BEING about to make over charge of the office of superintendent of Dhar to Captain Wood, I have the honour to offer the following short account of the affairs of the Dhar State at the present time, and in the first place I trust you will excuse my offering my opinions unasked on this subject, but having now been officiating superintendent for nine months, I feel that I should be neglecting my duty did I not render some account of my experience at Dhar for the information of Government and my successor.

2. The chief event of importance to be mentioned is the approaching marriage of his Highness the Rajah of Dhar, for which active preparations are now being made, expenditure having been sanctioned to the extent of one lakh of rupees. This sum ought, with care, to be sufficient; but the Durbar officials are now estimating the expenses at 50,000 rupees more, and state as their reasons:—

1st. The extremely high price of provisions, which it will be necessary to supply to all the visitors who may be invited to the marriage.

2d. The proposed bride, being of much lower rank than the Rajah, all the expenditure which,

which, had she been the daughter of any chief of equal rank, would have fallen upon her father, will have now to be incurred by the Dhar State.

The first will be the only large item of expenditure; there being quite a sufficiency of all jewels, ornaments, dresses, &c., required for the ceremony in the State treasuries, and until the exact number of visitors, whom it will be requisite to invite, is known, it will be almost impossible to make anything like a correct estimate. The Durbar informs me that the Maharajah Holkar, the Rajahs of Rutlam and Jabooa, and all the Powar Thakoors, relatives of the Rajah of Dhar, should be invited.

To meet this extra expenditure, the uncle of the young chief (the Rajah of Dewas) proposed to raise a sum of about 30,000 or 40,000 rupees by the imposition of a phala on all the officials and people of the Dhar State; this has always been the custom on the occasion of the first marriage of the Dhar chiefs, and regarding this, I had the honour to request your orders in my demi-official letter of the 21st instant.

3. The Rajah of Dhar will attain the age of 18 in the month of April this year, and his Excellency the Viceroy having directed that on his attaining his majority, and being pronounced competent, the State is to be restored to him; I feel it my duty to express strongly my opinion, that a dewan of good family and of some property, with influence in the State, should be appointed to assist the young chief in the management of Dhar; at present everything is managed by the superintendent; all the expenditure is regulated by him; all questions of finance are referred to him; all the kamavisdars of different pergunnahs send in their reports to him, and all judicial or civil cases are forwarded for his judgment and orders; this work, when the Rajah obtains the management of his own affairs, will fall upon him, and though he is neither deficient in intellect nor ability, still I do not think he has sufficient physical energy to undertake so much mental as well as bodily work, and among the personal attendants there is not, in my opinion, one man fitted for the responsible situation of Dewan, either by his talents, or his position as a man of property in the Dhar State. Of the personal relatives of the Rajah, I can say nothing, they all having left either during or after the mutinies, and gone to reside on their jageers in the Deccan and Concan. During my tenure of office as superintendent of Dhar, I have continually endeavoured to impress on the young chief the absolute necessity of devoting a great portion of his time to study, and he has attended cutchery regularly for the purpose of learning how the work should be carried on; still, in my opinion, there is so much work, that the aid of an efficient dewan is essentially necessary to the welfare of the Dhar State, after the British superintendent leaves.

4. There are many points on which the services of a dewan will be of great importance:—

1st. The re-settlement of the five pergunnahs, of which nearly all the leases fall in on the 5th June 1862, and a new settlement will be requisite.

The present system of farming the leases for short periods to the highest bidder requires to be very greatly improved, for the farmers do not look to the welfare of their villages, but simply endeavour to repay themselves the cost of their izara with the greatest possible profit; this of course gives rise to a continual series of complaints on the part of the villagers against the farmers for oppression, as there are very few who have any hereditary rights in the villages, or take any interest in them.

2d. In the collection of the numerous outstanding debts of the State, amounting to more than three lakhs and 86,000 rupees: for the members of the Dhar Durbar will not be likely to take much trouble to collect the money after the superintendent leaves Dhar, as they are most of them heavily indebted to the State themselves, and from the very first have given me no assistance in this matter; indeed, I can safely say, that had it not been for the examination of the accounts by Pundit Suroop Narain, and the valuable aid rendered me by Venkutaish Bajeerao, the Shristadar of the Mal Duffer, I should have discovered few more than those debts pointed out to me by Captain Creagh, and consequently been unable to show so large a balance in favour of the State.

3d. In regulating the finance of Dhar State, the exact state of which I endeavoured to show in my letter, No. 184, of date the 27th August 1861, and pointed out that at that time the balance in favour of the Dhar State was Rs. 8,39,027. 4. 6., as follows:—

						Rs.	a.	p.
Cash in Indore and Dhar Treasuries	-	-	-			3,82,205	10	2
Recoverable debts	-	-	-	-	-	4,46,821	10	4
TOTAL	-	-	-		Rs.	*8,39,027	4	6

5. A reference to the above letter will show in full detail the steps proposed to be taken for the recovery of the debts. I have now the honour to report that the arrangements, proposed by me, have not been so successful as I then hoped, for this reason, that the
kamasdar

* Sic in original. ? Rs. 8,29,027 4. 6.

kamasdar and treasurer have so much work of their own, that they have not been able to devote much time to this work, and, consequently, arrangements with many of the debtors are still left incomplete. I think that the best plan will be to appoint one karkoon to arrange the instalments, subject to the approval of the superintendent. The amount of debts recovered since my arrival at Dhar, up to the 30th January 1862, is 62,000 rupees, leaving due Rs. 384,821. 10. 4.

6. Regarding the breaking off the connection of the State with the firms of Ramchunder Gunnessh and Rajashwur Gunnessh, I cannot yet report the completion of any definite arrangement, the managers of the firms having both petitioned to be allowed to settle with some of their numerous creditors for payments by instalments before the exact amount of their payments to the State should be fixed.

7. Regarding the re-settlement, it will, I am convinced, very greatly benefit the Dhar State if this new settlement is arranged in a liberal spirit by the British Superintendent before the young chief commences the management of his own affairs. From the inquiries I have made in the different districts I believe that, with few exceptions, the (Wuttundar) hereditary patels of nearly all the villages would come forward to take the leases of their respective villages at the present rates, or even at an increase, if the leases were for reasonably long periods. By the present system the villagers are oppressed, the State is defrauded of much of its revenue, for hardly a year passes without very great remissions being demanded: for instance, before the State was under the management of a British officer, the late Kamavisdar of Dhar, Bapoo Narain, was found to have given remissions to a large extent to the farmers, on his own responsibility, and after very slight inquiry; for this he was removed from his appointment, and an order was issued by the late Agent Governor General, that he was not to be re-employed in the Dhar State until after the return of Captain Wood.

8. After this dismissal, Gunput Rao Trimbeck was appointed Kamavisdar of Dhar; and regarding him I should like to place my opinion on record. Both Major Cumming and Captain Creagh had a very high opinion of him, and during the time that I have been officiating as superintendent he has worked extremely well, and done much towards recovering the very large outstanding balances of the revenue of his district, as shown in the Statement annexed, marked A.: the whole revenue is about two lakhs of rupees yearly, including both the Khasgee estates, which were given into his charge by Captain Wood in November 1860. For performing the duties of kamavisdar, Gunput Rao receives 76 rupees per mensem, and I now have the honour to recommend that this may be increased to 100 rupees per mensem.

9. The reduction in the rates of the sayer will cause a deficit in the revenue under that head to the extent of about 3,000 rupees; but this will be made up by the increase in the traffic; and should, at the end of this year, the same rates of sayer be extended to the other three districts, Nalcha, Dharumpooree and Budnawur, on the main road, I feel convinced that the loss to the Dhar State, after the first year, will be merely nominal, as the new road at present in course of construction will bring much of the traffic which now passes through Indore through the Dhar State, at present the road being so bad that it is perfectly impossible for carts to pass through the district during the rains.

10. Since the commencement of the new road between Dhar and Dooder on an extensive scale under the supervision of an engineer officer, the expenditure on local improvements in and about Dhar itself has been nearly all stopped, but not until good roads have been made through the city. While Major Cumming was officiating as Superintendent of Dhar, he discovered that a sum of 5,000 rupees, which had been left by the late Ranee to be distributed in charity, had been embezzled by one of the Brahmin priests; this sum was recovered, and has been devoted to the building of a charitable dispensary in the town of Dhar, and one or two other charitable works, the making of a road from the Rajah's palace to the Kalkadevee temple, &c., the young chief quite agreeing that it was never the intention of the late Ranee that the money she left for charitable works should be applied by one man to his own use alone.

11. I have the honour to annex herewith a Statement, marked B., showing the cash balance in favour of the Dhar State at present.

12. I have asked the opinion of the young chief, and of his uncle, the Rajah of Dewas, as to who, in their opinion, was best fitted for the situation of dewan, and they have mentioned the name of Ram Rao Mankur, the maternal uncle of the young chief, a man of very good family, but regarding whose fitness for the situation I can say nothing, as he is at present in the service of Maharajah Holkar, and has only been at Dhar for short periods during my tenure of office, and Raghoonath Narain, an official of the Durbar, whom I have never seen, as he has been on leave, and employed in the Deccan for the last four months.

(A.)

No. 1.—STATEMENT, showing the Outstanding Revenue of Dhar Mehal when Gunnessh Trimbuck took charge on the 21st June Fusli Sal 1266, and the Sum Recovered by him up to the end of the Fusli Year, that is, 5th of June 1861, and the Balance Outstanding up to that Date.

No.	Fusli Year.	Revenue Outstanding.	Sum Recovered.	Balance Outstanding.
		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
1	1264 - -	23,794 4 -	5,629 5 9	18,319 14 3
2	1265 - -	19,740 1 3	8,317 14 9	11,422 2 6
3	1266 - -	28,191 13 9	21,717 2 -	6,474 11 9

No. II.—STATEMENT showing the Gross Revenues of Dhar Mehal under Gunnessh Trimbuck's Administration, the Revenues collected, and the Balance Outstanding.

No.	Fusli Year.	Gross Revenues.	Revenues collected.	Balance Outstanding.
		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
1	1267 - -	1,49,741 3 -	1,46,188 3 3	3,552 15 9
2	1268 - -	1,52,759 2 3	1,44,422 1 9	8,337 - 6

No. III.—STATEMENT showing the Revenues of the two Khasgees when Gunnessh Trimbuck took their charge, on the 1st of November 1860, and the Revenue collected under his Administration.

No.	Name.	Revenue of Fusli Year 1267.	Revenue of Fusli Year 1268.	Difference.
		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
1	Buddi Kashgee	29,166 14 -	31,208 14 6	2,042 - 6
2	Choti „ -	18,630 9 9	19,660 4 3	1,029 10 6

(B.)

STATEMENT of the Cash Balance in the Dhar State Treasuries, dated 30th January 1862.

	Amount.
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
In the Indore Residency Treasury - - - -	2,59,309 15 8
„ Dhar „ „ - - - -	93,160 1 8
<i>Note.</i> —Of this sum <i>Rs.</i> 13,539. 0. 5. are in deposit.	
TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>	* 3,52,170 1 4

Dhar,
30th January 1861.

(signed) *H. C. E. Ward,*
Officiating Superintendent.

* *Sic* in original. ? *Rs.* 3,52,470. 1. 4.

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, c.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Agent, Governor General for Central India (No. 190); dated the 26th February 1862.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter, No. 12, dated 7th instant, submitting a report on Dhar for the period during which it was under the administration of Lieutenant Ward, the Officiating Superintendent, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to inform you that your instructions regarding the levy of the customary cess on the marriage of the young chief is approved.

2. With respect to the appointment of a dewan, you have referred the matter to Captain Wood, and urged upon him the necessity of providing aid for the young chief. Captain Wood is an officer of ability and experience, and having the opinions of Lieutenant Ward and yourself, he will doubtless, His Excellency in Council observes, be able to effect a suitable arrangement.

3. The Governor General in Council desires me to signify his approbation of Lieutenant Ward's administration of Dhar.

(Political Department.—No. 51.)

Sir *Charles Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council; dated 9th June 1862.

1. I HAVE considered in Council your letter, dated 8th March (No. 34) 1862, submitting Lieutenant Ward's report of his temporary administration of the Dhar State.

2. In the opinion expressed by you, that the results shown in this document are creditable to Lieutenant Ward, I concur.

3. The matters referred to in the report are adequately disposed of by your orders of the 26th February, and call for no remark from me beyond the expression of my hope that due care will be exercised in the selection of a dewan, on whom, on the approaching majority of the chief, so much responsibility will devolve. It was, indeed, as remarked by Major Meade, to be regretted that the selection was not made at an earlier date.

4. The political agent must, however, be careful to maintain his influence in the administration, even after the attainment of the Rajah's majority, and the selection of a competent dewan until the Rajah shall have been duly initiated into the duties of his position: and I shall be glad to learn that a commencement has been made in settling the land with the village proprietors instead of granting short leases to farmers, a system the evils of which are justly depicted by Major Meade.

(Foreign Department, Political.—No. 48.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*; dated Fort William, 22d April 1862.

Sir,

From Agent, Central India, dated 26th February 1862.

To Agent, Central India, dated 26th March 1862.

IN continuation of our letter, No. 34, dated 8th March last, we have the honour to transmit copy of correspondence noted in the margin, respecting the affairs of the Dhar State.

2. It will be seen that the young chief of Dhar, who is nearly attaining his majority, has been pronounced by the local authorities unfit to be entrusted with the charge of this State, and that, therefore, it has been considered necessary to extend the probationary period of administration for at least another year.

3. Lieutenant

3. Lieutenant Ward, the Superintendent of Dhar, has been directed to train the young rajah to a practical acquaintance with the duties of his position; and the agent to the Governor General has been urged to find an honest and able dewan to aid him.

We have, &c.
 (signed) *Elgin & Kincardine.*
Cecil Beadon.
S. Laing.
H. B. Harington.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Officiating Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 27); dated Camp Gwalior, the 26th February 1862.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for submission to his Excellency the Governor General in Council, Captain Wood's Report on Dhar affairs, referred to in my message of yesterday.

2. From a perusal of this document, it will be seen that Captain Wood is strongly of opinion that the Dhar rajah will not be fit to be entrusted with the charge of his State on his attaining his majority next April, and that a further probation of at least six months will be required to qualify him for undertaking such a charge as that of the government of the Dhar State.

3. Captain Wood's opinion on this and other matters referred to in Lieutenant Ward's Report, submitted with my letter, No. 25 C., of date 7th instant, is, it will be seen, at variance with that of the latter officer; but there can be no question that, without the aid and support of a competent dewan, the young Rajah could not, for some time to come, be equal to the cares and duties of government.

4. As stated in the concluding paragraph of my letter transmitting Lieutenant Ward's Report, I know that the late agent, who had the best means of judging on the subject, had formed a very favourable opinion of Lieutenant Ward's administration, but Captain Wood's experience is so much greater than Lieutenant Ward's, that I certainly would not, in the face of his strong opinion of the Rajah's unfitness, advise the transfer to him of charge of the State on his attaining his majority next April.

5. It is, however, quite time that arrangements should be commenced with this ultimate object; and foremost amongst these I consider the appointment and training of a dewan, and the requiring the young chief to devote a certain portion of each day to acquiring a knowledge of the business he will hereafter have himself to transact.

6. The period of six months, stated by Captain Wood as the least within which the chief could thus qualify himself, appears to me to be altogether insufficient for this purpose, and I accordingly recommend that the present arrangement, modified by the immediate appointment of a dewan, be maintained for another year from the date of the Rajah's attaining his majority, and that it be clearly explained to the young chief, that he will not even then be put in full charge of his State, unless he make good use of the intervening period, according to the advice of the superintendent, to prepare and qualify himself for it.

7. I will also impress on Captain Wood that he should consider it a special part of his duty as superintendent to insist on the young chief's so qualifying himself, though of course in the way best calculated to render the task as little irksome to the latter as possible.

8. With reference to the late officiating superintendent's order to Rughonath Narain, described by Captain Wood in paragraph 12 of the enclosure as "unaccountable," there is not time to ascertain, previous to the dispatch of this letter,

letter, the object of that order, but I will call on Lieutenant Ward to explain the circumstances under which it was issued.

9. The third point referred to in Captain Ward's Report, viz., the publication in the Indore newspaper of a statement that he was about to be relieved, and that the young chief, Annund Rao, was to be put in full charge of his country, does not appear to me to deserve any special notice.

Such reports in cases of this nature are to be looked for, and appear to me to be altogether unworthy of attention.

From Captain *J. C. Wood*, Superintendent of Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General for Central India; dated the 17th February 1862.

Sir,

In my letter of the 15th instant, I stated that, in my opinion, the young Rajah of Dhar would not, on attaining his majority a couple of months hence, be fit to assume the government of his own territory for three reasons, namely:—

- 1st. Because the young Rajah is, at present, in total want of experience.
- 2d. Because there is a conspiracy against the only officer in the Dhar State, in my opinion, qualified for the office of Dewan; and
- 3d. Because much that I have learned since my resumption of office (this month) is of a most unsatisfactory character.

2. I promised to give my reasons in detail at the earliest opportunity.

3. I beg now to lay before you full particulars, and I hope my remarks will not be considered too lengthy, as the importance of the subject demands minute explanation.

4. First, then, as regards the young Rajah's present unfitness to assume the government of his own territory.

His highness has had no practical experience whatever in matters connected with the administration of the State.

In October, 1860, after a period passed in seclusion on the death of the late Ranee (which happened in August), the young rajah commenced to sit with me in office. Kutcherry has always been held in one wing of the palace, and therefore his highness could attend without the slightest inconvenience. I used to explain to him that I should shortly wish him to take notes in the various cases to which he listened in my presence. He would thus get gradually accustomed to the kind of work which would come before him when the territory was finally restored.

I told the rajah that I would, from time to time, ask his opinion as to what orders should be passed in certain cases. His highness used to write letters to me with his own hand, and I gave every encouragement with a view to the Rajah's improvement generally.

5. His highness had been learning English, but at my request this branch of education was abandoned, in order that the Rajah might learn to read and write his own language fluently before he attempted a foreign tongue.

6. His highness's education had been greatly neglected, and besides giving his mind to the study of his own native language, I wished his highness to devote all spare time to the acquisition of a proper knowledge of office work.

7. In December 1860, or two months after his highness had begun the course of work prescribed to him, I was compelled, by ill health, to relinquish charge of the district. After an absence of 13 months I resumed charge (on the 3d February), and I was greatly disappointed at finding that, during this long interval, his highness did not have a single case made over to him. The extent of his progress in public duties was to sign his name after that of the officiating superintendent in all purwanahs, &c., without, however, a full knowledge of the contents of the orders. The papers were taken to his highness for signature, and the shortest possible abstract of the contents was made verbally at the time to him. My predecessor told me that his highness used to look after his own private accounts of expenditure for a time, but that he had subsequently discontinued taking any interest in the matter.

8. Lieutenant Ward, in paragraph 3 of his letter of the 30th ultimo, to your address, states that, though the Rajah "is neither deficient in intelligence or ability, still" he does "not think he has sufficient physical energy to undertake" much mental or bodily work.

9. My predecessor in the same paragraph says that the Rajah "has attended kutcherry regularly for the purpose of learning how the work should be carried on." But no mention is made of the Rajah's improvement either in his education or in office routine.

It cannot be expected that any person, however intelligent, can acquire a knowledge of office work without practice. It is not sufficient to listen to what is going on; some work must be done, and his highness has done literally nothing.

Much

Much would not be expected from the young Rajah, considering that he had only lately commenced to study.

The contingency of his some day succeeding to the principality was not dreamt of five years ago, and he had not received any education. (The late Rajah, Eeswunt Rao, was suddenly cut off by illness in 1857, in the prime of life.)

Still something substantial was required on his being recommended to rule in his own name, and this was, that his highness should render himself competent to govern, with the assistance of course of a dewan.

10. Annund Rao is a young prince of exceedingly affable manners; he is intelligent and anxious to follow good advice, but he is wanting in the experience which he has had the most favourable opportunity of acquiring under the guardianship of a British officer. Many things may have occurred during my absence to prevent the Rajah's acquiring that knowledge of his several duties which, in my opinion, he should have attained before this; and my predecessor may be able to give the necessary explanation on this subject.

11. Immediately on my return to Dhar, I made over various papers to the Rajah, with a view to his recording his opinion (on a fly sheet) as to the proper orders that should be passed; but it cannot be expected that he can learn his work in a few days, or even in a few weeks, especially as his marriage will take place next month, and very little can be done before the 20th April, the day on which he will complete his 18th year. From present appearances I think I could report favourably on the Rajah in six months, provided he continues to work as I have mentioned. His highness is quite willing to comply with my wishes.

12. I beg now to submit a few remarks with respect to the second reason I have given for not recommending the restoration of the State at present, namely, the conspiracy against the officer best suited for the post of minister.

13. In December, 1860 I recorded my opinion, that Rughonath Narain was "the most intelligent and trustworthy officer in the whole of the Dhar State."

In January 1861, this officer proceeded on leave to his home in the Deccan. The affairs of the large estate of Multhan, belonging to a younger brother of the Rajah of Dhar, being unsatisfactorily managed, and Rughonath being on the spot, this official was directed to lay the case before the proper authorities. He did so, and was detained on that account till December 1861. He was afterwards obliged to remain on another public matter regarding the tax upon his own income, and as I reached Bombay in January 1862, he returned with me to Dhar early in February.

When the last business was about being settled, he was directed by the officiating superintendent of Dhar to remain in the Deccan, to look after the Multhan Jagheer; but the order having reached him after arrangements had been made for his return to Dhar with me, he did not stay behind.

The Officiating Superintendent wrote, on the 20th January, to Rughonath Narain, to say that he would fix no time, but that a margin of two months would be allowed. This order appears to me unaccountable, as Rughonath was one of the two officers named by Lieutenant Ward as reported best suited for the office of dewan, and should therefore, in my opinion, have been ordered to return to Dhar long ago; and as, moreover, a charge was made many months ago by a disreputable character, to the effect that Rughonath had been accessory to the withdrawal from the Dhar Jamdar Khana of jewels valued at from 5,000 to 10,000 rupees, that officer's presence at Dhar was, I think, absolutely required, not for the purpose of making any defence, but for the purpose of exposing the falsity of the charge. I am making inquiry into the case. The informer (Pragdut Joshee) is a well-known and worthless man. He lives in Hindostan. The only witness in the case is Punnalol, the Naib Serishtadar of my office in the judicial department. This official's malpractices are now coming to light.

His evidence appears false, and if it prove to be so, he will deserve exemplary punishment.

14. During the absence of Rughonath Narain, a clique has been formed against him, and it will be my care to protect this officer, and remove the conspirators who have been plotting his ruin.

He is the head officer of the Dewanny Court, and was singled out in open durbar by the late Ranee, who was regent for the young Rajah, as the head officer of the durbar.

The Rajah cannot, I am sure, help admiring and trusting this able officer, though I fear his highness has been too prone to listen to false rumours lately spread by Rughonath's calumniators.

I consider it of the greatest importance to remove every obstacle to the future exercise by this faithful officer of the responsible duties of dewan, and I will report more fully on the subject when I have sifted the whole matter.

Rughonath Narain reads and writes English uncommonly well. He has a very commanding and, at the same time, gentlemanly manner, and he is highly respected.

15. I now come to the last reason assigned for not recommending the restoration of the State at present to the Rajah.

On my return to Dhar I found that some persons had it published in the Indore Mahratta paper, that I was about to be relieved by some other officer. Moreover, they hinted that

the Rajah would be restored to power when he came of age, as he was reported to be wonderfully intelligent and thoroughly up to his work. A translation of this item of news, together with the newspaper itself, is herewith forwarded. It will be observed that Rugho-nath Narain's name does not appear in the list of the few persons with whom the young Rajah is said to associate. I am very averse to the espionage system, and am not in the habit of listening to tell-tales; but knowing what has appeared in print at Indore, I have reason to believe that certain reports have been made here at Indore and elsewhere, with a view to create false impressions.

16. I have more to say, such as regards certain important matters and cases still left pending; but I would beg to conclude this letter, leaving further explanation for a subsequent report.

APPENDIX.

Free Translation of an Extract from the "Poorun Chunder Doya," a Mahratta Newspaper, published at Indore; dated the 24th January 1862.

"Dhar, * * * * * *"

"THE report is spread on all sides that Captain Wood, superintendent of Dhar, is going to be relieved.

"The Rajah applies himself much to study just now. He has become so expert that he can decide with precision and justice any case of whatever description that comes before him. There is every reason to hope that when he is vested with full authority, he will transact his business in such a manner that the late Rajah's name for excellence will not even be called to mind.

"The Rajah likes to associate with none but the good, such as Govind Rao, Vakeel, Gunput Rao Pete, Kamesdar, and the Bukshee, whose advice he is ever ready to follow."

(True translation.)

(signed) *J. C. Wood,*
Superintendent, Dhar.

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, c.b., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Agent, Governor General, for Central India (No. 296); dated the 26th March 1862.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 27, dated 26th ultimo, forwarding a report by Captain Wood on Dhar affairs, and, in reply, to observe as follows:—

2. Captain Wood has been appointed to the charge of Nimar, in succession to Major Keatinge, who goes to Gwalior, and Lieutenant Ward has been ordered to resume the superintendency of Dhar. The young Rajah of Dhar will therefore again fall under the supervision of Lieutenant Ward.

3. There can be little doubt but that Captain Wood, an officer of much experience in civil administrative charges, has given a correct estimate of the unfitness of the young Rajah for the charge of the Dhar State, and that it will be advisable to extend the probationary period for at least another year.

4. Lieutenant Ward should be directed by you to take pains in training the young Rajah to a practical acquaintance with the duties of his position. It is very improbable that when he enters upon the exercise of authority the young chief can conduct the affairs of Dhar without the aid of a dewan or minister, and the object should be to find him an honest and able dewan, and the superintendent should gradually install both into the conduct of affairs.

(Political Department, No. 58.)

Sir *Charles Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council;
dated 30 June 1862.

1. REFERRING to my Despatch, dated 9th June (No. 51) 1862, respecting the arrangements to be made for the administration of Dhar, on the now approaching majority of the chief, I have to acknowledge your letter (No. 48) dated 22d April last, reporting further on this subject.

2. From this letter I regret to learn that so little progress has been made by the young Rajah, during Lieutenant Ward's incumbency of the office of superintendent, in fitting himself for the duties of his high position, and think that Lieutenant Ward should be called on to explain why he deemed it advisable to discontinue the apparently judicious course of instruction to which the Rajah had been subjected by Captain Wood.

3. It would obviously be highly inexpedient to confer on a prince, who is described to be utterly unqualified for the charge, the administration of his territory, and I therefore approve your having delayed for a year his assumption of power.

4. At the same time, it is, perhaps, open to question whether he might not have been better qualified, had the choice of an able and conscientious Dewan been sooner made. Not only would the Rajah have been accustomed to transact business with his own permanently nominated minister, but the minister could, during the first months of his administration, have been more closely watched by the superintendent than is likely to be the case when the Rajah has once been permitted to assume the Government.

5. I trust no further time will be lost in selecting the most suitable man to fill the post in question, and in initiating the Rajah, through his instrumentality, and with the aid of the superintendent, in the performance of his duties.

6. I shall await with interest the communication of your further proceedings respecting this principality.

(Foreign Department, Political, No. 126.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., M.P. and G.C.B., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Sir,

Fort William, 22 November 1862.

WITH reference to paragraph 2 of your Despatch, No. 58, dated 30th June last, we have the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, a copy of a letter from the Agent, Governor General for Central India, submitting Lieutenant Ward's explanation respecting his alleged discontinuance of his predecessor's system of instructing the young Rajah of Dhar.

Dated 6th September 1862, No. 42.

2. We also beg to forward copy of a letter from Major Meade, dated 9th September last, with its enclosed Report on Dhar and the finances of the State for the year ending 15th June 1862, and to refer you to our letter to that officer's address, dated 22d idem, containing our orders in reply.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Elgin and Kincardine.*
R. Napier.
H. B. Harington.
W. Grey.
W. S. Maine.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent Governor General for Central India, to Lieutenant *H. C. E. Ward*, Superintendent of Dhar (No. 302, dated Indore Residency, 10 April 1862).

Sir,

CAPTAIN BANNERMAN has already furnished you with a copy of letter, No. 296, of date 26th ultimo, from the Secretary to the Government of India, intimating that the Government have decided that it will be advisable to extend for at least another year the probationary period which must elapse before the young Rajah receives full charge of the Dhar State, and directing that you be instructed to take pains in training the young Rajah to a practical acquaintance with the duties of his position, and, after selection of the proper person for the post of Dewan, gradually to install both into the conduct of affairs.

2. Your attention has been already drawn to these instructions, but I must add a few remarks from myself on the subject.

3. The charge thus entrusted to you is a weighty one, and I cannot too strongly impress upon you that you are expected so to carry out the views of Government, that the results of our temporary management of the Dhar State, and of the opportunities we have had of training up the young chief and his minister, shall be alike creditable to us and advantageous to the chief and his subjects.

4. In respect of the young Rajah himself, you should pursue the course suggested in paragraph 1 of Captain Wood's Memorandum of 31st ultimo, drawn up at my request, and of which he has given you a copy.

It is, however, essential that you should, if necessary, insist on his becoming practically acquainted with the business of his State, and, with this object, a certain portion of each day should be set apart for his sitting in cutcherry with you, and himself joining in the transaction of the business that is going on.

This will, at first, be probably fatiguing to him, but I trust, with tact and perseverance on your part, you will overcome his distaste to the practice, and that he will himself soon take an interest in the affairs connected with the administration which are brought before you.

You should also clearly explain to him that the Government expect him to follow your advice in this and other matters, and that, to enable me to recommend his being entrusted with the charge of the State, I must be satisfied that he really has qualified himself for it.

5. I concur in Captain Wood's views on the subject of the appointment of a Dewan, and the manner in which he should be gradually prepared for the exercise of full authority as minister, as set forth in paragraph 2 of his Memorandum above referred to, and I beg you will lose no time in acting on them.

Every effort should be made to associate the Rajah and the Dewan in the transaction of business, and to induce a proper and friendly feeling between them; but the minister must never be suffered to forget that he is the subject, and that his chief is entitled in all matters to the utmost respect and consideration from him.

6. Captain Wood's opinions on the question of the new land settlement, as given in paragraph 3 of his Memorandum, are sound and practical, and merit your utmost attention in dealing with that delicate question.

The more settled portion of the territory should not be given in lease for longer periods than five years, but the wild and uninhabited tracts may with advantage be so given for 10 years, or even longer periods.

The reasons for making this difference should be clearly explained to the Rajah and his chief officials.

The leases should also be invariably given to Wuttundars, unless there is special ground for overlooking them. On this point you should bear in mind that nothing in a first settlement of this nature is so productive of future vexatious disputes and trouble as conferring on strangers the proprietary rights, to which Wuttundars, as a general rule, may fairly consider themselves to possess a sort of hereditary claim.

It

It is very important in the settlement of this question that the young Rajah should be not merely a party to it, but that, if possible, he and others should be led to regard it as his own, and this I hope you may be able to manage.

7. The suggestions in paragraph 4 of Captain Wood's Memorandum, that one or two officers of the Durbar, not at present admitted into the Executive Departments, should have some special work entrusted to them, is, I think, a good one, and I shall be glad to hear you have adopted it.

8. In conclusion, I beg to state that I have full confidence in your judgment and exertions, and that you may be sure of receiving all proper support from me in carrying out these instructions.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General for Central India, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, c.b., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 42, dated Indore Residency, 6 September 1862).

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your office letter, No. 729, of date 11th ultimo, transmitting, for my information and guidance, copy of a Despatch, No. 58, dated 30th June last, from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, on the subject of Captain Wood's report, of date 17th February 1862, setting forth the (in some respects) unsatisfactory state of affairs at Dhar on his resuming charge of the superintendent's office in the early part of that month, and in the 2d paragraph of which Lieutenant Ward is directed to be called on to explain why he had deemed it advisable to discontinue the apparently judicious course of instruction to which the Rajah had been subjected by Captain Wood.

2. On receipt of Captain Wood's Report above referred to, I thought it necessary to require from Lieutenant Ward an explanation on some of the points specially animadverted on therein; and this explanation was duly given, and was on the whole satisfactory. As it did not, however, enter fully into the reasons for the alleged discontinuance of the young Rajah's instruction in State business, I have now called on Lieutenant Ward for a special report on that point, and beg to transmit herewith his reply, in original, No. 206, of date 1st instant.

3. In this document Lieutenant Ward shows that he was not responsible for the discontinuance of the mode and course of instruction Captain Wood had adopted for the young chief, inasmuch as he had no means of knowing what that mode and course were; he did not receive charge of the State direct from Captain Wood, but six months subsequent to the latter's departure for England, two other officers having held it in the intervening period; and he continued, under the direct instructions of the late agent himself, the system of the Rajah's education in practice when he so assumed charge of the State.

4. I beg to add that, after hearing what Captain Wood and Lieutenant Ward had to say on this and the other points adverted to in the Report in question, I came to the conclusion that the impression it was calculated to convey was, in some respects, unjust towards the latter officer, and Captain Wood himself admitted that he had not in it made sufficient allowances for the difficulties and obstacles his *locum tenens* had to contend with.

5. The young chief is stated by both officers to be not wanting in intelligence, but he is deformed in body, has a very weak constitution, and constantly suffers from ill-health. As might have been expected under such circumstances, he has no energy, mental or physical; and, though complaisant in manner and profuse in his promises of compliance with the course of instruction laid down for him by the superintendent, Lieutenant Ward's recent reports have led me seriously to fear that he will never be fitted to carry on the business of his State.

6. I think I should here mention that, on hearing of Captain Wood's transfer to Nimar, and Lieutenant Ward's re-appointment to the post of Superintendent of Dhar, I directed the former officer, in whose practical ability and administrative experience I had much confidence, not merely to state fully to the latter his views on all questions connected with the young chief and the administration of the State, but also to draw up, for his guidance and for my information, a

memorandum thereon, and I requested Lieutenant Ward to pay the fullest attention to Captain Wood's views and advice on these subjects, and to be guided by and to act on them in his future management of the State.

I subsequently addressed to Lieutenant Ward a letter of instructions, as directed in paragraph 4 of your Despatch, No. 296, of date 26th March last, in which I referred to Captain Wood's Memorandum drawn up as above.

* No. 302, dated
10th April 1862.

A copy of this letter* shall be appended for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council.

7. Lieutenant Ward has since carefully acted on these instructions, and has, I feel certain, done all in his power to rouse the young Rajah's energies, and to urge him to qualify himself for the management of affairs by submitting to the course of instruction and practical initiation into the state business recommended by Captain Wood, but, latterly especially, with little or no success.

8. Though the youth is at times intelligent, his intellect is very feeble, and he is quite unable to fix his attention on any business requiring the exercise of thought. He is constantly sick, and unable for days together to attend Durbar or cutcherry, or even to see the superintendent; and, when he does so, his physical and mental weakness almost incapacitates him from taking an active part in the business under transaction.

These unfortunate failings have been much aggravated during the last two months.

9. In another report on Dhar affairs I am about to transmit for the information of the Governor General in Council, Lieutenant Ward refers especially to this subject, and details the measures he has adopted in reference to the instructions issued to him regarding the appointment of a Dewan, &c., into which it is therefore unnecessary for me to enter here.

10. In conclusion, I think it but just to Lieutenant Ward to state that his exertions in the performance of his duties as superintendent have been most zealous since he has been under my observation, and that I am quite satisfied he is in no way to blame for the unsatisfactory progress made by the Rajah, as set forth above.

From Lieutenant *H. C. E. Ward*, Superintendent of Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent Governor General for Central India, Indore (No. 206, dated 1 September 1862).

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1085, of date 25th ultimo, transmitting copy of a Despatch from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, calling for information as to "why he (Lieutenant Ward) had deemed it advisable to discontinue the apparently judicious course of instruction to which the Rajah had been subjected by Captain Wood."

2. In paragraph 3 of my letter, No. 119, of date the 28th April last, to your address, I endeavoured to show the reason why the course of instruction Captain Wood stated he had introduced, had not been continued, but I will now proceed to do so more fully.

3. I must first explain that Captain Wood took charge of the office of Superintendent of Dhar, in August 1860; in December of that year he made over charge to Major W. Gordon Cumming, Bheel agent and political assistant, also commandant of the Malwa Bheel corps, whose numerous duties required him to be, for a great part of the time he acted as Superintendent of Dhar, at Sirdarpore, and latterly on the Guzerat frontier.

4. I addressed that officer demi-officially, and inquired from him whether Captain Wood, on making over charge of the office, left any records with him as to his proposed mode of instructing the young Rajah, or whether he told him of his plan. Major Cumming informs me that, to the best of his recollection, Captain Wood only mentioned that it was the wish of Government that the Rajah should be instructed in his duties generally, and that he usually attended cutcherry during office hours. No memoranda or letters of Captain Wood's on the subject were left. The Rajah used to attend when his health permitted during Major Cumming's tenure of office, when that officer was at Dhar, and when the Rajah himself was not at Dewass, where he was absent on a visit to his uncle for two months.

5. Major Cumming informs me that, when at Dhar, he did not make over cases to the Rajah, as he did not then think him competent to give an opinion; but by urging his attention to the current work of the office, and showing him how it was conducted, as also what orders were passed on each paper, he endeavoured to qualify him for more independent action.

6. On

6. On the 8th of April Major Cumming made over charge of the office of Superintendent to Captain Creagh, informing him of the system of education he had pursued.

7. On the 8th of May Captain Creagh made over the office of Superintendent to me, giving me the same instructions he had himself received. Previously, however, to my leaving Indore, I had been directed by the Agent, Governor General, the late Sir Richmond Shakespear, to carry on the system of the Rajah's education just as I found it: besides which, on my arrival at Dhar, and making acquaintance with the Rajah, I certainly thought that he was not either strong enough, or sufficiently advanced in his education, to do anything else, and from my experience of him at that time, I should say that it would have been perfectly useless making over any cases to him to decide, as he did not appear to have any idea of carrying on business.

8. I addressed many demi-official letters to the late Sir Richmond Shakespear on the subject of the Rajah's education, and, in reply, he continually impressed on me not to attempt to force him to do much, but to confine myself to getting him to sit with me in Cutcherry, and to advising him, as strongly as possible, to work hard and make himself fit for his position. This was done regularly, and I used constantly to urge on the rajah the necessity of greater exertion, ask him his opinion on cases he heard in Cutcherry, and endeavour to lead him to take an interest in the affairs of the State.

9. Captain Wood's system of education therefore (mentioned in paragraph 4 of his letter to your address, dated 17th February last), was not continued during the year of his absence for the reasons shown, viz., that Captain Wood had neglected to leave any record of his plan, or inform the officer who relieved him of his system; but his statement that his Highness the Rajah had done literally nothing during his (Captain Wood's) absence in England was incorrect.

10. Regarding the statement made in paragraph 10 of the same letter, of the Rajah's being wanting in the experience which he has had the most favourable opportunities of acquiring under the guardianship of a British officer, I think that Captain Wood wrote unadvisedly.

He rejoined his appointment on the 3d of February; his letter to your address is dated the 17th of that month; he could have had, therefore, very few or no opportunities of judging how far or to what extent the Rajah might have gained experience under his own or any one else's guidance.

11. That he did not, however, consider, as stated in paragraph 9 of his letter, "that his Highness had done literally nothing," is evident from his subsequent remark in paragraph 11, "that he thought he could report favourably of the Rajah in six months."

It cannot be credited that, without some previous grounding, Captain Wood should, after 13 days' experience, have considered either himself capable of imparting, or the rajah of receiving, the instruction requisite to enable him, at the end of six months, to carry on the duties of his State.

12. I trust that the foregoing explanation will satisfy the Right Honourable the Secretary of State that exertions to qualify the Rajah for his future position were not wanting either on my part, or that of the other officers who officiated as Superintendent of Dhar.

13. That the precise mode of instruction which Captain Wood states he carried on for two months previous to his departure to England was not continued is, I believe, simply owing to his having left no memorandum of the same in the records of the office.

14. With reference to paragraph 4 of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State's letter, I have the honour to state that I took charge of the office in May 1861; that although from that date to October I was in constant communication, both verbal and by letter, with the late Agent, Governor General, I received no instructions relative to the selection of a Dewan.

15. On my visiting Indore, in November 1861, Major Keatinge, then Officiating Agent, Governor General, showed me a correspondence relative to the affairs of Duttia, in which the necessity of a competent Dewan had been urged by the Viceroy. I then saw the great necessity for a similar appointment at Dhar. I had several conversations on the subject with Major Keatinge, and resolved to give the matter my immediate consideration.

16. In an appointment of this nature it was expedient, as far as possible, that the person appointed to the office of Dewan should be possessed of the confidence of the young chief.

As stated in paragraph 12 of my letter to your address, No. 33, of date the 30th January last, two persons were named by the rajah and his uncle, the rajah of Dewass, viz., Ram Rao Mankur, the maternal uncle of the young chief, and Raghoonath Narain.

17. At this time I made over charge of the office of Superintendent to Captain Wood, who so far acted on my suggestion as to recommend the appointment of Raghoonath Narain. This met with the approval of Government, and he now holds the appointment, as explained in paragraph 9 of my letter,* No. 202, of date the 30th ultimo.

* See page 57.

4. From this statement it will be seen—

1st. That the cash balance at credit of the State on 5th June 1861 was Rs. 4,36,235. 11. 4.

2d. That the total receipts during 1861-62 amounted to Rs. 4,93,527. 6. 4., of which Rs. 4,29,831. 3. 1. formed the ordinary revenue, while the sum of Rs. 63,696. 3. 3. was adjusted and recovered on account of debts and advances of former years due to the State.

3d. That the total expenditure during 1861-62 amounted to Rs. 6,13,984. 15. 1., of which Rs. 3,26,468. 15. 8. were disbursed on account of the ordinary expenditure, and Rs. 2,87,515. 15. 5. on account of extraordinary charges, of which latter an explanation is given by Lieutenant Ward in paragraphs 1 and 2 of his report.

4th. That if the extraordinary receipts and charges, as above, be struck out on either side of the account, a surplus of ordinary revenue over expenditure will remain, amounting to Rs. 1,03,362. 3. 5., from which, however, the cost of the Dhar and Dooder-road, considered by Lieutenant Ward and in the above statement as an extraordinary charge, would have to be provided.

Lieutenant Ward estimates that the surplus for the current year may be set down as at least 75,000 rupees, which will considerably more than provide for the cost during 1862-63 of construction of the above-named road, and will render it unnecessary still further to reduce the existing cash balance, which these accounts show to have fallen from the extraordinary expenses of the past year from Rs. 4,36,235. 11. 4. on 5th June 1861, to Rs. 3,15,778. 2. 7. on 5th June 1862.

5. Appended to Lieutenant Ward's report is a statement of the debts still due by various parties to the Dhar State, from which it appears that, instead of Rs. 4,46,821. 10. 4., as reported by the Superintendent in his letter, No. 184, of 27th August 1861, the amount of such debts was at that time Rs. 5,24,403. 10. 6.; in addition to which the subsequent settlement of the accounts of the Rangra Thakoors of Budnawur has resulted in a balance against them in favour of the State of Rs. 69,723. 15. 1., for the liquidation of which, by fixed instalments, arrangements have been made; that it thus appears that, after deduction of the sum of Rs. 63,696. 3. 3. recovered during the past year, a gross balance, amounting to no less a sum than Rs. 5,30,431. 6. 4. still remains due, and that the discharge of Rs. 3,63,889. 6. 5. of this amount by fixed payments has been provided for, while such has not yet been found possible with respect to the remaining portion of Rs. 1,66,541. 15. 11.

Lieutenant Ward, however, hopes that, with the exception of perhaps from 30 to 40,000 rupees, which from various causes will probably prove to be irrecoverable, this at present unadjusted balance will also ultimately be made good to the State.

Paragraphs 3 to 6 of the enclosure contain an explanation on the above points in reference to these debts, the difficulties experienced in ascertaining their amount and arranging for their liquidation; and it is further stated therein that the connexion previously existing between the Dhar Government and the two banking firms (the settlement of whose accounts with the State has been found so perplexing and difficult), referred to in former reports, has been finally broken off.

6. I trust that this exposition of the financial condition of the State, and of the proceedings connected therewith, thus submitted, will be deemed satisfactory:—

The ordinary State revenue is shown to be considerably more than sufficient for all ordinary expenditure, and, if the entire surplus be devoted, as I think it may fairly be, to works and measures of internal improvement, a balance of three lakhs of rupees will still remain in cash available, if required, for any extraordinary emergency, or at the chief's disposal in the event of the administration of the State being made over to him.

7. The rest of Lieutenant Ward's report refers to the marriage and education of the young chief, the recent appointment of a Dewan and the circumstances connected therewith, the arrangements that have been in progress since last

April for effecting a new land settlement of the Dhar State, and some brief remarks on miscellaneous subjects.

8. The marriage of the young chief to the daughter of a very respectable Deccan jagheerdar is stated to have taken place on the 20th March last.

9. The report herein given of the progress made by the Rajah in his general education, and in qualifying himself for the assumption of the charge of the Administration, is very disappointing and unsatisfactory. I have recently, in my letter, No. 42, of date 6th instant, entered at some length into this subject, and reported, for the Governor General's information, the instructions given by me to Lieutenant Ward for his guidance thereon, and my opinion of the manner in which he has carried out those instructions. I will only here add that I have, in more than one conversation, earnestly impressed on Lieutenant Ward and the Dewan, Raghoonath Narain, the views and expectations of the Government on this subject, and that I feel assured no exertions have been or will be wanting on their part to give effect thereto; but I cannot conceal that the young chief's indisposition and incapacity for business for some time past, especially as he is quite aware that I will not advocate the transfer of the Administration to him unless I am satisfied of his fitness for the charge, so far as present appearances go, forbid the indulgence of any sanguine hope as to the result.

10. Raghoonath Narain, the only person connected with the Dhar State, whom both Captain Wood and Lieutenant Ward considered fit for the post of Dewan, was appointed thereto last May, though not without some indirect and passive opposition on the part of the young chief, who was induced by certain intriguers around him to favour the pretensions to the situation of his maternal uncle, who was a candidate for it, but who, I was quite satisfied, was unfitted for its duties. Raghoonath Narain, as Dhar Vakeel at Bhopawur, has long been known to our officers, and has always been well thought of. He has received a good English education, is intelligent, good tempered, and well acquainted with everything connected with the Dhar State.

He has already overcome the prejudices of the young chief to his appointment, and will, I doubt not, by the exercise of tact, daily acquire a desirable influence over him and obtain his confidence.

This latter I consider to be a point of much importance, for it is unfortunately but too clear that the Rajah will never be able to govern his State independently, and that he must necessarily be in the hands of and subject to the influence of some of those around him. I have warned Lieutenant Ward to be watchful against any attempt on the Dewan's part, in his bearing towards his chief, to presume on his position or on our support; and I am happy to state that Raghoonath Narain promises in this and all other respects to justify the good opinion entertained of him.

11. In paragraph 12 of his report, Lieutenant Ward refers to one Bheem Rao Bhonslay, whom Captain Wood intended to appoint to the post of bukshee, but whose re-employment at Dhar I felt bound to forbid.

This man was the brother of the late Ranee, and was so prominently concerned in the rebellious proceedings at Dhar in 1857, that he was committed for trial with the then minister, Ramchunder Rao. He was, however, subsequently released, like the ex-minister, without trial, but was obliged to furnish security for his presence, if required, which was not demanded from Ramchunder Rao. Bheem Rao Bhonslay was denounced by one evidence in 1857 as having been a foremost promoter of the revolt, and it appeared to me that the same measure should be dealt out to him as to the ex-minister, and that he should be neither provided for nor employed by the Dhar State.

Captain Wood, doubtless in ignorance of the conduct of these two persons in 1857, and of the proceedings taken against them in consequence, disbursed to them 10,000 rupees (viz., 6,000 rupees to Ramchunder Rao, and 4,000 rupees to Bheem Rao Bhonslay), in 1860, in part of the arrears of allowances they claimed from the State, and, as mentioned by Lieutenant Ward, proposed to appoint the latter to the post of bukshee.

12. In paragraphs 13 to 21 Lieutenant Ward gives a brief sketch of his proceedings in effecting a new land settlement of the several pergunnahs of the Dhar State

State on the system of village leases; and it is satisfactory to observe that both the Rajah and the Dewan are stated to have entered heartily into the arrangements connected therewith.

The system of farming the revenue hitherto pursued, and the want of reliable information and records on the subject, have left little data for guidance in carrying out the new settlement; but Lieutenant Ward, who has been in constant communication with me whilst engaged on this duty, appears to have devoted much thought and care to the just rights of all parties affected by the measure; and, so far as he has yet gone, his proceedings appear to have been as successful and satisfactory as could have been expected. A very large proportion of the Dhar territory consists of unclaimed jungle, which, with the exception of small scattered communities of wild and wretched Bheels, is wholly unpeopled, and of course uncultivated. Some of the districts have not yet recovered the effects of the disturbances of 1857-58, and the great want of population must long prevent any important or considerable increase to the revenue from additional land being brought under cultivation.

13. Paragraphs 22 and 24 of the report refer to the new arrangements entered into for the levy of sayer, abkarry, and opium dues, which do not appear to require further remarks.

14. Paragraph 23 states that the progress already made with the Dhar and Doodee road would seem to have increased the traffic in that neighbourhood, the amount of road dues realised there having risen considerably.

The completion of this section is anxiously desired, as it will enable merchants from Dhar to reach the Trunk road without passing through the territory of any other State, which they cannot do at present; and it is expected to return a handsome profit, in the shape of increased road dues to the Dhar State.

15. Paragraph 25 refers to certain boundary cases reported by Captain Wood last February, the most important of which have since been adjusted.

P.S.—The dispatch of this report has been unavoidably postponed till the correction by Lieutenant Ward of some slight errors in the enclosure.

From Lieutenant *H. C. E. Ward*, Superintendent of Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent; Governor General, for Central India, Indore.—(No. 202, dated the 30th August 1862):

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a statement of the accounts of the Dhar State Treasury for the year ending 5th June 1862, and with reference thereto beg to offer the following remarks:—

The expenditure, it will be seen, is greater than the income, after deducting the amount of recovered debts, *Rs.* 63,696. 3. 3. by *Rs.* 1,86,242. 12. 3., accounted for in this way:

1st. On the marriage of his Highness the Rajah, the sum of 1,50,000 rupees was expended, as sanctioned in your letter, No. 85, of date 10th February 1862.

2d. Another item in the account is the arrears of pay of all the *mankurees*, *durruk-dars*, and other officials of the State for 1858, 1859, and 1860, amounting to *Rs.* 72,862. 15. 2. The payment of this sum was delayed after the receipt of the Agent's order, until the accounts had been thoroughly examined, and the advance made to the officials in question deducted.

3d. A third item is the refund of the incomes of confiscated jagheers to their respective owners, *Rs.* 26,315. 5. 3.

4th. Two visits of the Rajah of Dewass to Dhar, the one after his nephew's illness in June 1861, and the other to make the arrangements for the marriage, entailed an extra expenditure on the State of *Rs.* 9,641. 11.

2. These four extra items alone amount to *Rs.* 2,58,819. 15. 5., and were the sums expended on the Dhar and Doodee road by Lieutenant Penney, executive engineer, included, viz., 28,696 rupees, the extraordinary payment of the year would amount to *Rs.* 2,87,515. 15. 5.; deducting these unusual payments from the income, there would appear to be a clear

saving of Rs. 1,03,362. 3. 5., and as none of these expenses are likely to occur again, a saving of at least 75,000 rupees may be calculated on in the current year; from which all the expenses of the works on the Dhar and Doodee road will be defrayed, and thus the necessity of drawing on the balance in the Treasury will be avoided; and at the end of the year there ought to be a balance in favour of the State of more than 10 lakhs of rupees in the Treasury, being over two lakhs of rupees in excess of the amount ordered by his Excellency the Viceroy in letter from the Secretary to Government, Public Works Department, No. 3474, of date 27th September 1861, as the requisite amount to be in hand when Government shall see fit to make over the State to the Rajah.

3. With reference to the statement of debts due to the State, attached to the accounts, and marked A., you will perceive that the sum recovered during the year ending 5th June 1862 amounts to Rs. 63,696. 3. 3. Of this I reported in January last that 62,000 rupees had been collected, and recommended the appointment of a karkoon, to arrange for the recovery of the remainder. This was sanctioned, and after my return to Dhar the karkoon was appointed. I hope in my next letter to be able to send a favourable report of his labours.

4. In paragraph 6 of my letter, No. 33, of 30th January last, I mentioned that definite arrangements had not then been completed for the breaking off of all connection between the State and the two firms of Ramchunder Gunnesh and Rajasur Gunnesh. I have now, therefore, the honour to report that the State connection with both these firms has been completely broken off, and an agreement made with the former of the two to pay 8,000 rupees yearly in liquidation of the State's claim; the first instalment to be paid on the 31st of December 1862.

With the latter no arrangements have yet been come to for a further yearly payment, for the reason explained in paragraph 13 of my letter, No. 184, of date 27th August 1861, and also because the accounts have been so badly kept and mismanaged; the firm having been handed over from one manager to another so often, that now there is very great difficulty in proving its claims. There is a large sum returned in the accounts as outstanding balances due by villagers in the district, and to endeavour to find out the rights of these cases I appointed a punchayet to examine minutely all the accounts; this examination is still going on, and, until it is completed, I see no prospect of coming to any satisfactory termination, so have been unable to increase the instalment, already fixed, of 3,000 rupees yearly.

5. In addition to the debts formerly detailed in the Statement marked D., which accompanied my letter above quoted, I have included in the present list the debts of the thakoors of the Budnawur pergunnah, for all of which arrangements have been made for their payment by yearly instalments. These debts were not entered in the schedule forwarded with my letter above quoted, because they were outstanding balances of Tanka and unpaid advances due to the State, regarding which, until the accounts of the district had been thoroughly examined, it was uncertain what amount would be recoverable.

6. Another item of 4,000 rupees must be deducted from the recoverable debts, being the advance made by Captain Wood to Bheem Rao Bhonslay on his proceeding on leave in 1860, which sum, agreeably to the instructions conveyed in your letter, No. 1017, of date 7th instant, I have written off as irrecoverable by the State.

The balance of recoverable debts on 5th June 1862 stands thus: Rs. 4,60,707. 7. 3.; and of this sum arrangements have been made for the payment by instalment of Rs. 2,94,165. 7. 4.

It will be seen that the balance now shown as due to the State is very much larger than either that returned in my letter, No. 33, of 30th January last, or in my Report, No. 184, of date the 27th August 1861, in which, after the accounts had been thoroughly examined by an accountant (Pundit Surroop Narain), I reported a recoverable balance of Rs. 4,46,821. 10. 4.; whereas at that time there must have been due to the State Rs. 5,24,403. 10. 6. Of this sum Rs. 63,696. 3. 3. have been recovered, leaving due to the State the amount mentioned, Rs. 4,60,707. 7. 3. Of this probably between 30,000 rupees and 40,000 rupees will have to be deducted as irrecoverable, many of the debtors being insolvent, some dead, leaving no assets, and others not to be found; there will, however, still remain a recoverable balance of Rs. 4,20,707. 7. 3.

I regret that there should have been so great an error in my Report, No. 184, of 27th August 1861; but the confusion of the accounts of the State has rendered the discovery of all these debts a work of great difficulty, and I owe much to the serishtadar of the Mal Dufter, Venkutesh Bajerao, for finding out and informing me of all these claims; from the very first the Durbar has given me no assistance in this matter.

7. With reference to my letter, No. 33, of 30th January last, I have the honour to report that the marriage of the Rajah, therein mentioned, took place on the 20th March 1862.

The bride was the daughter of the late Doorgajee Rajah Mahadik (jagheerdar of the village of Tarilla, in the Deccan), regarding whom the Agent for Sirdars in the Deccan reported favourably.

Some of the lady's nearest relatives receive stipends from the Dhar State, and an allowance of 800 rupees monthly has been sanctioned for the khasgee expenditure.

8. Owing to the confusion attendant on the marriage ceremonies, little was done to further the education of the young chief until some time after my receiving charge of the office of Superintendent from Captain Wood on the 23d March.

I found that Captain Wood had completely changed the system of education which had been in force when I received charge of the office of Superintendent from Captain Creagh in May 1861, and which, by the direction of the late Agent, Governor General, Sir Richmond Shakespear, had been continued during my former tenure of office; and had made over to the Rajah the work of the district of Dhurrumpoorie, in order that he might, after hearing the cases read, affix his opinions on a fly-leaf and return them to the Superintendent for supervision.

Agreeably to the instructions conveyed in your letter, No. 302, of date the 10th April 1862, this system was continued, and I have steadily, and at all times, impressed upon the young chief the absolute necessity of his devoting as much time as possible to learning his work, and the way in which the administration of the State should be carried on. To further this object, I requested the Rajah to hear all the reports of the Dhurrumpoorie district, and issue the necessary orders before me. This he willingly agreed to, but owing to his ill health, and my, consequently, being unable to see him every day, I found the work of the district getting so hopelessly into arrears that I was obliged to give up the plan, and to leave the chief to give the orders himself, with the assistance of the dewan and other members of the Durbar. This is now done regularly.

The Rajah writes me occasional letters, in order that I may see the progress made in his studies, and I have continually made over to him cases in Cutcherry asking him to decide them, but, as mentioned in paragraph 3 of my letter, No. 33, of 30th January last, owing to his great want of physical energy, and to the debility attendant on ill health, he appears to find a difficulty in keeping his attention fixed on what is going on, and I extremely regret to report that his progress is not such as I hoped, and does not enable me to give that favourable report which Captain Wood, in paragraph 11 of his letter to your address, dated 17th February 1862, states that he thought that, from present appearance, he should be able to send in six months.

I do not consider the Rajah deficient in intellect or ability, for in short cases, in which he takes much interest, he can give his opinion freely and well, but his unfortunate deformity may, perhaps, be the source of that want of energy which has latterly, I am afraid, rather increased than otherwise, and which I must now deplore.

He is of a most amiable and willing disposition, and is generally most anxious to do as I propose, but his bad advisers (regarding whom I addressed you demi-officially, and who have been dismissed from Dhar), are probably answerable for much, and were certainly in a great measure to blame for the determined, though perhaps natural, opposition he for some time continued to make against the appointment of Raghoonath Narain as dewan.

9. Raghoonath Narain, about 10 years ago, came from his home in the Deccan, where he had studied at Poona in the English schools, and took service under the late Rajah of Dhar, by whom he was appointed Nazim Adawlut, and two years afterwards a vakeel. He was sent to attend on the Political Assistant at Bhopawur, and in that capacity was with Major Hutchinson at the time of the mutinies, and accompanied him to Mhow, returning with the force in 1858. He remained as Nizam Adawlut at Dhar until he proceeded on leave to Poona in February 1861. He has always borne the highest character with the British officers under whom he has served. Captain Wood reported him as the only man attached to the Dhar State fit for the important position of dewan, and, agreeably to your instructions, I appointed him dewan in May last (as reported in my letter to you, No. 133, of date the 20th May), on a salary of 250 rupees per mensem. The pergunnah of Koohsee was made over to him in order that he should learn his work thoroughly, and in July I made over to him the pergunnah of Nalcha also. He is now carrying on the duties of both those districts, and also the work of the kotwalee of Dhar.

10. I have every reason to be satisfied with Raghoonath Narain; he does his work well. I have not had one case of appeal from his decisions, and now that the ill feeling with which he was at first regarded by the young Rajah has somewhat worn away, I hope he will be able to do much towards inducing the chief to take more interest in his work, and strive harder to qualify himself for the duties of his station.

The opposition with which he was regarded by the young Rajah arose principally from the wish of the latter to have his maternal uncle, Mana Rao Mankur, appointed to the post; and also, because Raghoonath Narain failed in inducing the Rajah's young brother (a jagheerदार in the Deccan), to go to Dhar, on which mission he had been sent by me, at the earnest request of the Rajah and his uncle, the Rajah of Dewass, last year. I think that Ahmed Rao now sees how useless it is to offer such opposition to our wishes and advice on this subject, for latterly he has taken Raghoonath Narain into favour again and does everything through him.

11. I have steadily endeavoured to carry out to the best of my ability the instructions conveyed in paragraph 4 of your letter, No. 302, of date the 10th April last, and although the Rajah attends Cutcherry pretty regularly when not in ill health, I find great difficulty in inducing him to listen to the cases being carried on, or to give proper attention to the

work in hand. This want of energy has, I think, increased since his marriage, and I am convinced that he is encouraged in idleness by many of his personal attendants, who have no wish to see their chief clever enough to understand thoroughly and put a stop to their deceitful ways.

His health has improved during the last month, and will, I hope, continue to do so.

12. With reference to paragraph 7 of your letter, No. 302, above quoted, I have endeavoured as far as possible to carry out your wishes, and have appointed Lutchmun Bhow Nazim Adawlut, and Govind Wiswas Rao, to look after the accounts of the Durbar. These were two of the officials recommended by Captain Wood; but regarding the third, recommended by that officer for the appointment of Bukshee, Bheem Rao Bhonsla, I have, agreeably to your orders, informed him that, owing to his misconduct during the mutinies, you had ordered that he should neither be re-employed by nor receive any more pay from the Dhar State.

13. *Regarding the Land Settlement.*—In my letter, No. 115, of date the 22d April 1862, I detailed the state of the different districts and my proposition for their settlement. I will now, therefore, endeavour to show as briefly as possible the arrangements that have been concluded, agreeably to the instructions conveyed in your letter, No. 450, of date the 2d May last.

I should first mention that the Rajah and Dewan have both entered heartily into the new arrangements for giving the leases to the Wuttundar potails, although the practice is most objectionable to the Durbar in general.

14. The pergunnah of Dhar is in so much better order, and is so much better managed by the present kamasdar, Gunput Rao Trimbuc, that there has been less difficulty in its settlement than in any other; but the utter want of all trustworthy accounts for the years previous to the mutinies of 1857, and in many cases to the date of the present kamasdar's receiving charge of the office, has rendered it no easy matter to do justice to all parties.

In this pergunnah alone I find that, during the last 22 years, no less than 188,926 rupees have been granted as remission to the farmers of the village leases. Of this sum not 30,000 rupees have reached the villages, for, until the State was brought under British management, the remission was always given to the farmers, who, in no cases that I could discover, by personal inquiries from the potails and villagers, ever reduced their demands, but took from the ryots the full assessment.

The nominal revenue of this district for the last 10 years (not including the khasgee, of which no trustworthy accounts are procurable for more than two years), has been returned as Rs. 15,38,600. 6.

The full amount realised is Rs. 13,50,617. 11., remission having been given to the extent of Rs. 91,795. 12.; and of this Rs. 29,317. 7. since the State has been under British management.

The outstanding balances of former years amount to at present Rs. 96,136. 15., and of this sum 80,000 rupees may be considered as bad debts, and lost to the State.

In the present settlement of the district I have been in some cases obliged to reduce the assessment considerably, and in nearly all slightly, altogether to the extent of 5,000 rupees; but this can hardly in reality decrease the annual income, for no remission will be given. The leases have all been made out agreeably to the instructions conveyed in paragraph 5 of your letter, No. 450, above quoted, and are now in course of distribution to the potails; the Rajah presenting the lease to each, and receiving in return the kuboolyat.

15. Regarding the pergunnah of Budnawur I cannot report very favourably. The izara system had here worked great evils, and I found the people so distressed at the heavy rates of assessment, that I was obliged to reduce them to the extent of 2,000 rupees on the 20 villages. In this district the remission given had not been very great, but much had been demanded; consequently there are very large outstanding balances, of the realisation of the greater part of which I see little or no prospect.

The accounts of these villages are in a very bad, unsatisfactory state; in some cases there are none to be found, in others the izardar gives in one set, the putwaree a second, the potail a third, and the kamasdar a fourth, all totally different. In these cases (which have occurred more or less in all the districts) I have given the villages into the charge of the potails, and told them I would settle the terms of the leases after the lands had been measured, and I had again visited the places personally.

16. This system of measuring the villages is one of the best criterions I have had to act on, and to guide me as to the real value of the land; but even that could not be trusted too far, as the rough way in which the measurements are taken, the impossibility of keeping a continual check on the officials engaged in the work, leave great room for speculation and errors; but I believe that, in most cases, the measurements were more correct than the accounts; and as I have now appointed putwarees (who have each had to pass an examination as to their capabilities of keeping accounts, &c.) to each village, I hope that should any mistakes have been made before the term of the leases expires, they will all have been discovered, and can be rectified then.

17. In Dhurrumpoorie, although I myself explained to the potails the proposed new arrangements for the settlement, I found some difficulty in inducing the heads of some of the

the small Bheel villages to come forward and take the leases at all, and none of them could be induced to take a longer lease than 10 or 12 years; the rest of the potails came forward readily enough, and before I left the district, on the 6th of June last, all the rates had been fixed both in Dhurrumpoorie and in the adjoining small mahuls of Teehree and Bulkhere.

In Teehree it was with great reluctance the potails would take leases on any terms; nearly the whole district is desolate, covered with jungle and thinly populated; the villages were, many of them, plundered and burnt by Tantia Topee and his force in 1858, and the inhabitants scattered in every direction; since then they have not returned to their villages because the Dhar State continued to levy from the Izardars the full amount of the revenue of those villages according to their agreements, although there is no revenue; and until they are re-built and re-peopled there will be none.

I have been able to do but very little regarding the settlement of any of the waste lands, as I found great difficulty in inducing any one to take leases on any terms. The district of Bulkhere has so much good soil that the potails were ready enough to take the leases.

The Mahul of Jehangeerpore only became khalsa on the 5th of June 1862, and no accounts at all trustworthy are procurable. I have therefore directed the kamasdar to endeavour to find out the capabilities of the district as much as possible, and, until I receive his report, the villages will remain khalsa. The land revenue is very small, there being no large villages; the principal revenue is derived from the Sayer and Abkaree, which have this year been farmed, for the former 901 rupees, and the latter 875 rupees.

The whole district was last year farmed for 2,301 rupees.

18. I have everywhere in all the districts told the potails and ryots that the Rajah is quite satisfied with the terms of these leases, and has agreed to act up to them; and in each of the leases it is expressly stated that the Rajah promises no changes shall be made until the term of their lease expires.

19. In Koochsee I did not meet with the difficulties I was led to expect, for though the information given me by the State officials was by no means trustworthy, yet, on my proceeding to the district in May last, all the koombees, lirwees, potails, and nearly all the chief men of the district assembled at my camp at Loharee, and expressed themselves perfectly ready to agree to any terms I fixed. They, many of them, brought up their accounts, and, on comparing them with those of the kamasdar, I found that, in the Kusba Koochsee, nearly every man had taken possession of, and brought under cultivation, very much more land (in many cases twice as much) than was put down to his name in the old leases. There appeared to have been no attempt at any sort of settlement for the last 20 years; some people paid jumma on their lands at one rate, some at another; apparently each did as suited him best.

A very incomplete system of field lease appeared to be in vogue, but there was no regularity of any sort. I have therefore arranged that each cultivator should receive a lease for the land he holds, and pay rent for the whole according to the rates of assessment then fixed by me. This they all agreed to willingly, and as soon as the measurements, which have been delayed by the rains, are complete, I look forward to an increase in the revenue of the district of about 4,000 rupees. With this I do not think any man will have cause for dissatisfaction, as I engaged on the part of the Dhar State that these leases should have no retrospective effect; but, whatever benefit the cultivators had reaped from the extra land they held, they should retain up to the end of this last year, and only pay jumma on the whole from the 5th of June 1862.

20. *The Pergunnah of Nalcha.*—From the meagre statistics, and the being unable to trust the accounts either of the farmers, zemindars, or State officials, I have been obliged to leave three of the largest villages of the district until the measurements are complete. The rates of assessment not being very high, I do not think there will be any decrease in the income; on the contrary, at present there is an increase shown on the average of the last five years of 725 rupees.

21. As directed by you, the villages of Neerumpoor, Muhrar, have all been kept khalsa.

22. In paragraph 9 of my letter, No. 33, of 30th January last, I mentioned that the reduction in the rates of the Sayer at Dhar would cause a deficit in the revenue under that head to the amount of 3,000 rupees for the year 1861–62, the right of collection having been farmed for 9,000 rupees. I have now the honour to report that the Sayer of Dhar has been farmed for 12,001 rupees, and in the other districts there is also an increase shown of 1,103 rupees, making a total increase of 4,104 rupees for the year 1862–63.

Under the head of Abkaree there is also an increase shown of Rs. 3,920. 11. in the different districts.

23. The commencement of the road between Dhar and Doodee has, I think, already had a beneficial effect on the traffic of the district, for the road dues from Doodee to the Buduawud boundary show an increase of 1,700 rupees, and when the road is completed down the ghâts (and Lieutenant Penny, Executive Engineer, informs me he hopes that the whole will be ready and opened to Doodee by the end of next rains), I hope that a considerable increase in the road dues will ensue.

24. The opium dues were farmed last year for 16,500 rupees, and as yet I have only received offers up to 14,000 rupees. This I have declined to accept, and the collections are now khalsa.

25. Captain Wood, in paragraph 1 of his letter to your address, dated 26th February 1862, informed you of the number of boundary disputes pending, as shown in my letter, No. 186, of date the 12th instant. The number mentioned was incorrect, and I had the honour to report that the two largest and of greatest importance were finally settled by the Political Assistant, Western Malwa, and myself, on 10th and 12th May last at Borda and Mooltan. Four of the other small disputes in the district have also been arranged.

(A.)—STATEMENT of RECOVERABLE DEBT due to the DHAR STATE.

Balance shown in the Statement D., annexed to Letter, No. 184, of date 27th August 1861, Recoverable on 22d August 1861.	Recovered during the Year ending 5th June 1862.	Recoverable Balance remaining due to the State.	Amount for which Arrangements have been made for Payment by Instalments.	REMARKS.
1.	2.	3.	4.	
<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	
4,46,821 10 4	63,696 3 3	4,60,707 7 3	2,94,165 7 4	The difference between Column 1 and 3 is ex- plained in paragraph 6 of accompanying letter.
				H. C. E. W.
Add debts owed by the Rangra Thakoors of Budnawur, for which payments by instalments have been fixed.		69,723 15 1	69,723 15 1	For the recovery of the debt owed by the Rangras, annual instalments have been fixed for the liquida- tion of Rs. 69,723. 15. 1.
GRAND TOTAL - - - Rs.		5,30,431 6 4	3,63,889 6 5	

Dhar, }
30 August 1862. }

(signed) H. C. E. Ward,
Superintendent of Dhar.

1045.

H 4

CASH ACCOUNT of the DHAR TREASURIES for the Year 1861-62--continued.

[illegible]

VII. PUBLIC DEBT.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															
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CASH ACCOUNT OF THE DHAR TREASURIES for the Year 1861-62—continued.

H E A D I N G.	T O T A L.	A D J U S T E D.				U N A D J U S T E D.				T O T A L.			
		A r r e a r C h a r g e s.		F o r 1861-62.	A r r e a r C h a r g e s.		F o r 1861-62.	A r r e a r C h a r g e s.		F o r 1861-62.	T O T A L.		
		F o r f o r m e r Y e a r.	F o r 1860-61.		F o r f o r m e r Y e a r.	F o r 1860-61.		F o r f o r m e r Y e a r.	F o r 1860-61.				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.		
Brought forward - - - - -	Rs. a. p. 9,29,763 1 8	-	-	Rs. a. p. -	-	-	-	-	-	Rs. a. p. -	Rs. a. p. 2,46,227 14 -		
F. Civil Services—continued.													
III. LAW AND JUSTICE:													
1	-	-	-	1,260 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	-	-	-	144 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	-	-	-	60 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Miscellaneous:													
	-	-	-	1,953 4 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	-	-	-	3,417 4 6	-	-	-	-	-	3,417 4 6	-		
IV. POLICE:													
1	-	-	-	592 8 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
3	-	-	-	240 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
4	-	-	-	240 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
5	-	-	-	26,345 14 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
6	-	-	-	41,925 5 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
7	-	-	-	14,024 8 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
8	-	-	-	11,061 15 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	-	-	-	1,757 1 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	-	-	-	96,207 5 4	-	-	-	-	-	96,207 5 4	-		

V. EDUCATION.	
1	Pay of the schoolmasters, contingencies, stationery, &c. - - - -
	Total - - - -
VI. SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES, AND GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE AND OTHER PURPOSES.	
1	Pension of Awcheetra Powar, from 1st May 1861 to 31st May 1862 - -
2	Pension of the widow of Brijloll Jendar, from 1st March 1861 to 29th February 1862 - - - -
	Total - - - -
VII. MISCELLANEOUS.	
1	Extra expenditure entailed by the two visits of the Rajah of Dewass to Dhar - - - -
2	Reward for the destruction of wild beasts - - - -
3	Dhar share of rebuilding the cantonment, Sirdarpore - - - -
4	Refund of income tax - - - -
<i>Purchase of Dead Stock.</i>	
1	Price of medicine purchased from Bombay medical stores - - -
2	Price of country medicine used in the dispensary - - - -
3	Price of medicine purchased for the Durbar cattle - - - -
4	Price of cloth purchased by the Durbar - - - -
	Total - - - -
VIII. CIVIL CONTINGENCIES. SPECIAL AND TEMPORARY. COMMISSION.	
1	Amount expended on the marriage ceremonies of his Highness the Rajah of Dhar, as sanctioned by the Agent Governor General, <i>vide</i> letter, No. 85, of date 10th February 1862 - -
	Carried forward - - - -

										27,911	13	7
										5,698	6	3
										2,04,309	15	8
										1,11,468	2	11
										3,15,778	2	7
										9,29,763	1	8
GRAND TOTAL										Rs.		
										3,15,778	2	7
										4,60,707	7	3
										7,76,485	9	10
TOTAL										Rs.		
										69,723	15	1
										8,46,209	8	11
TOTAL										Rs.		

(signed) H. C. E. Ward,
Superintendent of Dhar.

Dhar,
30 August 1862. }

From *C. U. Aitchison*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Agent, Governor General, Central India; (No. 969), dated 21 October 1862.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 9th ultimo, No. 31, submitting an Account Current of the Dhar State for the year ending 15th June 1862, and, in reply, to express the general satisfaction of the Governor General in Council with the financial results of the past year's administration as therein exhibited.

2. As regards the disposal of the surplus, his Excellency in Council sanctions the expenditure on works of public utility of two-thirds of the surplus; the remaining third of the surplus being held available either to meet unexpected demands to complete public works, or to be added to the balance in hand, according to circumstances.

3. His Excellency in Council confirms the appointment of Raghoonath Narain to the post of Dewan, and approves of the exclusion from all employment of Bheem Rao Bhonsla, an associate of the rebel minister, Ram Chunder Rao.

4. The Governor General in Council has received with regret your unfavourable report respecting the education of the young Chief. His Excellency in Council is satisfied that Lieutenant Ward is not to blame for the little progress made by the Rajah, which cannot be attributed to any want of exertion on Lieutenant Ward's part. His Excellency in Council approves of the instructions which you have issued for the guidance of Lieutenant Ward, as reported in your letter, dated the 6th ultimo, No. 42.

(Political Department.—No. 18.)

Sir *C. Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 16 March 1863.

THE letter of your Excellency's Government, dated the 22nd November 1862 (No. 126), encloses a correspondence respecting the young Rajah of Dhar, together with Lieutenant Ward's report on the affairs of that State for the year 1861-2.

2. Her Majesty's Government learns with much regret from these papers that all efforts to qualify the young Rajah for the future conduct of the administration have been hitherto attended with so little success. His incapacity appears to result from constitutional infirmity rather than from vicious inclinations, and, as Lieutenant Ward reports that there has recently been a favourable change in the state of his health, I am still willing to hope that the continued exertions of the superintendent, aided by the beneficial influence of the new minister, may yet render him competent to discharge the duties of his station. I shall await with interest the further reports upon this subject.

3. I learn with satisfaction that Lieutenant Ward is not to be blamed for the discontinuance of his predecessor's system of instructing the Rajah, and that the little progress made by the young Chief cannot be attributed to any want of exertion on the part of the superintendent.

4. Of the appointment of Raghoonath Narain to the post of Dewan, I entirely approve. Major Meade has very properly pointed out that, whilst it is desirable that a friendly feeling should be established between him and the Rajah, he must never be allowed to forget that he is the subject, nor is he to presume upon his position. It is satisfactory to find that, so far, he promises in this, as well as in other respects, to justify the good opinion entertained of him.

5. The exclusion from all employment of Bheem Rao Bhonsla, who took so prominent a part in the rebellious proceedings of 1857, is also approved.

6. The

6. The financial results of the year now under review are satisfactory. Independently of extraordinary receipts and charges, there appears to be a surplus of at least 75,000 rupees, of which you have authorised the expenditure of two-thirds on works of public utility, the remaining third being laid aside for unexpected demands to complete public works, or to be added to the balance in hand, which is upwards of three lacs. This arrangement is sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government.

7. It is also a subject of congratulation that the connection between the Dhar Government and the two banking firms of Ramchunder Gunnesh and Rajasir Gunnesh has been finally broken off, and that an agreement has already been made with the former for the liquidation of the State's claims by means of yearly instalments.

8. Lieutenant Ward's proceedings, in effecting a new land settlement, appear to have been as successful as could have been expected under the difficulties with which he has had to contend.

(Foreign Department, Political.—No. 20.)

The Governor General of India to Sir *Charles Wood*, dated Simla, 5 May 1863.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy of a letter from the Agent to the Governor General for Central India, submitting a report on the affairs of the Dhar State for the past year, together with a copy of my orders in reply.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Elgin & Kincardine.*

(Foreign Department, Political.—No. 40 D. of 1863.)

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent Governor General for Central India to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, c.B., Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General; dated Indore Residency, Camp Beora, 14 March 1863.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for submission to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, copy of a letter, No. 36, of date 24th ultimo, from the Superintendent of Dhar, reporting on the present condition of the affairs of that State.

2. Paragraphs 2 and 3 of this document refer to the still unsatisfactory progress made by the Chief in qualifying himself for the independent charge of his State, though Lieutenant Ward observes that his health has of late been better, that he has within the last six months exerted himself more and really worked harder with that object, and that he is certainly better acquainted with the way in which State affairs are carried on.

I have already in my previous reports about this young Chief stated fully, for his Excellency's information, that the principal and most hopeless feature in his case was the utter prostration of his physical and mental energies, the natural accompaniment of a weak and deformed body and defective organisation of brain; and however willing the youth may be, when his health improves for a time, to endeavour to exert himself and to take an active interest in the affairs of his country, any real and permanent improvement in this respect must necessarily be extremely gradual.

The course adopted by Lieutenant Ward, mentioned in paragraphs 8 and 9, of taking the Chief with him in his visits to the districts during the cold season, was in every respect judicious, and calculated to benefit the Chief:

and I feel assured that nothing has been omitted on his part to stimulate the Rajah's energies and to induce him to apply himself more earnestly to learn the duties of his position.

3. Paragraphs 4 to 7 refer to the Dewan, and notice the few other members of the Durbar at Dhar who are qualified, in any way, to aid the Raja by advice or to render him assistance in any emergency,

The Dewan has fully justified his selection for the post; but it is a subject for much regret that, though the Chief respects and has confidence in him, he has not overcome his personal dislike to him, and makes no attempt to conceal that he can never do so.

As there is no other person at Dhar who is in any way fitted for the situation, the existence of this strong feeling of antipathy on the part of the Rajah towards the only man qualified for the Dewanship, is even now unfortunate, and would be fatal to the perpetuance of a fair administration in the event of our present supervision of the State being relinquished.

I am satisfied that the cause of his Chief's dislike to him is in no way traceable to the Dewan's demeanour or conduct; but that it is to be ascribed to the influence and machinations of two or three disappointed intriguers who have got the ear of the weak prince.

4. Paragraphs 10 to 15 refer to the results of the recent Land Settlement, which are satisfactory, and to the favourable prospects of the present harvest; also to certain proposed police arrangements in the Kooksie Pergunnah, which appear to be called for, for the better security of the inhabitants, and to protect their crops from plunder.

I will direct Lieutenant Ward to submit without delay the arrangements he proposes with this latter object.

5. Paragraphs 16 and 17 refer to a very troublesome case, which I found awaiting settlement on my taking charge of the Agency, viz., the claim to certain Dami Huks of the Mundloi of Buktghur against the Rangra Thakoors of Budnawur, under Sir J. Malcolm's arrangement of 1819.

This claim was, after much consideration and a protracted investigation, decided in favour of the Mundloi by Sir C. Wade in 1842-43, and a full report of the decision was submitted to Government (the Thakoors having appealed against its enforcement) by the Resident, with his letter as per margin.*

Sir C. Wade's order in the case remained in partial abeyance, owing to the inability or disinclination of the Dhar State to enforce its execution, till 1856-57, when the question was reopened by Sir R. Hamilton, since when it has remained undisposed of.

As Sir C. Wade's verdict was undoubtedly final, having been tacitly concurred in by Government, it appeared to me, as I believe it had done to my predecessor, that, under no consideration, should its justice have been called in question 13 or 14 years after its promulgation, and I accordingly deemed it my duty to order its enforcement without further delay.

The Thakoors having been allowed for 19 years to evade the payments thus decreed against them, were naturally indisposed to comply with my injunction for their future regular discharge, and for the liquidation of a portion of the arrears, but I have no doubt that a little firmness and tact on Lieutenant Ward's part will prevent their giving further trouble in the case.

6. Paragraphs 18 and 19 refer to the recent adjustment of certain boundary disputes in which the Dhar State was concerned, and to others awaiting settlement.

From the list of these cases appended to the report, it appears that 21 have been adjusted during the past year, and that nine remain unsettled, which, however, Lieutenant Ward hopes to dispose of within the next two months.

7. Paragraphs 20 and 21 refer to the recovery of old debts due to the State and the farming of the opium dues, which require no comment.

8. Paragraphs 22 to 25 refer to the removal from office of certain of the State officials for unfitness or misconduct, and the measures adopted by Lieutenant Ward to introduce a system of check into the District Office books and accounts, in which he has been ably assisted by the Dewan.

9. Paragraph

* Nos. 13-103, dated
7 February 1843.

9. Paragraph 27 refers to the Dhar and Dodee-road now in progress, and the completion of which may be expected during the next monsoon.

Lieutenant Ward is of opinion that the extension of this road north of Dhar, to Jowra and Mundissore, as originally proposed, will not draw the traffic of that quarter through the Dhar State, instead of Indore, as it was expected to do.

The road will, however, be an important one, especially if the junction of Dhar with Mhow, by a metalled line, can be accomplished.

Nothing final can be settled regarding it till Lieutenant Bedford, the Executive Engineer, submits plans and estimates for its construction, which he cannot, I regret to say, do till he can afford time from the Dhar and Dodee section, on which he is now fully engaged.

10. In conclusion, I am sorry to have to report that Lieutenant Ward informs me that his medical adviser has warned him against remaining in this country beyond next May, when he proposes applying for leave on medical certificate to visit England. He has become so well acquainted with the young Chief and all the officials, as well as the affairs generally of the State, and has, on the whole, managed the latter so creditably, that his being compelled to leave his post is a subject of much regret to me, but the state of his health for some time past renders a change absolutely necessary.

LIST of Boundary Disputes between Dhar and Neighbouring States.

DHAR STATES.		Districts and Villages with which the Disputes were Existing.	REMARKS.
Districts.	Villages.		
1. Budnawar	Borda Talka Moolthan	Tanda-Talka Peepulkoota of Rutlam.	Settled by Lieutenants Bradford and Ward, 7 and 10 May 1862.
2. Ditto	Nurkhera Talka ditto	Soojlana of Sillanah	Settled by Lieutenants Bradford and Ward, 12 May 1862.
3. Dhar	Panda	Hummurtia of Umyherah	Settled by Major Cumming and Lieutenant Ward, 10 Nov. 1862.
4. Ditto	Beejoir	Sagrade of Depalpore (Indore)	Settled by Lieutenants Berkeley and Ward, 20 November 1862.
5. Ditto	ditto	Sahawda ditto	Settled by Lieutenants Berkeley and Ward, 24 November 1862.
6. Ditto	Roonglia	Sewgurh ditto	Settled by Lieutenants Berkeley and Ward, 22 November 1862.
7. Ditto	Arroda	Chandere ditto	Settled by Lieutenants Berkeley and Ward, 25 November 1862.
8. Ditto	Moosawda	Khyrode of Dhar Purgunah	Settled by Lieutenant Ward in December 1862, and January 1863.
9. Ditto	Tarode	Punchmoorkhee of Budnawur Pergunah.	
10. Ditto	Karroda	Dutteegarrah of Budnawur Pergunah	
11. Ditto	Parlia	Seetapant of Dhar Pergunah	Settled by order of Captain Wood, March 1862.
12. Budnawar	Bheewarkhur Talka Moolthan.	Kusba Budnawar	Settled by order of Lieutenant Ward, 12 December 1862.
13-14. Ditto	Bukhutgurh Talka	ditto ditto	Settled by order of Lieutenant Ward, 13 December 1862.
15. Ditto	Palee Baroda Kanoongoe of Budnawars Jahageer.	Talka Moolthan	Settled by order of Lieutenant Ward, 15 December 1862.
16. Ditto	ditto ditto	Talka Kuchee Baroda	ditto ditto.
17. Dhar	Pulwarah	Rasumgarah Talka Bukhutgurh	Settled by Lieutenant Ward, 16 December 1862.
18. Budnawar	Kunwassah	Boogarah of Budnawar	Settled by Lieutenant Ward, 17 December 1862.
19. Dhurrumpore	Tarapoor	Chuttree of Tij Sing Bhoomia	Settled by Lieutenant Ward, 10 April 1862.
20. Ditto	Bhowania of Baltee Sing's.	Soondrel of Dhurrumporee	ditto ditto.
21. Nalchia	Jeerapoorial	Alee of Nalchia (jahageer)	Settled by Lieutenant Ward, 19 January 1863.
22. Ditto	Googlee	Sonpoot of Nalcha Bhoomia Bhowanee Sing.	Settled by Lieutenant Ward, 20 January 1863.

LIST of Boundary Disputes between Dhar and Neighbouring States remaining Unsettled, 21 February 1863.

DHAR STATES.		Districts and Villages with which the Disputes were Existing.	REMARKS.
Districts.	Villages.		
Dhurrumpoore Pergunnah.	1. Erwas - -	Rama Dama of Dhurrumpoore	Regarding these disputes the orders of the Agent Governor General have been received, but have not been carried out yet, pending a reference made to H. H. Holkar, from the Indore Office.
Ditto - -	2. Rhama Dhama - -	Tej Sing Bhoomia, Jamnia (Motee Sing Bhoomah).	
Ditto - -	3. Barode Poora Bhoonia Oodey Sing.	Muksee and Myda of Cholee (Illaka Mahessur Holkar).	
Ditto - -	4. Chukupoor - -	Kuroda of Sohanee.	
Kooksee - -	5. Sadachee - -	Kurwanda of Koondee (Cheekuldar)	
Ditto - -	6. Unbueerah - -	Dengera of Cheekuldar.	
Ditto - -	7. Khair Khodra - -	Sosaree - ditto.	
Dhar - -	8. Arroda Kote - -	Chandere of Depalpoor Illaka Holkar.	

Mentioned in List forwarded by Captain Wood with his Letter of 17 February 1862.

Dhar Pergunnah	Neekpoor - -	Aheerkherra Purgunah of Dietthan (H. H. Scindiah).	These disputes were all settled by Baboo Umerlall in 1859-60, or before that period.
Dhurrumpoor - -	Bhatpoora - -	Doel of Dhurrumpoorree - -	
Nalchia - -	Sekarpore - -	Kunreepoora of Nalcha - -	
Ditto - -	Goalpoora - -	Sorepoora - ditto - -	
Ditto - -	Sorepoora - -	Kakulpoora Purgunah Nalchia - -	
Ditto - -	Gianpoora - -	Jalree - ditto - ditto - -	
Kooksee - -	Dhuntulao - -	Amjheera - - - - -	

Camp, Kotra,
24 February 1863.

(signed) H. C. E. Ward,
Superintendent, Dhar.

(No. 36 of 1863.)

From Lieutenant H. C. E. Ward, Superintendent of Dhar, to Major R. J. Meade, Agent Governor General for Central India, Indore; dated Camp, Kotra, 24 February 1863.

Sir,

A YEAR having now elapsed since Captain Wood reported that the Rajah of Dhar would not, on attaining his majority in April 1862, be fit to assume the government of his own territory, and in my letter, No. 202, of date the 30th August 1862, I having reported that the Chief had not made that progress which I had hoped he would, I have now the honour to forward a report of the state of affairs here at the present time.

2. In para. 8 of my letter above quoted, I mentioned the apparent causes for the little progress made by the Chief in qualifying himself to assume charge of the State; those causes still remain. I do not think his physical energy will ever be greater than it is at present; during the last six months he has enjoyed better health, and has consequently been able to devote more time and attention to his work.

3. Assisted by the Dewan, Raghoonath Narain, the Chief has latterly, since the date of my last report, really laboured to fit himself to assume the government of his State; and as the work of the whole district is now carried on through the Dewan, nearly all the affairs of the State may be said to be under the direct personal management of the Chief. He still attends regularly in my cutchery, and, with constant practice, he reads and writes better than he used to do, and is certainly better acquainted with the way in which the affairs of the State are carried on than he was at the date of my last report, since which time he has worked much harder than he did before. I still, however, have to regret the same difficulty of fixing his attention to any long case, and the want of physical energy mentioned in my letter above quoted.

4. As regards Raghoonath Narain, I am sorry to have to report that the Rajah does not look upon him as favourably as I could wish; he works with him regularly, and transacts all

all public business through him; but, as mentioned to you demi-officially, he tells me he never can look upon him as a friend.

5. There is no one in Dhar better, or indeed so well, fitted for the position of Dewan as Raghoonath Narain; nearly all the work of the State is done through him now, and it is done regularly and well; appeals from his decision are of very rare occurrence, and his position is now so well established that, as long as he is supported by the British Government, intrigues would, I think, find it difficult to influence his status at Dhar.

I have endeavoured as much as possible to associate him with the Rajah in every consultation on the affairs of the State.

6. One circumstance here is to be greatly deplored, and that is, that among the members of the Durbar there are so very few who can really give the Rajah good advice, or render him valuable assistance in any emergency. Mamma Rao Mankur (the maternal uncle of the Rajah), whom the Chief was most anxious to have appointed Dewan, is certainly not in any way fit for the position, or for that of an adviser.

7. Bapoo Sahib Moongeeewalla is a straightforward, well-minded man, who would do his best to give the Chief proper advice; but unfortunately, owing to the failure of the marriage negotiations with his Highness Scindiah, in which he was engaged, the Chief has no confidence in him, and will hardly speak to him.

The Bukshee, Bulwant Rao, will, I am sure, always do his best to give good advice, for he has the welfare of the State at heart; but regarding the other officers of the Durbar, I can say little or nothing in their favour.

8. During this cold season the Rajah has accompanied me in my visits to the districts, and has, I hope, benefited by them, for I have taken every opportunity of endeavouring to induce him to take an interest in the different places we visited, and of explaining to him the advantages of occasionally inspecting personally the districts some distance from Dhar.

9. This opportunity has been taken for the presentation of the leases, by the Rajah, to those patils who have had the management of their villages since the commencement of this year, but, being so far from Dhar, had not been called in to receive the leases.

10. Regarding the pecuniary affairs of the State I need not trouble you, as their exact state is shown in the Budget Estimates for 1862-63, and the ensuing year, which have been forwarded to you.

11. With reference to last year's land settlement, the amount of the leases is being paid up regularly, and I hope that in few, if any, cases will there be deficient payments. The people appear well satisfied with the rates fixed, and I have heard no complaints of excess of assessment. In Kooksee, where I have been for the last 10 days, a considerable increase in the revenue is the result of the new settlement, altogether 3,813 rupees; but in fixing the leases here I have made a deduction of 15 per cent. on the new rates, to allow of a bad harvest or other "afut asman," for which no remissions will be allowed.

12. The new rates will come into force, in the Kooksee district, from the commencement of this year.

The system of giving field leases to the cultivators has here given great satisfaction.

13. The prospects of the grain harvest for this year are very favourable; the rain crop was most plentiful; but in some places the opium crops are smaller than usual, owing to the scarcity of water, sufficient rain not having fallen to fill all the tanks.

In the Kooksee district, where the crops are all watered from wells, this scarcity will not be felt so much.

14. This district is capable of very great improvement; there are thousands of beegahs of good land lying waste: the population does not appear to be so scanty as it is in other districts, and the Tirvees and Koonbees appear to be a most enterprising class of people. Were a few thousand rupees judiciously expended, a considerable increase in the revenue might certainly be anticipated. I have directed the Kamasdar to inquire and report in what places wells are most required, and on his informing me I will send in a supplementary budget estimate for these expenses, as well as for those proposed in my letter, No. 32, of date 9th instant.

15. In this visit to Kooksee I have been much struck also with the many difficulties the State has here to contend against.

The land is capable of great improvement, and the people are enterprising, but their energies are cramped.

In the first place, the undefined boundary line between Kooksee and Chiculda, the two districts having been divided by alternate villages between Holkar and Dhar; and, secondly, the close proximity to Bang-Johut and Allee Rajpoor, hilly districts full of ravines, the strongholds of thieves and plunderers, afford the greatest facilities to robbers to make raids from one district into another; and although the system of inter-districtal police now in force under Major Cumming has been productive of great benefits, still an improved system of police is very much required in Kooksee itself, where the want

of cultivation may in some measure be accounted for by the dread the people have of seeing their crops plundered without their having the power to protect them.

There are now in the Kooksee district two jemadars and 49 sepoy; these, I think, should be slightly increased, and properly distributed throughout the districts; but as no room in the Estimates for the coming year has been left for any such increase of the expenditure, I have therefore now the honour to request your sanction to the proposal, and, should it meet with your approval, I will submit a detailed statement of the arrangements I propose making.

16. The claim of the Thakoor of Buckutghur for Damee, from the other Rangra Thakoors of Budnawur, has been, I trust, finally settled. On receipt of your letter, No. 1039, of date 14th August 1862, ordering that the decision of Sir Claude Wade, given in 1843, should be considered final, I summoned all the Thakoors concerned to Dhar, and informed them that they must pay this due. I also told them that, in order to make their burden as light as possible, it was decided that the ten years' arrears paid by the Dhar State to the Mundloee, from A.D. 1842 to 1852, should not be claimed from them, and also that the amount of the claim for the last ten years, from 1852 to 1862, should be divided into three shares, thus—

One to be paid by the Dhar State,
One to be given up by the Mundloee,
And one to be paid by them.

17. In spite of these concessions in their favour, they still persisted in refusing to pay; however, on my demanding the first instalment, in liquidation of their share of the arrears, they have paid it. There will probably be some little difficulty in recovering the first regular payment of the Damee (due at the same time as their Tanka to the Dhar State, viz., 5th June 1863), which the Kamasdar has been ordered to recover; but I do not anticipate the necessity of having recourse to any stronger measures of coercion than those used in enforcing the payment of the first instalment in liquidation of the arrears. For that purpose I sent out to the Budnawur district 30 sowars of the late Bhopawur Levy, and ordered the Kamasdar, in cases of non-payment, to take possession of one village in each Illaka, the revenue of which would cover the amount of the instalment. Perhaps now that the Thakoors see the payment will be enforced they may not give so much trouble.

18. Regarding the boundary disputes requiring settlement, mentioned in paragraph 25 of my letter above quoted, I have the honour to report that, in November last, the dispute between the village of Humuttia of Anjheera, and Panda of Dhar, was finally settled by Major Cumming, Bheel Agent, and myself; also that four disputes between H. H. Holkar's district of Deypalpoor and Dhar were definitely settled by Lieutenant Berkeley, Officiating 2d Assistant Agent Governor General for Central India, and myself in the same month.

In addition to these, nearly all the other disputes between the Thakoors of Budnawur, the Bheel Chiefs of Nalcha and Durumpooree, and the Dhar State, have been finally settled.

19. I have the honour to annex herewith a list showing the number settled, those at the present date requiring settlement, and those erroneously enumerated in the list forwarded with Captain Wood's letter of 25th February last; a reference to this will show that eight disputes still remain unsettled: of these four are between the pergunnalis of Kooksee and Chiculda, for the settlement of which, by mutual agreement, arrangements have been made by the Kamasdars of the two districts. Those of importance in the Dhurumpooree district I hope to settle myself before returning to Dhar from this town; I trust, therefore, that before the end of April there will be few or no disputes remaining.

20. The recovery of the old debts due to the State proceeds gradually, and arrangements are daily being made with some of the numerous debtors; but I do not anticipate more will be recovered than estimated in the Budget for the year 1862-63. The instalments due by the Thakoors of Budnawur for the year 1861-62 have all been paid up, with the exception of that of the Mundloee of Bukhutgurh; and in lieu of his "kist," I have carried to the credit of the State the third share of the Damee Huks, payable by the State to the Thakoor, 2,100 rupees.

Regarding the firms of Ramchunder and Rajasir Gunnesh, I have the honour to report the payment of their instalments of 8,000 and 3,000 rupees respectively, and the increase of the instalment of the latter firm to 4,000 rupees yearly.

21. In paragraph 24 of my letter above quoted I mentioned that the collections of the opium dues had been kept "Khalsa." I am glad now to be able to report that they have been farmed for 17,150 rupees, an increase of 650 rupees over the amount received last year.

22. With reference to the arrangements reported in paragraph 12 of my letter above quoted, I regret to have to inform you, that I was obliged to direct the Nazim Adawlut Bhow to give in his resignation of that office, he having prevaricated to such an extent, when giving evidence before me, as to preclude all possibility of my putting any further confidence in him.

In his room I propose appointing Bazajee Narain, now Kamasdar of Kooksee, an old servant of the State, formerly Bukshce at Dhar, whose work I think entitles him to look for promotion, and it being the Rajah's wish that he should receive the vacant place.

23. I have

23. I have also been compelled to accept the resignation tendered by Appa Dhondeo, Kamasdār of Budnawar; he was so utterly useless that his leaving is no loss to the State, except that it entails the payment of his pension, which was not drawn while he was performing the duties and receiving the pay of Kamasdār.

24. It is with extreme regret that I have to report the discovery of a series of frauds and deceptions in the Dhar district Cutcherry, in which the Kamasdār of Dhar, Gunput Rao Trimback (whose name I have once or twice brought to your favourable notice) is so much implicated that I have been obliged to dismiss him from his appointment; this is most unfortunate, as he is an officer of great ability, and has done good service to the State, both in the settlement of the district and in clearing up the intricacies of the old Khasgee accounts.

25. On my visiting the districts, I have, in conjunction with the dewan, carefully examined the Cutcherry books and the Putwaree's village accounts, and am glad to be able to report a considerable improvement. I hope that this system of keeping the village and district accounts in proper order may ultimately be of great benefit to the State. I have continually endeavoured to impress upon the Rajah and the Durbar the urgent necessity of regularity in this matter, and also of the advantage of occasional examination of all the books and papers, to see that the orders now issued are now properly carried out.

I have been ably assisted by Raghoonath Narain, who will, I hope, endeavour to continue and improve upon the system now in force.

26. I have been as yet unable to make any particular mention of the Pergunnah of Neemunpoor Mukrar, having delayed doing so until I had visited the district; this, owing to my own ill health during this cold season, I have as yet been unable to do, but I hope to be able to proceed there early in next month, and will then send you as full an account of the district as I can obtain on the spot.

27. Regarding the advantages to the Dhar State of the extension of the road now being constructed between Dhar and Doodee, further northwards than Dhar, I need not trouble you at any length, having addressed you so lately on the subject. I am afraid it will not be of the value anticipated, in the way of drawing the traffic north of Dhar through that territory, instead of Indore, to the Bombay and Agra Road at Doodee, because the opening of the Railway to Khundiwa and the road down the Simrol Ghat to that place from Mhow will reduce the distance for carts so much that eventually the Bombay and Agra Road will be deserted. There is, however, no other line where such a length of road could be obtained through the Dhar district, the country between Dhar and Indore, or Mhow, being divided between three different States, as detailed in my letter, No. 32, of date the 9th February 1862. I hope that the management of the district works by the engineer officer will be a source of great saving to the State, inasmuch as the work will be well done, and the expenditure properly checked, a point of which at present I could not possibly be certain.

28. I must apologise if I have trespassed too long on your valuable time, but I have endeavoured to be as concise as the importance of the subject would permit.

(Foreign Department, Political.—No. 189.)

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, to the Agent to Governor General for Central India.

Sir,

Dated Simla, 17 April 1863.

In reply to your letter of 14th ultimo, No. 40 D., enclosing a Report on the affairs of the Dhar State for the past year, I am directed to inform you that his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General regards the Report as being, on the whole, satisfactory.

2. His Excellency, however, has read with regret the opinion expressed as to the physical constitution of the young chief, and the disadvantages under which he labours in consequence.

3. But his Excellency relies on the exertions of Lieutenant Ward's successor being earnestly and judiciously directed to encourage the young chief to persevere in his application to business.

(Foreign Department, Finance.—No. 12.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., M.P., and G.C.B., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Sir,

Fort William, 22 May 1863.

WE have the honour to forward, for your information, the Budget Estimate of Receipts and Disbursements of the Dhar State for 1862-63 and 1863-64.

1862-63:	Rs.
Receipts - - -	6,27,546
Disbursements - -	5,03,877
Cash Balance - -	4,63,479
1863-64:	
Receipts - - -	5,01,606
Disbursements - -	4,27,472
Cash Balance - -	5,37,613

2. The particulars are given in the margin.

3. It is expected that the Dhar Road will be completed this year at half the expense originally sanctioned, which was 75,000 rupees. The disposal of the balance has not been yet decided, but the agent has pointed out the desirability of connecting Dhar with Mhow by a metalled road.

We have, &c.

(signed) *R. Napier.*
H. B. Harington.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General for Central India, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department. (No. 1 D.-3 D., dated Indore Residency, Camp Ashta, 25 October 1862.)

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for submission to his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a Budget Estimate of Receipts and Disbursements of the Dhar State for 1862-63, which the superintendent has prepared by my direction for the information of Government; such estimate not having, I found, been submitted, as should have been the case at the usual period last year.

2. Lieutenant Ward explains in his transmitting letter, of which a copy accompanies the above document, the several items in the account which require special notice. Of these,—

I. (Paragraph 2) is the phala, or cess levied on the Rajah's marriage, 46,464 rupees, which falls due and will be collected during the present year, though it is stated that one-third will probably have to be left over till 1863-64.

II. Another (paragraph 3) is a sum of Rs. 24,032. 3. 6., which should have been included in the receipts for 1861-62, but was inadvertently omitted therefrom, not having been credited in the Hoozoor Treasury at the time of closing the year's account. This item being added to the cash balance shown in the account for 1861-62 (transmitted with my letter, No. 31, of 9th ultimo), makes the correct balance on 5th June 1862, Rs. 3,39,810. 6. 1. instead of Rs. 3,15,778. 2. 7.

III. A third item is Rs. 40,968. 10. 4., which should have appeared on both sides of the account for 1861-62. This sum was, it appears, part of the revenue received by the district treasuries, and was disbursed from them for local purposes, but was not brought at all into the general accounts of the State, such not having apparently been customary hitherto in regard to such payments. The other items do not appear to require further remark.

3. I beg

3. I beg to append hereto a general abstract of the receipts and disbursements, as given in this Budget Estimate, and as compared with the accounts of the past year 1861-62, furnished with my letter, No. 31, as above.

The general result is as follows :—

				1861-62.			1862-63.		
				<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Revenue	-	-	Ordinary	-	-	-	4,29,831	3	1
			Extraordinary	-	-	-	5,12,858	12	7
							63,696	3	3
			TOTAL	-	-	-	Rs. 4,93,527	6	4
							6,23,756	13	1
Disbursements	-	-	Ordinary	-	-	-	3,26,468	15	8
			Extraordinary	-	-	-	3,65,207	-	7
							2,87,515	15	5
			TOTAL	-	-	-	Rs. 6,13,984	15	1
							4,66,307	13	4
Cash Balance in Treasury	-	-	Rs.	3,39,810	6	1	4,97,259	5	10

showing cash balance on 5th June 1863 of *Rs.* 497,259. 5. 10. against *Rs.* 339,810. 6. 1. on 5th June 1862, which appears to be very satisfactory, especially when it is observed that this includes credit for an expenditure on public works and the Dhar and Doodee Road during the current year of 110,105 rupees against *Rs.* 38,292. 6. 0. disbursed on the same account during 1861-62.

4. In paragraph 5 of his letter accompanying the enclosures, Lieutenant Ward adverts to the difficulty he experiences in working, especially in matters of account, with the old hereditary district officials of the State, whose carelessness and inattention to his instructions have given him much trouble. As it would not do to remove these parties from their present situations, except for actual misconduct, during our temporary supervision of the State, there is no remedy for this but patience and increased exertion on the part of the superintendent and the dewan, and I trust, therefore, that allowance will be made for the omissions in the accounts for the past year now brought to notice.

P.S.—I solicit the favour of the enclosed original Budget Estimates being returned to this office when no longer required.

From Lieutenant *H. C. E. Ward*, Superintendent of Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General for Central India. (No. 220, dated 8 October 1862.)

Sir,

IN forwarding the accompanying estimates for the income and expenditure of the Dhar State for the year 1862-63, I have the honour to state that I have included in the income of the year, under the head of land revenue, not only the amount fixed in the leases for the year, but also all local district funds, and all outstanding revenue balances supposed to be recoverable during the year.

2. The phala on the marriage of the Rajah is estimated at 46,464 rupees, but of this sum probably only two-thirds will be collected in this year, for, if there should be any failure in the crops, it will be difficult to raise this sum from the cultivators in addition to the income of their villages, from the payment of which no remissions will be made; thus, altogether, an increase is shown in the land revenue over that of the past year of *Rs.* 86,619. 4. 6., but of this *Rs.* 56,911. 4. 9. are balances due for last and the preceding years.

3. In the accounts for the year ending 5th June 1862, forwarded to you with my letter, No. 202, of date 30th August last, I stated that the cash balance was in the Dhar State Treasury - - - - - *Rs.* 3,15,778 2 7

To this must be added the amount of revenue collected in 1861-62 and paid into the district treasuries, but not into the Hoozoor Treasury till after the accounts were closed on June 15th - - - - - 24,032 3 6

GIVING TOTAL of - - - *Rs.* 3,39,810 6 1

This sum was not included in the account for 1861-62, forwarded with my letter above referred to, for this reason, that those accounts only included the sums realised and paid into the Hoozoor Treasury and were closed on the 15th June, after which date the amount was paid in.

4. In the present estimate, showing the real income collected for 1861-62, it will be seen that, altogether, excluding the sum above mentioned, there is a difference between it and the accounts sent to Indore of Rs. 40,968. 10. 4.; and, in explanation of this, I have the honour to offer the following remarks:—

1st.—In all the accounts which have, up to the present time, been forwarded to Indore, only those sums realised in the Hoozoor Treasury have been included. Whatever was paid direct by any of the district treasuries, or received into them for future local payments, has never been included in the accounts either of expenditure or income.

2d. Last year, in forwarding the estimates for 1861-62, I tried my utmost to obtain from the district officials the correct accounts, but was by no means successful, for the present estimate shows the first to have been full of errors.

3d. It has never been the custom for the district officials either to make out their accounts so clearly, or to have them examined so closely, as they have been this year, and will be for the future, for, after making out the present estimate, I have had to correct and re-correct it several times through the officials neglecting to return some item either in the income or expenditure in their accounts.

5. I had, when at Indore, the honour to bring to your notice the great difficulty there was in working with some of the officials of this district. They are men totally unacquainted with our mode of keeping accounts; many of them are too old and quite unfit for their work; and yet I cannot turn them out of their situations, because they are hereditary servants of the State, and by removing them from the positions they now hold, as writers, &c., in the district cutcherries and in the durbar, I should increase the expenditure of the State, as they would relapse to their old positions of pensioners. I attribute the difference in the accounts entirely to the above causes, and though I have used every endeavour to ascertain the exact amount of income and expenditure for 1862-63, still I cannot be quite certain that the present estimate is free from errors.

6. The items in which the difference occurs in the income of 1861-62 are these:—

						Rs.	a.	p.
I.—Land Revenue, increase	-	-	-	-	-	10,804	10	7
II.—Sayer ditto - ditto	-	-	-	-	-	5,640	1	3

1stly. In the first case, the religious grants collected and paid direct out of the different districts' revenue, were not included in the accounts of the Hoozoor Treasury either in the receipts or disbursements.

2dly. The sums realised by the small funds in the districts—grazing tax, sale of forest produce, and other items which are generally expended on works of public improvement in the places where they are levied—were also not included.

3dly.—Abkarree, decrease Rs. 1,558. 15. 7. This is an outstanding balance to be recovered in the present year.

4thly. Law and justice, increase Rs. 1,472. 13. This is the amount of the fees, fines, and forfeitures in the different districts which were returned under the head of land revenue.

5thly. Miscellaneous, increase Rs. 5,221. 11. 11. This is the amount of marriage fees, rent of public buildings, lags and huks, on different tribes and people.

6thly. Public debt, increase Rs. 19,388. 5. 2. This includes every sum in deposit in the district treasuries, also recoverable advances made from these treasuries to officials, tuccavee to villagers, repairs of public buildings, &c.

7. I have now caused estimates to be made out for each of the districts, and I hope that, when the officials understand them thoroughly, there will not be any such difference to account for.

8. The explanation given above refers both to the estimates of receipts as well as to that of disbursements, for in each both the income and expenditure is increased by the sum of Rs. 40,968. 10. 4.

ABSTRACT of ESTIMATED RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS of the Dhar State for 1862-63, as compared with that of 1861-62.

RECEIPTS.		1862-63.			1861-62.			DISBURSEMENTS.		1862-63.			1861-62.		
		Total of Each.		TOTAL.	Total of Each.		TOTAL.			Total of Each.		TOTAL.	Total of Each.		TOTAL.
		Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.			Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.
ORDINARY.								ORDINARY.							
1. Land Revenue	- - -	4,02,738	12 3	-	- -	3,28,160	- 11	1. Durbar and household expenditure	-	1,05,086	2 -	-	- -	1,08,201	8 5
2. Akaree, Sayer, and Customs	- - -	81,261	11 -	-	- -	60,914	8 2	2. Revenue Department	- - -	1,08,160	3 11	-	- -	73,418	10 -
3. Judicial and Police	- - -	4,405	- -	-	- -	3,899	15 1	3. Judicial (including State Troops, Subur-dies, and Police)	- - -	1,01,445	9 -	-	- -	99,624	9 10
4. Tributes	- - -	17,533	5 4	-	- -	15,600	- -	4. Public Works	- - -	35,105	- -	-	- -	9,596	6 -
5. Miscellaneous	- - -	6,920	- -	-	- -	21,256	10 11	5. Education	- - -	1,020	- -	-	- -	1,027	4 10
				5,12,858	12 7			6. Pensions	- - -	2,626	- -	-	- -	2,520	- -
								7. Miscellaneous	- - -	11,764	1 8	-	- -	32,080	8 7
										3,65,207	- 7	-	- -	3,26,468	15 8
EXTRAORDINARY.								EXTRAORDINARY.							
6. Levy of tax on Rajah's marriage (included in Budget in Ordinary Land Revenue)	- - -	46,464	- -	-	- -	-	- -	8. Expenses of Rajah's marriage, &c.	-	-	- -	-	- -	1,59,641	11 -
7. Advances, &c., in former years recovered and adjusted	- - -	64,434	- 6	-	- -	63,696	3 3	9. Arrears due for former years and ad-vances	- - -	26,100	12 9	-	- -	72,862	15 2
				1,10,898	- 6			10. Refund of revenue realised on confiscated estates	- - -	-	- -	-	- -	26,315	5 3
								11. Construction of Dhar and Doodee Road-	- - -	75,000	- -	1,01,100	12 9	28,696	- -
														2,87,515	15 5
Total Revenue	- - -	-	- -	6,23,756	13 1	-	- -	Total Disbursements	- - -	-	- -	4,66,307	13 4	-	- -
Cash Balance	- - -	-	- -	*3,39,810	6 1	-	- -	Cash Balance in Treasury	- - -	-	- -	4,97,259	5 10	-	- -
GRAND TOTAL	- - -	-	- -	9,63,567	3 2	-	- -	GRAND TOTAL	- - -	-	- -	9,63,567	3 2	-	- -

Note.—The true balance on 5th June 1862 was Rs. 3,39,810. 6. 1., as given in the Accounts for 1862-63, and explained by Captain Ward in paragraph 3 of his letter.

(signed) R. J. Meade,
Agent, Governor General, for Central India.

ESTIMATES of Dhar State, for the Year ending 5 June 1863—*continued*.

	Former Years.	Past Year, 1861-62.	Current Year, 1862-63.	1862-63.	1861-62.
I.—LAND REVENUE—<i>continued</i>.					
2. Sayer Revenue :	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
Proceeds on farm of license to levy Sayer dues -	- -	- -	26,918 - 4	26,918 - 4	22,907 15 6
Miscellaneous collections -	- -	- -	- -	4,000 - -	4,471 10 -
TOTAL - - - Rs.	- -	- -	26,618 - 4	30,918 - 4	27,279 9 6
3. Abkaree :					
Proceeds on farm of license for sale of liquor - -	- -	- -	- -	17,590 3 2	11,721 7 11
TOTAL Abkaree - - Rs.	- -	- -	- -	17,590 3 2	11,721 7 11
TOTAL I.—Land Revenue, Rs.	7,122 2 9	49,789 2 -	3,68,843 8 10	4,97,710 15 9	4,01,684 9 2
II.—CUSTOMS.					
Share of the Maunpore road dues - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	10,603 7 6	6,330 13 8
Dues taken on the road between Doodhee and Budnawar - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	4,500 - -	2,327 2 -
Farming of the collection of opium chests - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	17,650 - -	17,650 - -
TOTAL, II.—Customs - - - Rs.	- - -	- - -	- - -	32,753 7 6	26,307 15 8
III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.					
Fees, fines, and forfeitures of the Adawlut and Mahal cutcheries - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	3,600 - -	4,674 3 1
Sale proceeds of unclaimed and intestate property - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	400 - -	468 3 6
TOTAL, III.—Law and Justice - - - Rs.	- - -	- - -	- - -	4,000 - -	5,142 6 7
IV.—POLICE.					
Fines, fees, and forfeitures - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	100 - -	230 5 6
Sale proceeds of unclaimed property - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	5 - -	
Pound fund, Chowkeedaree Udda Bhadda, &c. - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	300 - -	
TOTAL, IV.—Police - - - Rs.	- - -	- - -	- - -	405 - -	230 5 6
V.—TRIBUTES.					
		Past Year.	Current Year.		
		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		
Collections in 1862-3, on account of Allee Rajpoor		5,000 - -	10,000 - -	15,000 - -	15,000 - -
Soondersee Sarawud - - -		666 10 8	666 10 8	1,333 5 4	- - -
Anwas - - -		600 - -	600 - -	1,200 - -	600 - -
Rs.		6,266 10 8	11,266 10 8		
TOTAL, V.—Tributes - - - Rs.	- - -	- - -	- - -	17,533 5 4	15,600 - -
VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.					
Mint and gain from difference of exchange on coins - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- -	423 15 9
Batta to Dhar troops serving south of the Nurbudda, paid by British Government - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- -	6,852 10 4
Sale proceeds of Durbar horses - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- -	64 - -
Price of boats sold to Political Agent, Newar - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- -	2,801 9 -
Savings in the establishment of offices - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	150 - -	271 2 6

ESTIMATES of Dhar State, for the Year ending 5 June 1863—continued.

	1862-63.	1861-62.
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
VI.—Miscellaneous—continued.		
Unclaimed savings from the pay of deceased men - - - - -	20 - -	46 15 5
Sale of books - - - - -	50 - -	38 4 3
Fatehdaree commission and Karkoonce of all the Mehals - - - - -	1,700 - -	1,787 - 2
Sale of copper - - - - -	- - -	196 12 9
Sundry items, marriage fees, rent of Sirkaree buildings, various kinds of huqs -	5,000 - -	2,902 12 3
TOTAL, VI.—Miscellaneous - - - Rs.	6,920 - -	15,388 2 5
VII.—PUBLIC DEBT.		
1. Interest on arrears of Tanka rents, &c. - - - - -	1,600 - -	1,185 7 -
<i>Deposit.</i>		
2. Arrears of pay, confiscated huqs, hoosoor and district treasuries (included in deposit) - - - - -	14,000 - -	11,455 2 8
<i>Advance.</i>		
Bapoo Shaib Moongeeewalla in payment of advance - - - - -	300 - -	—
Kostnarao Kudum Bandy and Ruveera Sinday in payment of advance - -	227 - -	—
Payment of advances made to durbar in excess of expenditure fixed - - -	2,803 - -	—
Payment by Ramchunder Gunesh's firm - - - - -	6,700 - -	6,197 11 11
Payment by thakoors of Budnawar district - - - - -	6,550 - -	—
Advances from Dhar State troops, &c. - - - - -	1,954 10 3	—
Payment by Rajasur Gunesh's firm - - - - -	3,000 - -	3,000 - -
Old debts realised in cash - - - - -	25,000 - -	54,408 7 4
Recoverable advances made by district officers, tuccavee, &c. to be adjusted hereafter - - - - -	2,294 6 3	12,258 1 2
Recoverable advances made by durbar to officials - - -	<i>Rs. a. p.</i> 4,000 - -	
Unexpended advances made to the Rajah of Dhar - - -	672 - 3	
Ditto - - - ditto - - Captain Baigrie Tris - - -	117 14 6	
Advance recovered from Indore Treasury on account of gratuity - - -	388 - -	
Ditto - - - ditto - - - ditto - - - Captain Wood - - -	402 - -	
	- - -	5,579 14 9
TOTAL, VII.—Public Debt - - - Rs.	64,434 - 6	94,174 12 10
TOTAL Receipts - - -	6,23,756 13 1	5,58,528 4 2
Cash Balance at the beginning of the years, viz, Fuslee 1270 and 1269 - -	3,15,778 2 7	4,36,235 11 4
TOTAL - - - Rs.	9,39,534 15 8	
Add, Amount collected in 1861-2, but not returned in the accounts of the Hoosoor Treasury, forwarded to Indore, that sum not having been received from district treasuries before the closing of the accounts on 15 June 1862 - - - - -	24,032 3 6	—
GRAND TOTAL - - - Rs.	9,63,567 3 2	9,94,763 15 6

Dhar,
8 October 1862.}

(signed) H. C. E. Ward,
Superintendent of Dhar.

ESTIMATES of DHAR STATE, for the Year ending 5 June 1863.

ABSTRACT of DISBURSEMENTS.

Number.	DEPARTMENTS.	1862-63.		1861-62		Compared with 1861-62.			
						Increase.		Decrease.	
		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a. p.</i>
A.	ALLOWANCES, REFUNDS, and DRAWBACKS - - - -	1,05,086	2 -	2,10,647	11 10	-	- -	1,05,561	9 10
	REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.								
B. I.	I.—Land Revenue - - -	21,828	2 -	18,250	8 9	3,577	9 3	—	—
	II.—District Establishment -	24,842	- -	21,867	1 8	-	- -	25	1 8
	III.—Customs - - - -	3,650	- -	3,686	- -	-	- -	36	- -
	IV.—Contingencies, Special and Temporary - - - -	10,669	13 -	2,669	13 -	8,000	- -	—	—
B. II.	ALLOWANCES and ASSESSMENTS under TREATIES and ENGAGEMENTS - - - -	20,340	- -	20,000	- -	340	- -	—	—
B. III.	ALLOWANCES to VILLAGE and DISTRICT OFFICERS - - -	25,923	12 4	22,701	5 7	3,222	6 9	—	—
B. IV.	MISCELLANEOUS PAYMENTS - -	906	8 7	892	10 10	13	13 9	—	—
E.	WORKS of INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS	80,630	- -	38,318	11 6	42,311	4 6	—	—
F.	CIVIL SERVICE.								
	I.—Civil Buildings - - -	29,475	- -	5,385	2 8	24,089	13 4	—	—
	II.—Salaries and Expenses of Public Departments.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	III.—Law and Justice - - -	3,716	- -	3,568	11 10	147	4 2	—	—
	IV.—Police - - - -	97,729	9 -	96,218	1 9	1,511	7 3	—	—
	V.—Education - - - -	1,020	- -	1,027	- -	106	4 10	7	4 10
	VI.—Pension - - - -	2,626	- -	2,520	- -	106	- -	—	—
	VII.—Miscellaneous - - -	11,456	1 8	13,118	5 -	-	- -	1,662	3 4
	VIII.—Civil Contingencies - -	1,308	- -	1,50,804	12 6	-	- -	1,50,496	12 6
G.	PUBLIC DEBT - - - -	26,100	12 9	40,277	3 8	-	- -	14,176	6 11
	TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>	4,66,307	13 4	6,54,953	9 5	83,319	11 -	2,71,965	7 1
	BALANCE.								
	In the Hoosoor Treasury - -	-	- -	3,15,778	2 7	-	- -	-	- -
	District - - - -	4,97,259	5 10	24,032	3 6	-	- -	-	- -
	GRAND TOTAL - - - <i>Rs.</i>	9,63,567	3 2	9,94,763	15 6	-	- -	-	- -

A.—ALLOWANCES, REFUNDS, DRAWBACKS.

I.—Allowances.

	1862-63.	1861-62.
	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a. p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i> <i>a. p.</i>
Pay of the relatives, munkurrees, karcoons, and officials of the Dhar Durbar -	43,502 1 -	40,921 15 2
Pay of the petty servants of the Dhar Durbar - - - -	23,899 - -	23,247 12 -
Household expenditure of the Rajah of Dhar of every description - - -	36,780 - -	44,031 13 3
Arrears of pay due to Kondopunt from December 1860 to July 1862 - - -	300 - -	—
Arrears of pay due to Rukmabaree Bhonslay from August 1860 to May 1862 -	536 5 -	—
Arrears of pay of 34 months of karcoons, maunkurrees, relatives, &c. of Durbar -	- - -	72,862 15 2

II.—Refunds.

Income of confiscated jagheers repaid to their respective jagheerdars - - -	- - -	26,315 5 3
Refunds of land revenue, remission, &c. - - - -	68 12 -	3,267 15 -

III.—Drawbacks.

TOTAL A., Allowances, Refunds, Drawbacks - - <i>Rs.</i>	1,05,086 2 -	2,10,647 11 10
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ESTIMATES of Dhar State, for the Year ending 5 June 1863—*continued.*

B. I.—REVENUE DEPARTMENT.					1862-63.	1861-62.
I.—Land Revenue.					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Salary of Superintendents for 1862-63 - - - - -					Rs. 11,269 8 -	
Arrears from May 8 to November 1861, at Rs. 195. 2. per mensem					1,174 8 -	
					12,444 - -	9,483 7 1
Establishments.						
Pay of Superintendent's office and establishment - - - - -					7,243 2 -	7,134 7 -
Marching batta of Superintendent's office and establishment - - - - -					1,200 - -	724 9 5
Contingencies, stationery, &c. - - - - -					850 - -	867 - 9
Hire of office carriage - - - - -					91 - -	91 - 6
TOTAL, I.—Land Revenue - - - Rs.					21,828 2 -	18,250 8 9
Number.		II.—District Establishment.				
1862-63.	1861-62.					
6	7	Salaries of kamasdars, and allowances - - - - -	4,079 14 4	4,169 14 4		
24	23	Salaries of karcoons and durruckdars - - - - -	3,604 10 1	3,448 10 1		
		Office charge and stationery - - - - -	1,252 - 9	1,352 4 -		
4	4	Pay of district pensioners, at 48 per annum - - - - -	192 - -	192 - -		
		Pay of servants, from 36 to 60 rupees per annum - - - - -	2,058 6 10	2,058 6 10		
276	276	Pay of guards, from 48 to 96 rupees per annum - - - - -	13,460 - -	13,459 15 5		
		Miscellaneous expenses in district cutcherry - - - - -	195 - -	185 15 -		
		TOTAL, II.—District Establishment - - - Rs.	24,842 - -	24,867 1 8		
III.—Customs.						
Pay of Assistant Opium Agent, and establishment - - - - -					3,600 - -	3,600 - -
Contingencies - - - - -					50 - -	86 - -
TOTAL, III.—Customs - - - Rs.					3,650 - -	3,686 - -
IV.—Contingencies, Special and Temporary.						
Khasgee allowance - - - - -					9,600 - -	1,600 - -
Huqs given to Durbar attendants, Hoojrias and Jassoods - - - - -					666 13 -	666 13 -
Khasgee huqs and allowance from Dhurrumpoorree mehal, vide Credit Land Revenue, No. 1 - - - - -					403 - -	403 - -
TOTAL IV.—Contingencies, Special and Temporary - - - Rs.					10,669 13 -	2,669 13 -
TOTAL, B. I.—Revenue Department - - - Rs.					60,989 15 -	49,473 7 5
B. II.—ALLOWANCES AND ASSIGNMENTS UNDER TREATIES AND ENGAGEMENTS.						
Contribution to the Malwa Bheel Corps - - - - -					20,000 - -	20,000 - -
Dewas Rajahs huq at 7 per cent. on the revenue (clear of Mehal expenses) of Neemoonpoor Mukrar, from 1860 to 1863 - - - - -					340 - -	- -
TOTAL, B. II.—Allowances, &c. - - - Rs.					20,340 - -	20,000 - -
B. III.—ALLOWANCES TO VILLAGE AND DISTRICT OFFICES.						
1. Bhel Ghoogree paid to Bhoomiahs in the Nalcha and Dhurrumpoor Districts					2,746 10 -	2,746 10 -
2. Share of Zemindars of Dhurrumpoor and Jehangeerpoor, on account of Manpore, Budnawar, and Doodhee Road - - - - -					2,500 - -	481 4 3
3. Dewasthan paid from the Hoosoor Treasury - - - - -					8,944 8 -	8,944 8 -
4. Burshasun and Dewasthan paid from District Treasuries - - - - -					9,299 5 -	9,299 5 -
5. Contribution to the Malwa Dispensaries, per year, at Rs. 666. 10. 8. for 1861-62 and 1862-63 - - - - -					1,333 5 4	-
6. Seerpan to Jamidars, Izardars, and Patels, &c. - - - - -					1,100 - -	1,299 10 4
TOTAL, B. III.—Allowances, &c. - - - Rs.					25,923 12 4	22,701 5 7

ESTIMATES of Dhar State, for the Year ending 5 June 1863—continued.

		1862-63.	1861-62.
B. IV.—MISCELLANEOUS PAYMENTS.		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>R. a. p.</i>
1.	Festival allowances - - - - -	506 8 7	506 8 7
2.	Feed of Patels, Kusans, Mehman expense, funeral expenses, paid by district officials - - - - -	400 - -	386 2 3
TOTAL, B. IV.—Miscellaneous Payments - - - Rs.		906 8 7	892 10 10
E.—WORKS OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.			
1.	Salary of the Executive Engineer, his office establishment, and expenditure on the Dhar and Doodhee Road - - - - -	75,000 - -	28,696 - -
2.	Expenditure by order of the Superintendent in making roads, drains, &c. - - - - -	- - - -	3,061 - 5
	Repair of buildings, barracks in the fort, and city roads, &c. - - - - -	3,600 - -	6,535 5 7
3.	Repairs of Sirkaree pregas, bungalows, forts, &c. - - - - -	2,000 - -	- - -
4.	Dhurrumpooree ferry expenses - - - - -	30 - -	26 5 6
TOTAL, E.—Works of Internal Improvement - - - Rs.		80,630 - -	38,318 11 6
F.—CIVIL SERVICE.			
I.—Civil Buildings.			
1862-63.	1861-62.	Expenditure in repairs of Mahal, cutcherries, wells, tanks, &c., in the different districts, as follows:—	
		Dhar - - - - -	15,000 - -
		Budnawar - - - - -	5,000 - -
		Dhurrumpooree - - - - -	6,900 - -
		Nalcha - - - - -	1,100 - -
		Kooksee - - - - -	1,435 - -
		Neemonpore Mukrar - - - - -	30 - -
		Repairs of Kotewallee - - - - -	10 - -
TOTAL, Civil Buildings - - - Rs.		29,475 - -	5,385 2 8
II.—Salaries and Expenses of Public Departments.			
III.—Law and Justice.			
4	4	Pay of officers and clerks, from 840 rupees to 96 rupees per annum - - - - -	1,260 - -
3	3	Servants, at 48 rupees yearly - - - - -	144 - -
		Office contingencies, stationery - - - - -	60 - -
Miscellaneous.			
		Pay of gaol establishment - - - - -	372 - -
		Feed and keep of prisoners - - - - -	1,880 - -
TOTAL, III.—Law and Justice - - - Rs.		3,716 - -	3,568 11 10
IV.—Police.			
2	2	Pay of Kotewal establishment, from 424 rupees to 120 rupees per annum - - - - -	544 8 -
		Contingencies, stationery - - - - -	48 - -
		Subscription to the Chuklee Fund, paid through political agent, Bhopawur - - - - -	240 - -
5	5	Pay of Lallchund Turvee and his sepoy, in charge of Surrae Road - - - - -	240 - -
		Pay of Dhar State Troop Seebundee - - - - -	27,000 - -
		Ditto ditto Sowars - - - - -	42,100 - -
		Pay of Bhopawur Levy Cavalry, attached to the Dhar State - - - - -	15,000 - -
		Pay of Bhopal Levy Infantry, attached to the Dhar State - - - - -	11,388 - -
		Marching batta of both the above - - - - -	1,100 - -
		Allowance to native doctor for attendance - - - - -	69 1 -
TOTAL, IV.—Police - - - Rs.		97,729 9 -	96,218 1 9
V.—EDUCATION.			
		Pay of schoolmaster, contingencies, stationery, &c. - - - - -	1,020 - -
TOTAL, V.—Education - - - Rs.		1,020 - -	1,027 4 10

ESTIMATES of Dhar State, for the Year ending 5 June 1863—*continued.*

VI.—PENSIONS.								1862-63.		1861-62.	
NAMES.	Office.	Age at the time of Retirement.	Period of Service.	Yearly Salary at the time of Retirement.	Yearly Allowance granted.	Cause of Retirement.	Allowance by Government Order, Allowance commenced.	Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.
Onchectrao Powar from Apr. 1862 to 31 May 1863	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,600	- -	2,400	- -
Wife of Brij Loll Jamadar, died 18 May 1862, for the month of March, April, and part of May 1862	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	- -	120	- -
TOTAL, VI.—Pensions - - - Rs.								2,626	- -	2,520	- -
VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.											
Extra expenditure, Mehmaun expenses on the visits of the Rajah of Dewas and others								10,000	- -	9,641	11 -
Reward for the destruction of wild beasts								350	- -	218	- -
Dhar share of rebuilding the Cantonments of Sirdarpore								-	- -	2,079	10 3
Refund of Income Tax								-	- -	31	11 6
<i>Purchase of Dead Stock.</i>											
Price of medicines purchased from Bombay Medical Stores								670	7 11	520	12 4
Price of country medicines								200	- -	202	9 10
Price of medicine purchased for the Durbar cattle								135	9 9	135	9 9
Price of cloth purchased by the Durbar								-	- -	237	2 -
Ammunition, weights, oil, &c.								100	- -	51	2 4
TOTAL, VII.—Miscellaneous - - - Rs.								11,456	1 8	13,118	5 -
VIII.—CIVIL CONTINGENCIES, SPECIAL AND TEMPORARY.											
1. Amount expended on the Marriage ceremony of his Highness the Rajah of Dhar								-	- -	1,50,000	- -
2. Paid into the Indore Treasury, the Dhar share of Captain Moquay's survey								-	- -	458	3 9
3. Paid to Surroop Narain and the Indore Treasury Goomastha, on account of examining the Dhar State Accounts								-	- -	94	- -
4. Allowance to the native doctor								308	- -	252	8 9
TOTAL, VIII.—Civil Contingencies - - - Rs.								308	- -	1,50,804	12 6
TOTAL, F.—Civil Service - - - Rs.								1,46,330	10 8	2,72,642	6 7
G.—PUBLIC DEBT.											
1.—Deposit.											
Paid from that of Hoosoor Treasury.											
Pay arrear in deposit of different people								14,000	- -	21,289	11 1
Paid on account of Durbar's old Debt.											
Atta Hoosein Moonshee								-	- -	721	15 3
Silladars, price of their horses								-	- -	82	- -
Sundry items								-	- -	119	13 -
Paid from that of District Treasuries								7,950	12 9	9,953	12 7
2.—Advance.											
Advance for purchasing uniform for Rajah's Household Troops								600	- -	1,954	10 3
Advance made to Officials of the State proceeding on leave, and others								1,000	- -	1,742	- -
Advance pending adjustment								-	- -	2,001	12 -
Advance paid through District Treasuries								2,250	- -	2,294	6 3
3.—Loss.											
Robbery of the Mehal Cutcherry Neemonpore Mukrar								-	- -	117	3 3
4. Pay of Karkoon for the recovery of State Debts								300	- -	-	- -
TOTAL, G.—Public Debt - - - Rs.								26,100	12 9	40,277	3 8
TOTAL Disbursements - - - Rs.								4,66,307	13 4	6,54,953	9 5
Balance in the Hoosoor Treasury - - - Rs.								-	- -	3,15,778	2 7
Ditto - - District - ditto - - - Rs.								4,97,259	5 10	24,032	3 6
GRAND TOTAL - - - Rs.								63,567	3 2	9,94,763	15 6

Dhar,
8 October 1862. }

(signed)

H. C. E. Ward,
Superintendent of Dhar.

From *C. U. Aitchison*, Esq., Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Agent, Governor General, for Central India (No. 1339); dated 5 December 1862.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No 1 D., dated 25th October, submitting Budget Estimates of the Dhar State for 1862-63.

2. These estimates show that a sum of 24,032 rupees was omitted from the previous accounts, so that the actual balance on the 5th June 1862 was 3,39,810 rupees. The estimates further show a probable increase of income to the extent of 1,30,230 rupees, and a decrease of expenditure to the extent of 1,47,677 rupees. The expenditure will probably be within the income by 1,57,449 rupees.

3. As the estimates for 1863-64 are now nearly due, the Governor General in Council thinks it unnecessary to send these, the first Budget Estimates from Dhar, to the Financial Department, but his Excellency in Council requests that you will see that the estimates for the incoming year are punctually submitted.

4. I am directed to add that, if the actual figures at the close of the year are found to correspond approximately with the estimates, the Governor General in Council will have reason to be satisfied with the manner in which the finances of the State have been administered.

5. The estimates are herewith returned as requested.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, c.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 9 D.-34 E.); dated Indore Residency, Camp Nurlut, 23 December 1862.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for submission to his Excellency the Governor General of India in Council, a Budget Estimate of Receipts and Disbursements of the Dhar State for the year 1863-64.

2. At the end of these estimates the Superintendent has given amended statements of the receipts and disbursements for the current year 1862-63, which necessitates my submitting an amended abstract estimate for it in substitution of that appended to my letter, No. 1 D., of date 25th October last.

From these statements it will be seen that the receipts and disbursements for 1862-63 were under-estimated by Rs. 3,789. 5. 3, and Rs. 37,569. 6. 10. respectively, chiefly owing, the former to the omission of a portion of the Dhar share of the Maunpoor Road Dues, and the latter to credit not having been taken for—

1st.—The expenses connected with the transport to the Ganges of the ashes of the late Chief.

2d.—The construction of the late Chief's Tombs; and

3d.—The expense of the young Rajah's tour through his territory, aggregating 20,608 rupees, the remainder being made up by certain extra charges, principally in the Revenue Department, the necessity of providing for which was not known when the estimates for the year in question were prepared.

The result of these corrections, as shown in the amended abstract appended, makes the estimated receipts for the year 6,27,546 rupees, instead of 6,23,756 rupees; and the estimated disbursements 5,03,877 rupees, instead of 4,66,307 rupees, reducing the surplus for the year from 1,57,449 rupees to 1,23,669 rupees, and the probable cash balance on 6 June 1863 from 4,97,259 rupees to 463,479 rupees.

3. I beg to append an Abstract of the Budget Estimates for 1863-64, now submitted, from which it will be seen that the receipts of all kinds for the said year are expected to amount to 5,01,606 rupees, and the disbursements to 4,27,472 rupees, leaving a surplus of income over expenditure for the year of 74,134 rupees, and a probable cash balance, on 6 June 1864, of 5,37,613 rupees, which will, I trust, be considered satisfactory.

4. A comparison of the estimates for the current and forthcoming years, as set forth in this abstract, shows a considerable difference in the amount of some of the several items for either year.

5. Receipts,—

1st.—Land Revenue for 1862-63 is estimated to yield (exclusive of the Rajah's marriage cess which is entered as an extraordinary item), 4,02,738 rupees; and for 1863-64 only 3,46,960 rupees, being a difference of 55,778 rupees; but the amount for the former year includes 56,911 rupees arrears from 1861-62 and previous years, whereas that for 1863-64 includes only 4,100 rupees under this head; and the actual revenue for 1863-64 alone is rather higher than that for 1862-63 alone.

2d.—Abkarry, Sayer, and Customs are estimated to yield 8,600 rupees less in 1863-64 than in 1862-63; the decrease, which is wholly in the Customs Road Dues, being, to some extent, only casual and accidental.

3d.—Tributes are estimated to yield 6,267 less in 1863-64 than in 1862-63; arrears from previous years of 5,000 rupees having been included in the accounts for the latter year.

Under the head of Extraordinary,—

4th.—The Rajah's marriage cess, estimated to yield 46,464 rupees during 1862-63, has no corresponding item for 1863-64.

5th.—Debts and advances due to the State, recovered and adjusted, are estimated to yield 8,720 rupees more during 1862-63 than during 1863-64.

6. Disbursements,—

1st.—Revenue Department shows an estimated decrease of expenditure for 1863-64, as compared with 1862-63, of 11,478 rupees.

2d.—Public Works (works of Internal Improvement and Civil Buildings) are estimated to cost 4,475 rupees less in 1863-64 than in 1862-63.

3d.—Miscellaneous expenditure is estimated at 4,382 rupees less in 1863-64 than in 1862-63, while under the head of "Extraordinary."

4th.—Payments on account of arrears from former years, &c., due by the Durbar, show a decrease for 1863-64, as compared with 1862-63, of 14,768 rupees; and

5th.—The assignment for the construction of the Dhar and Doodee road is reduced from 75,000 rupees during 1862-63, to 35,000 rupees during 1863-64; the latter sum being considered sufficient for the completion of the road.

7. It will thus be seen that, while no material decrease is anticipated in the chief permanent items of revenue for the year under report, there is a reduction of expenditure under every head, aggregating, exclusive of the assignment for the Dhar and Doodee road, 36,400 rupees.

8. With respect to the probable completion of the road just named during 1863-64, at a cost of 35,000 rupees, it will, I submit, be a question for consideration on what other desirable public work a further portion of the surplus for the said year should be expended, and I have instructed the Superintendent to make due inquiry on this point, and to report the result to me.

It would be very desirable to connect Dhar with Mhow by a metalled road, as, at no distant period, that will be the route for all traffic from Dhar and the neighbouring States to the Railway *via* Simrole; and if Maharajah Holkar would construct the section that would fall within his territory, I know no new line of road that would prove so advantageous to the Dhar State as this would.

ABSTRACT OF ESTIMATED RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF THE DHAR STATE FOR THE YEAR 1863-64, AS COMPARED WITH THAT FOR 1862-63.

RECEIPTS.	1863-64.			1862-63.			DISBURSEMENTS.	1863-64.			1862-63.					
	Total of each.		TOTAL.	Total of each.		TOTAL.		Total of each.		TOTAL.	Total of each.		TOTAL.			
	Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.			Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.				
ORDINARY:							ORDINARY:									
1. Land Revenue	-	-	-	3,46,960	14	-	1. Durbar and household expenditure	-	-	-	1,07,249	13	-	1,07,899	13	-
2. Abkary, Sayer, and Customs	-	-	-	76,000	-	-	2. Revenue Department	-	-	-	1,05,996	-	3	-	1,17,474	12 11
3. Judicial and police	-	-	-	4,629	-	-	3. Judicial (including State troops, subsidies, and police)	-	-	-	1,01,022	-	-	-	1,01,445	9
4. Tribes	-	-	-	11,266	10 8	-	4. Public works	-	-	-	30,630	-	-	-	35,105	-
5. Miscellaneous	-	-	-	8,520	3 9	-	5. Education	-	-	-	1,020	-	-	-	1,020	-
							6. Pensions	-	-	-	2,400	-	-	-	2,626	-
							7. Miscellaneous	-	-	-	28,005	-	-	-	32,387	1 8
											3,76,322	13 3	8		3,97,958	4 7
EXTRAORDINARY:							EXTRAORDINARY:									
6. Levy of tax on Rajah's marriage	-	-	-	-	-	-	8. Arrears due from former years' advances, &c.	-	-	-	16,150	-	-	-	30,918	15 7
7. Advances, &c. of former years recovered and adjusted	-	-	-	54,229	12 9	-	9. Construction of Dhar and Dooder Road	-	-	-	35,000	-	-	-	75,000	-
											51,150	-	-	-		1,05,918 15 7
Total Receipts	-	-	-	5,01,606	9 2	-	Total Disbursements	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,03,877 4 2
Cash Balance	-	-	-	4,63,479	4 3	-	Cash Balance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,63,479 4 3
GRAND TOTAL	-	-	-	9,65,085	13 5	-	GRAND TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,67,356 8 5

(signed) R. J. Meade,
Agent, Governor General, for Central India.

AMENDED ABSTRACT OF ESTIMATED RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF THE DHAR STATE FOR THE YEAR 1862-63, AS COMPARED WITH THE ACTUAL RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF 1861-62.

RECEIPTS.	1862-63.			1861-62.			DISBURSEMENTS.			1862-63.			1861-62.		
	Total of each.		TOTAL.	Total of each.		TOTAL.	Total of each.		TOTAL.	Total of each.		TOTAL.	Total of each.		TOTAL.
	Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.	
ORDINARY:															
1. Land Revenue	-	-	4,02,738 12 3	-	-	3,28,160 - 11	1. Durbar and Household expenditure	-	-	1,07,899 13 -	-	-	1,08,201 8 5	-	-
2. Abkarry, Sayer and Customs	-	-	84,603 9 -	-	-	60,914 8 2	2. Revenue Department	-	-	1,17,474 12 11	-	-	73,418 10 -	-	-
3. Judicial and Police	-	-	4,605 - -	-	-	3,899 15 1	3. Judicial (including State troops, Subindies and Police)	-	-	1,01,445 9 -	-	-	99,624 9 10	-	-
4. Tributes	-	-	17,533 5 4	-	-	15,600 - -	4. Public Works	-	-	35,105 - -	-	-	9,596 6 -	-	-
5. Miscellaneous	-	-	8,651 8 11	-	-	21,256 10 11	5. Education	-	-	1,020 - -	-	-	1,027 4 10	-	-
				5,18,132 3 6	4,29,831 3 1		6. Pensions	-	-	2,626 - -	-	-	2,520 - -	-	-
							7. Miscellaneous	-	-	32,387 1 8	-	-	32,080 8 7	-	3,26,468 15 8
EXTRAORDINARY:							EXTRAORDINARY:								
6. Levy of Tax on Rajah's marriage (included in Budget as ordinary Land Revenue)	-	-	46,464 - -				8. Expenses of Rajah's marriage, &c.	-	-		-	-	1,59,641 11 -	-	-
7. Advances, &c., of former years recovered and adjusted	-	-	62,949 14 10	-	-	63,696 3 3	9. Arrears due for former years advances, &c.	-	-	30,918 15 7	-	-	72,862 15 2	-	-
				-	-		10. Refund of revenue realised on confiscated estates	-	-		-	-	26,315 5 3	-	-
				1,09,413 14 10	63,696 3 3		11. Construction of Dhar and Dooddee road	-	-	75,000 - -	-	-	28,696 - -	-	2,87,515 15 5
Total Revenue	-	-	6,27,546 2 4	-	-	4,93,527 6 4	Total Disbursements	-	-		-	-	5,03,877 4 2	-	6,13,984 15 1
Cash Balance	-	-	*3,39,810 6 1	-	-	4,36,235 11 4	Cash Balance	-	-		-	-	4,63,479 4 3	-	*3,15,778 2 7
GRAND TOTAL	-	-	9,67,356 8 5	-	-	9,29,763 1 8	GRAND TOTAL	-	-	Rs.	-	-	9,67,356 8 5	-	9,29,763 1 8

* Note.—The true balance on 6th June 1862, was Rs. 3,39,810 6. 1. rupees, as given in the Accounts for 1862-63, and explained by Lieutenant Wood in paragraph 3 of his covering letter.

(signed) *R. J. Meade,*
Agent, Governor General, for Central India.

From *C. U. Aitchison*, Esq., Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Agent, Governor General, Central India (No. 44); dated 17 January 1863.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 23d ultimo, No. 9 D., submitting the Budget Estimates of the Dhar State for 1863-64, and in reply, to inform you that the Governor General in Council considers these estimates to be very satisfactory.

2. You report that the Dhar road, for which an assignment of 75,000 rupees had been made, will be finished during 1863-64, and that 35,000 rupees will suffice for its completion. His Excellency in Council therefore approves of your having instructed the Superintendent of Dhar to report on what other desirable works the surplus can be expended. If the Superintendent concurs with you in the advantage of constructing a road from Dhar to Mhow, you can then ascertain from Holkar whether he is prepared to meet the cost of the section of road through his territory.

(No. 45.)

Ordered, That a copy of the above letter, together with the Budget Estimates referred to therein, be sent to the Financial Department, with an intimation that the Governor General in Council in this Department has no objection to their acceptance.

(Political Department.—No. 57.)

Sir *C. Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 8 August 1863.

1. WITH your Excellency's letter, No. 20, in the Political Department, dated the 5th May last, you have forwarded a report by Lieutenant Ward on the affairs of the Dhar State for the year 1862-63.

2. Her Majesty's Government have learnt with regret that the bad state of the Rajah's health still seriously interferes with his power of applying himself to, and thus qualifying himself for, the business of Government, but as his industry and willingness to exert himself are more favourably reported on than hitherto, they still trust that, under judicious superintendence, he may eventually be found competent to assume the direct management of the State.

3. His dislike to the Dewan is much to be regretted, especially as Raghonath Narain seems to be well fitted for the office of minister, and there is no other suitable person to supply his place. It is to be hoped that time will lessen the Rajah's antipathy, and thus increase the Dewan's influence, while diminishing that of those ill advisers who now seek to undermine his power. The removal for misconduct or incapacity of certain minor officials, appears to have been unavoidable, and the improvement of the putwarree's accounts is satisfactory.

4. The further proposals for improving the police arrangements in the Kooksee Pergunnah will be awaited with interest.

5. The case of the Thakoors of Bukutghur and Budnawur, adverted to by Major Meade (paragraph 5) and Lieutenant Ward (paragraphs 16 and 18) is one respecting which further information is needed, especially to show how it was that the award of Sir C. Wade, made in 1843, admitted to be equitable, and now finally adopted, was allowed to remain in abeyance for 19 years.

6. The report that 21 boundary disputes had been settled, leaving only nine unadjusted, and the progress made in the recovery of old debts due to the Dhar State, is creditable to the administration of Lieutenant Ward, now unfortunately terminated by that officer's ill health.

7. Since writing the foregoing paragraphs, I have received the letter of your Excellency's Government, No. 12, of the 22d May, forwarding the Budget Estimates of the receipt and disbursements of the Dhar State for 1862-63 and 1863-64. The former have reached me at so late a date as to be useful only

for purposes of comparison. The estimates for 1863-64 are very satisfactory; they exhibit a probable surplus of income over expenditure amounting to 74,134 rupees, and a probable cash balance of 5,37,613 rupees, on the 6th June 1864. I regret, however, to perceive that these accounts are not entirely reliable, owing to the carelessness of the hereditary officials employed to compile them. Some means should be adopted, by fine or otherwise, to enforce the proper performance of their duties by these persons.

8. I learn with satisfaction that the Dhar and Doodee road is expected to be completed this year, and that there will be a balance from the amount originally sanctioned for its expense, available for the important work of connecting Dhar with Mhow by a metalled road, or for the construction of other desirable public works.

(No. 58.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart. G.C.B., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Sir,

Foreign Department, Political,
Simla, 13 August 1864.

WE have the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy of a letter from the Agent, Governor General, for Central India, forwarding the report on the general administration of the Dhar State for 1863-64, together with a copy of the reply.

We have, &c.

(signed) *John Lawrence.*
Hugh Rose.
R. Napier.
H. S. Maine.

C. E. Trevelyan.
H. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 37-174); dated Indore Residency, 20 July 1864.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for submission to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, a report, in original, No. 99, of date 11th May last, from the Officiating Superintendent of Dhar, on the general administration of that State for the past year, which has been detained in this office pending the receipt of the financial report of the State for the same period, as it was my wish to submit both together; but as I now learn from the Officiating Superintendent that some further delay will unavoidably occur in completing the latter document, I will forward it separately hereafter.

2. The report opens with a satisfactory account of the proceedings of the chief during the past year, his attendance at the cutcherry, where the business of the State transacted, being regular, and his support being freely given to any suggestion or proposal of the Superintendent for the good of the State or its people.

Being about to address you in a separate letter on the subject of Anund Rao Powar's progress towards qualifying himself for the assumption of the charge of his State, I will not refer further to him here.

3. The Officiating Superintendent speaks in commendatory terms of the manner in which the Dewan, Rughonath Narrain, has conducted his duties during the period under report.

4. The account of the administration of justice under the head of "Judicial" is meagre, and gives no details except on one point—the number of appeals against the decisions of the Nazim: but, I should explain that the old State system and machinery have been retained in this and the other departments
excepting,

excepting, partially, in that of the finances, and that no attempt has been made to introduce the tabular returns and reports in use in our own districts.

The instances of heinous crime in the Dhar State during the past year have been few in number; but 55 prisoners have been committed to the State gaol during the year, and but 42 remaining in at its close.

The police force including the State sowars and local companies, numbers 1,014 men, maintained at a cost of 1,00,473 rupees. The actual charge was some 4,000 rupees less than this sum, as shown in a report on this establishment recently submitted.

5. A separate revenue report will be submitted, and it need only here be remarked that the full Government demand for the year has been collected, thus showing that the existing settlement, of which a full report was given in my No. 31, of date 9th September 1862, is favorable to the landholders.

6. The measures which have been adopted, with the young Chief's full concurrence, for the introduction and extension of education amongst the people, will, it is to be hoped, have a successful result. The State schools at Dhar are fairly attended, and with due encouragement and the preferential employment in the public service of pupils who qualify themselves therefor, to which attention is being paid, there is every ground for expecting that education will become popular in the State.

7. The completion of the new road from Dhar to the Agra and Bombay trunk road at Dodee has been deferred much beyond the period originally anticipated, but most of the heavy work on the ghât portion of it being now nearly finished, it is expected that it will be open throughout for traffic by the end of the year.

The extension of the line northwards to join the Mhow and Neemuch road now under construction is under the consideration of the superintending engineer, and the projects connected therewith or other proposed lines in the State will be duly submitted for the orders of Government in the Public Works Department.

A good deal has been done in the way of local works of public improvement and usefulness during the past year, in all schemes connected with which the young Chief takes much interest.

8. The epidemic of cholera, which visited Malwa towards the end of last April, extended to Dhar and its neighbourhood early in the following month, and for some days committed serious ravages in the town and some of the larger villages. Amongst the victims was one of the Dewas Chiefs, Hybut Rao Powar, the uncle of the Dhar Rajah, who was on a visit to his nephew when the disease broke out and carried him off.

9. In conclusion, I have much pleasure in reporting, for the information of his Excellency in Council, that the general administration of the State has, in my opinion, been carefully and satisfactorily carried on during the year under report, under the supervision of the officiating superintendent, Lieutenant Bannerman, who appears to have also taken much pains in endeavouring to acquire the confidence of the young Chief, and to give the fullest effect in his power to his instructions to encourage and aid him in every possible way in qualifying himself for the management of his State.

From Lieutenant *P. W. Bannerman*, 2d Assistant Agent, Governor General, Central India, and Officiating Superintendent, Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, Central India (No. 99); dated 11 May 1864.

In accordance with the instructions conveyed in your circulars, No. 34, of 23d July 1863, and No. 15 of 23d March, I have the honor to submit herewith a brief report on the administration of the Dhar State for the year ending 30th April 1864.

2. His Highness Anund Rao Powar has during this period been most regular in his attendance at cutcherry; he has in every way shown himself most willing and anxious to give every support to any suggestion regarding education, the making of roads through the Dhar Districts, or any question that is likely to benefit his State.

The birth of a son and heir to his Highness has been the occasion of much rejoicing at Dhar.

3. The able Dewan, Rughonath Narrain, has conducted his duties to my entire satisfaction; he is very hard-working, and exercises a most salutary supervision over all department of the State.

4. *Judicial.*—There have been six cases of highway robbery during the year, most of them of property of a very trifling amount, and committed, as far as I can learn, by parties passing through the districts; only one of those gangs was captured and the crime proved against them.

They all occurred close to the boundaries of other States, and where, from the nature of the jungle, it was impossible to trace them.

A band of dacoits, nine in number, had come to this part of the country from Meywar and Marwar for the purpose of plundering; they commenced at Tanda, but were arrested a few days after, brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to transportation for life.

The Adawlut of Dhar works very fairly, and the appeals from the decisions of the Nazim have only been 75 in 478 cases; of this number, all were confirmed, with the exception of two, reversed.

The Kamasdars of Pergunnahs exercise within the limits of their respective charges the same powers as those of the Nazim of the Dhar Adawlut, and, as a rule, have discharged their duties satisfactorily; nearly all the cases brought into their Courts and that of the Nazim have been settled by Punchayet.

No cases of Suttee, Sumadh, Infanticide, kidnapping, or sale of children, took place during the year.

One case of the sale of a woman, and one of committing abortion occurred; in both the parties concerned were convicted and punished.

5. *Gaols.*—All prisoners whose sentence exceeds three years, or females for whom there is no accommodation in the shed in the fort used as a gaol, are, by permission, sent to the Mundlaisir Gaol, and the cost of their maintenance and that of the extra establishment required to look after them borne by the Dhar State.

In the Dhar Gaol there were—

Remaining on 1st May 1863	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Admitted during the year	-	-	-	-	-	-	55
							105
DEDUCT—							
Discharged during the year	-	-	-	-	-	-	52
Transferred to Mundlaisir Gaol	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
							63
Remaining in Gaol on 30th April 1864	-	-	-	-	-	-	42

The cost of their maintenance and the pay of the Gaol Establishment have been as follows:—

<i>Dhar Gaol.</i>					<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Maintenance charges	-	-	-	-	1,148	14	-			
Gaol Establishment	-	-	-	-	372	-	-			
Contingencies	-	-	-	-	222	13	9			
								1,743	11	9
<i>Mundlaisir Gaol.</i>										
Maintenance charges and Gaol Establishment	-	-	-	-				365	4	7
GRAND TOTAL					-	-	-	<i>Rs.</i>	2,109	- 4

The health of the prisoners during the year has been good, there being only one death, and their conduct has been satisfactory.

6. *Police.*—The total strength of the police and the local companies and their cost have been as follows:—

	Number of Men.				Cost.			
					<i>Rs.</i>			
District Police	-	-	-	-	308	-	-	13,964
Dhar City Police	-	-	-	-	206	-	-	12,438
Local Companies	-	-	-	-	239	-	-	14,683
State Sowars	-	-	-	-	206	-	-	42,420
Bhopawur Levy Sowars	-	-	-	-	55	-	-	16,968
TOTAL	-	-	-	-	1,014			<i>Rs.</i> 1,00,473

The conduct of these men during the year has been satisfactory, and they have discharged their duties on the whole efficiently.

7. *Revenue*.—There have been no remissions, and the different instalments of the Government demand have been paid regularly.

8. *Education*.—In the city of Dhar itself there are four schools, English, Mahrattee, and Persian, entirely supported by the State; and in which no fees are taken, and one Rangree School established and maintained at the sole expense of a wealthy Sowcar, by name Ambaram.

During the year Vernacular Schools have been established in Budnawur, Kooksee, Dhurumpooree, and Nalcha: there was considerable difficulty at starting in securing the services of competent teachers, and a great deal of hesitation on the part of the villagers to send their children. On my visiting the different pergunnahs during the last cold weather, I took an opportunity of assembling the principal men in each of these places, and explained to them the many advantages to be derived from education. I am happy to state they are now sending their children, and although as yet the attendance is small, I am in hopes of its increasing. The following is the number of pupils in each school:—

In Budnawur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	Pupils.
„ Kooksee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	„
„ Nalcha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	„
„ Dhurumpooree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	„

9. *Public Works*.—The Dhar and Doodee Road, under construction by a British officer, is now nearly completed, and it is proposed to continue this road through the district north to Budnawur. In the districts a great number of wells, orees, and one or two tanks have been made, and many more been repaired or are under construction.

10. *Post Office*.—There is but one Postal Line through Dhar territory, viz., that from Indore to Baroda; the mail is carried by a runner, and there has been no robbery of it during the year. The only Post-office is at Dhar itself.

11. *Hospital and Dispensaries*.—The dispensary at Dhar, under the able superintendence of Dhakojee Rao Powar, native doctor, is much appreciated by the townspeople and villagers, and has been largely taken advantage of: during the year there were treated 2,356 patients; the majority were out-door patients, and only 10 deaths occurred.

There is a vaccinator attached to the dispensary, and 321 children were vaccinated during the year in Dhar itself.

This dispensary is under Dr. Beaumont, Superintendent of Malwa Dispensaries, who will, doubtless, in his Annual Report, give fuller details than I am able to do.

The State hospital for the treatment of Durbar servants and troops, also in charge of Dhakojee Rao, has been conducted very satisfactorily; the total number treated during the year was 734, out of which there were seven deaths.

12. The only case of boundary disputes between Dhar and any other native State were two in the Neemanpore district, between Holkar and Dhar; these were, under your instruction, taken up and settled by Meer Shahamut Alee, Native Assistant Agent, Governor General.

13. Cholera broke out very severely in the district below the Ghâts about the middle of last month, and has for the last ten days been raging at Dhar.

14. As the financial year of Dhar ends on 4th June next, I purpose submitting a Report thereon as soon as I receive the Reports from the different districts.

From the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Agent Governor General for Central India (No. 334); dated Simla, 5 August 1864.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 37, dated 20th ultimo, forwarding the Report on the general administration of the Dhar State for the year 1863-64, and, in reply, to state that the Governor General in Council learns with satisfaction that the full Government demand for the year has been collected.

2. His Excellency in Council is also gratified to hear of the success which has attended the introduction and extension of education in Dhar.

3. His Excellency in Council further regards as a good sign the interest taken by the young chief in all the schemes connected with local works of public utility.

4. The work on the Dhar and Doodee Road should be vigorously prosecuted.

196.

N

5. Lieutenant

5. Lieutenant Bannerman's careful and satisfactory administration of the State, and his endeavours to gain the confidence of the young chief and assist him in qualifying himself for the management of his chiefship, are very creditable to that officer.

6. His Excellency in Council anxiously awaits the submission of your promised Report on the progress of the chief towards the assumption of the charge of his State.

(No. 12.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., G.C.B., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Foreign Department, Judicial,
Simla, 19 September 1864.

Sir,

IN continuation of the correspondence forwarded with our letter, No. 58, dated 13th ultimo, we have the honour to transmit, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy of a communication from the Agent Governor General for Central India, submitting copy of a Supplementary Report from the Officiating Superintendent of Dhar, in which he furnishes further details of the administration of civil and criminal justice.

2. We also send a copy of the reply.

We have, &c.
(signed) *J. Lawrence.*
H. Rose.
R. Napier.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent Governor General for Central India, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 48-205); dated Indore Residency, 13 August 1864.

WITH reference to paragraph 4 of my letter, No. 37-174, of date 20th ultimo, transmitting a Report on the General Administration of the Dhar State for the past year, I have the honour to forward herewith, for the purpose of being appended thereto, copy of a Supplementary Report from the Officiating Superintendent, furnishing further details of the administration of civil and criminal justice, which, as stated by me in the above paragraph, it has not hitherto been customary to supply in such Reports, but which ought to have been included therein.

2. I regret that the document, of which a copy is now forwarded, was mislaid on its receipt, and that it has since been inadvertently overlooked.

From Captain *P. W. Bannerman*, 2d Assistant Agent Governor General, and Officiating Superintendent, Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent Governor General for Central India (No. 3A.); dated Camp, Indore, 27 July 1864.

IN continuation of my letter, No. 99, of date 11th May last, submitting a brief account of the administration of the Dhar State for the year ending 30th April 1864, I have the honour to forward the following additional details under the head "Judicial":—

PART I.—CIVIL JUSTICE.

2. The suits filed during the year were 1,598, and the number of cases remaining at the close of the year, 270.

There

There were decided in court 1,158, and 170 were compromised and settled by the litigants themselves.

3. The heaviest work falls on the kamasdars of pergunnahs. In two of these (Dhar and Budnawur) I was compelled to suspend, and eventually dismiss, the kamasdars for gross irregularities, and having experienced great difficulty in filling up their places, the work in their cutcherries fell much into arrears, and hence the large number of cases remaining at the close of the year. The new men have, however, worked hard and all the arrears are now cleared off.

4. The value of property in suits disposed of amounted to rupees (64,450) sixty-four thousand four hundred and fifty.

5. In the pergunnahs under the immediate management of the Dewan, Rughonath Narain (Dhar and Dhurumpooree), appeals from the decisions of the local officer lie in the first instance to the Dewan, and ultimately to the Superintendent if the parties are still dissatisfied; in the other pergunnahs they are made direct to me.

6. In the Superintendent's appeal-file there were 11 cases during the year; of these

2	decisions were confirmed.
2	„ „ reversed.
5	„ „ remanded for further investigation.
2	„ „ pending.

PART II.—CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

7. The Criminal Procedure Code and the Penal Code, though not actually introduced into the Dhar State, have been the guide for myself and district officers, and the instructions and orders contained in them adhered to as much as possible.

8. The following Table shows the crimes committed during the year:—

<i>Crimes of the 1st Class of Atrocity.</i>		<i>Crimes of the 2d Class, &c.—continued.</i>	
Murder - - - - -	0	Rape - - - - -	1
Dacoity with murder - - -	0	Unnatural offence - - -	2
Highway robbery with murder - -	0	Voluntarily causing hurt - - -	0
Robbery with murder - - -	0	Total - - - -	4
Culpable homicide - - -	0		
Wounding in attempt to murder -	0	<i>Crimes of the 3d Class of Atrocity.</i>	
Manslaughter - - - -	0	Dacoity - - - - -	1
Attempt to poison - - -	0	Highway robbery - - -	6
Assault with intent to murder -	0	Robbery - - - - -	0
Attempt to murder - - -	0	Attempt at robbery - - -	0
Death caused by an act done to		House-breaking by night and theft	35
cause miscarriage - - -	0	Attempt at theft - - -	10
Abetment of murder - - -	0	House trespass and theft - - -	36
Total - - - -	0	Thefts - - - - -	309
<i>Crimes of the 2d Class of Atrocity.</i>		Arson - - - - -	1
Dacoity with wounding - - -	0	Cattle stealing - - - -	72
Highway robbery with wounding -	0	„ killing - - - - -	2
Robbery with wounding - - -	0	„ lifting - - - - -	11
Grievous hurt - - - -	0	Total - - - -	483
Assault with wounding - - -	0		
Robbery and causing hurt - - -	0	<i>Crimes of the 4th Class of Atrocity -</i>	907
Attempt to commit robbery and		Grand Total of Crimes of all	1,394
voluntarily causing hurt - - -	0	Classes - - - - -	
Administering poison - - -	1		
Previous abetment of suicide - -	0		

9. The value of the property stolen is said to have been 72,000 rupees, and of property recovered, Rs. 26,203. 11. 6.

10. All cases in which punishments (other than those of “fine” or “dismissal from the service”) were inflicted were tried in the Superintendent's court.

11. The following is an abstract of the sentences passed:—

	Confirmed by the Agent Governor General.	By the Superintendent.
Hanged - - - - -	0	0
Transported - - - - -	8	0
Imprisoned for life - - - - -	0	0
" " 14 years and under—	0	0
" " 10 " " - - -	1	0
" " 7 " " - - -	0	0
" " 5 " " - - -	0	0
" " 4 " " - - -	0	0
" " 3 " " - - -	0	13
" " 2 " " - - -	0	9
" " 1 " " - - -	0	9
" " 6 months - - -	0	14
" " 3 " - - -	0	6
" " 2 " - - -	0	2
" " 1 " - - -	0	10
Flogged - - - - -	0	0
Fined and imprisoned - - - - -	0	3
Dismissed the service - - - - -	0	19

From the Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Agent Governor General for Central India (No. 250); dated Simla, 30 August 1864.

In reply to your letter, No. 48, dated 13th August, submitting copy of a Supplementary Report from the Officiating Superintendent of Dhar, furnishing further details of the administration of civil and criminal justice, I am directed to inform you that the Report is considered satisfactory by the Governor General in Council.

(No. 11.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., G.C.B., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Foreign Department, Finance,
Simla, 19 September 1864.

Sir,

WE have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy of a letter from the Agent Governor General for Central India, submitting a Report on the revenue administration and financial condition of the Dhar State, for the year ending 5th June 1864, together with a copy of the reply.

We have, &c.
(signed) *J. Lawrence.*
H. Rose.
R. Napier.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 46-203); dated Indore Residency, 11 August 1864.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for submission to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, a Report, in original, No. 7 A, of date 6th instant, with enclosure, from the Officiating Superintendent of Dhar, on the revenue administration and financial condition of that State, for the year ending 5th June 1864.

2. This Report, with the enclosed account, is drawn up fully and clearly, and requires but little remark from me; but I may observe that it shows a decrease in extraordinary and casual items of income, as compared with the previous year, of an aggregate of 87,675 rupees, while a sum of 30,000 rupees of the land revenue demand for the year under report had not been realised at its close, and is not, therefore, included in the account.

There is also a falling off of 12,000 rupees in the Sayer and Abkaree Revenue, a balance of the former, amounting to nearly 6,000 rupees, also remaining unrealised at the close of the year.

These balances, it will be observed, have since been almost wholly collected.

There is also a further falling off, as compared with 1862-63, arising from the sale in the latter year of a large stock of Government grain, and the realisation therein of quadrennial tributes from zemindars, explained under head 5th, para. 3, of the enclosure.

3. On the other hand, there is an increase of expenditure under two heads, as compared with 1862-63, of 57,000 rupees, made up by an additional outlay on the Dhar and Doodhee-road of 42,000 rupees, and an increase of 15,000 rupees to the chief's personal allowance and household expenses.

4. The general result, as compared with 1862-63, being as follows :—

				Receipts.			Disbursements.			Cash Balance in Treasury at Close of Year.		
				<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
1862-63	-	-	-	6,67,485	8	7	4,99,057	13	3	5,08,238	1	5
1863-64	-	-	-	5,22,126	10	7	5,32,241	7	-	4,98,123	5	-
Increase	-	-	-	-	-	-	33,183	9	9	—		
Decrease	-	-	-	1,45,358	14	-	-	-	-	10,114	12	5

5. An error has been made in crediting, as income, under the head of "profit and loss," the amount of discount, 11,500 rupees, at which the Government promissory notes, referred to in paragraph 12 as having been purchased with a portion of the cash surplus, were obtained, and also in valuing those securities in the cash balance at the close of the year, *vide* end of the account at par, instead of the sum actually paid for them, the correction of which will reduce the income and balance by the above sum, 11,500 rupees. This shall be pointed out to the Officiating Superintendent.

6. In paragraph 3 of my last Report on the financial condition of this State, I mentioned that the annual surplus ought to be at least 75,000 rupees; and, if the unrealised revenue, 36,000 rupees, be added to the actual receipts in the account now submitted, the extraordinary items being struck out on either side, it will be seen that the surplus for the year under report just amounts to 80,000

rupees; the full service of the State, therefore, having been fully and adequately provided for in all its departments.

I trust that this result will be deemed by his Excellency in Council as satisfactory.

From Captain *P. W. Bannerman*, Second Assistant Agent, Governor General, and Officiating Superintendent, Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India (No. 7 A.); dated Camp Indore, 5 August 1864.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith an account current of the receipts and disbursements of the Dhar State, for the year ending 5th June 1864, as also an abstract of this account, showing under their respective general heads the several items of receipt and expenditure, from which it will be seen that at the close of the year the actual cash balance amounted to Rs. 4,98,123. 5.

2. The receipts from all sources during the year amounted to Rs. 5,22,126. 10. 7½., as compared with Rs. 6,67,485. 8. 7. for the year 1862-63, and the total disbursements to Rs. 5,32,241. 7½., whilst in the preceding year these amounted to Rs. 4,99,057. 13. 3.

3. The falling off in the receipts for 1863-64, as compared with those for 1862-63, is accounted for as follows:—

First. In 1862-63 the collections on account of old debts amounted to Rs. 50,490. 14. 11., whereas in 1863-64 they only reached Rs. 25,194. 12. 3.

Second. In 1862-63 the collections on account of "phalla," on the occasion of the chief's nuptials, amounted to Rs. 31,797. 2. 5., whereas in 1863-64 the amount realised was only Rs. 16,791. 15. 9.

Third. Arrears of revenue to the amount of Rs. 1,00,592. 2. 7. were collected in 1862-63, whereas in 1863-64 the realisations under this head were Rs. 63,217. 11. 11.

Fourth. In the Budnawur District, owing to the negligence and remissness on the part of the Kamasdar (who was dismissed about a month before the close of the year), the greater portion of the last kist was not collected by the time the accounts closed. In this pergunnah 25,000 rupees was thus unrealised, and in the others about 5,000 rupees, in all 30,000 rupees.

(Nearly the whole of this sum has been realised since 5th June.)

Fifth. Loss on the sale of Government grain, nearly the whole stock of which was sold the previous year, and loss on the tributes taken from zemindars, which are only levied every fourth year.

4. The excess of expenditure for the year under report, as compared with the preceding one, has arisen thus:—

First. In 1862-63 the expenditure on the Dhar and Doodhee-road only amounted to 53,000 rupees, whereas in 1863-64 it reached 95,500 rupees.

Second. In 1862-63 the household expenditure amounted to 36,780 rupees, whereas in 1863-64 it was 52,780 rupees; this increase was principally caused by the additional 1,000 rupees per mensem allowed to the Rajah for his personal expenses, and which came into force at the commencement of 1863-64.

From the above you will perceive that the ordinary disbursements have not increased, but that the excess is principally due to the additional expenditure on the Dhar and Doodhee-road, and that the falling off in the revenue, as compared with that for 1862-63, is mainly caused by the receipts under the head of "extraordinary" being considerably less, and the arrears of revenue remaining uncollected at the close of the year.

6. The realization of old debts due to the State progresses steadily, and Rs. 25,194. 12. 3. were collected on this account during the year.

7. A few remarks on the several heads from which the revenue is principally derived are submitted.

Land Tax.

8. Cultivation has continued steadily to increase. The demand on account of land revenue (excluding Sayer and Abkaree) is much the same as when the present settlement was made, and the decrease under this head is accounted for by the smaller collections on account of arrears of revenue and the outstanding balances.

The harvest was middling, the rains were favourable, but the opium and grain crops suffered a good deal from frost.

Nine thousand seven hundred and sixty-two (9,762) beegahs of land are under cotton cultivation, and the quantity exported amounted to 8,436 maunds. The cultivators of this crop are decidedly more prosperous than two years ago, and in many instances are independent of the money-lender, and do not now sell their cotton in advance.

Sayer.

9. The revenue under this head consists of "Sale of Government Grain," "Forest Produce," "Grazing Tax," "Sayer Customs." The amount received under this head in 1862-63 was Rs. 34,136. 9., while the realization for 1863-64 amounted to Rs. 25,048. 14. 1.

A balance of Rs. 5,851. 1., remaining uncollected when the accounts were closed, has since been realised.

Abkaree.

10. The Abkaree contracts sold for Rs. 16,842.10.2. in 1862-63, and in 1863-64 for Rs. 13,981. 12. 6.

Customs.

11. The revenue under this head is derived from the "Budnawur and Doodhee-road dues," the Dhar State of the "Maunpore-road and Opium dues." The amount received last year under this head was Rs. 34,620. 11. 6. and in the year under report Rs. 39,813. 8.

12. In December last permission was given to invest a certain portion of the cash surplus in Government securities. For this purpose a sum of 3,20,900 rupees (three lakhs, twenty thousand nine hundred) was withdrawn from the Dhar deposit in the Indore Treasury; and, in consequence of the tightness of the money market in Bombay at the close of last year, I succeeded in purchasing with this sum notes in the Government 4 per cent. loan to the value of 3,32,400 rupees (three lakhs, thirty-two thousand four hundred). The interest on these notes for the six months, 6,640 rupees, is due, as also the Dhar share of the Maunpore-road dues for the last year, but they have not been received in time to embody them in these accounts.

These two items, aggregating about 21,000 rupees, and properly belonging to the year under review, if added to the actual balance in the Treasuries, would show a surplus of 5,19,123 rupees (five lakhs, nineteen thousand one hundred and twenty-three).

ABSTRACT of FINANCIAL REPORT of the DHAR STATE for the Year ending 5th June 1864.

No.	Receipts.	Amount.	TOTAL.	No.	Disbursements.	Amount.	TOTAL.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1	Land Revenue - -	3,35,265 11 1		1	Durbar and Household Expenditure.	1,53,453 2 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	
2	Abkaree, Sayer, Customs -	78,844 2 7 $\frac{1}{2}$		2	Revenue Department -	78,085 6 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	
3	Judicial and Police Fees -	9,754 9 6		3	Judicial Department, including State Troops and Police.	97,464 15 10	
4	Tributes - - -	11,266 10 8		4	Public Works - - -	31,152 8 1	
5	Miscellaneous - - -	45,008 12 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,80,139 14 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	5	Education - - -	1,250 14 5	
				6	Pension - - -	1,027 15 4	
6	Extraordinary : "Shalla," or Collections on the occasion of the Chief's Nuptials.	16,791 15 9		7	Contribution to Malwa Bheel Corps.	20,000 - -	
7	Recovery of Debts due to the State.	25,194 12 3	31,986 12 -	8	Miscellaneous - - -	54,306 8 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	4,36,741 7 $\frac{1}{4}$
				9	Extraordinary : Construction of Dhar and Doodhee-road.	95,500 - -	95,500 - -
	TOTAL Receipts - -	- - -	5,22,126 10 7 $\frac{1}{4}$		TOTAL Disbursements -	- - -	5,32,241 7 - $\frac{1}{4}$
	Add Cash Balance on 6th June 1863.	- - -	5,08,238 1 5		Cash Balance on 6th June 1864.	- - -	4,98,123 5 -
	GRAND TOTAL - -	- - Rs.	10,30,364 12 - $\frac{1}{4}$		GRAND TOTAL -	- - Rs.	10,30,364 12 - $\frac{1}{4}$

(signed) P. W. Bannerman,
Officiating Superintendent.

ANNUAL CASH ACCOUNT of the Dhar State for the Year ending 5th June 1864—continued.

R E C E I P T S.		Amount.		TOTAL.
III.—CUSTOMS.		Rs.	a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Imports:				
Kupud Keerance dues taken on the road between Doodhee and Budhawar	-	2,252	2 -	20,000 - -
Share of Maunpore-road dues	-	8,139	- 4	77 12 1
				158 6 3
Exports:				
Share of Maunpore-road Opium dues	-	12,495	4 8	- - -
Budhawar and Doodhee	-	16,927	1 -	- - -
				- - -
TOTAL				20,236 2 4

ANNUAL CASH ACCOUNT of the Dhar State for the Year ending 5th June 1864—continued.

R E C E I P T S.		Amount.	TOTAL.	D I S B U R S E M E N T S.		Amount.	TOTAL.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
XIII.—PUBLIC WORKS.				V.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ARTS.			
Ferry collections	-	24 5 3	985 2 11	Pay of the School-masters and Assistants	-	-	-
Toll	-	16 - -	127 11 6	Contingencies, stationery, &c.	-	-	-
House rent	-	349 10 5	138 - -	Books for the use of schools	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	-	2,005 13 -		TOTAL	-	1,250 14 5	-
TOTAL	-	-	2,395 12 8	VII.—PENSION AND CHARITABLE ALLOWANCES.			
XIV.—TRIBUTES.				Avehit Rao Puar of Mundlairsir	-	-	361 4 8
Alamohun Rajpore	-	10,000 - -		Charitable allowances, contribution to Malwa Dispeasaries	-	-	666 10 8
Soonderee Larawud	-	666 10 8		TOTAL	-	1,027 15 4	-
Ahirwas	-	600 - -		VIII.—STATE CHARGES.			
TOTAL	-	-	11,266 10 8	Pay of the relatives, mankuries, darukdars, and karkoons of the durbars	-	-	43,183 12 -
				Pay of the petty servants of the durbars	-	-	23,810 8 -
				Kothar, including all kinds of household expenditure of his Highness the Rajah	-	-	51,780 - -
				Khasree allowance	-	-	9,600 - -
				" Sadsee Chotee	-	-	403 - -
				Huks given to durbars attendants	-	-	630 13 -
				Mehman expenses of the durbars on the visit of his Highness the Rajah of Dewas, &c.	-	-	9,912 - 21
				Expenses for the construction of his Highness the late Rajah's tomb	-	-	9,684 10 6
				Expenses of the Rajah's tour, including batta and marching allowance of his camp followers	-	-	1,448 6 7
				Purchase of an elephant	-	-	3,000 - -
				TOTAL	-	1,53,453 2 31	-

ANNUAL CASH ACCOUNT of the Dhar State for the Year ending 5th June 1864—continued.

R E C E I P T S.			D I S B U R S E M E N T S.		
Amount.	TOTAL.		Amount.	TOTAL.	
XV.—MISCELLANEOUS. Fotodaree commission and karkoonce - - - - - Miscellaneous logs - - - - - Savings and refunds - - - - - Profit and loss, difference between the amount withdrawn from the deposit for investment in Government Security and that of the Government notes received for the same.			Rs. a. p. 479 6 6 3,031 12 11 398 - - - 11,500 - - TOTAL - - - Rs.	Rs. a. p. 15,409 3 5	Rs. a. p. 1,490 2 6
XVI.—INTEREST. Interest on loans refunded - - - - - " revenue instalments - - - - - TOTAL - - - Rs.			Rs. a. p. 342 9 6 364 14 - TOTAL - - - Rs.	Rs. a. p. 707 7 6	Rs. a. p. 2,55,382 11 7½
XVII.—PUBLIC DEBT. Local Funds: Bazar-Sudduck Fund - - - - - Chowkeydaree - - - - - Pound - - - - - Udda Bhada - - - - - TOTAL - - - Rs.			Rs. a. p. 63 6 - 129 10 9 64 9 9 134 15 - TOTAL - - - Rs.	Rs. a. p. 300 - - 33,276 5 -½ 15,503 8 9½ TOTAL - - - Rs.	Rs. a. p. 49,079 13 9½
Advances recovered - - - - - Deposits - - - - - Loans refunded due to the State - - - - - TOTAL - - - Rs.			Rs. a. p. 11,228 10 11 14,175 - 8½ 25,194 12 3 TOTAL - - - Rs.	Rs. a. p. 51,691 1 4½	Rs. a. p. 5,32,241 7 -½
BALANCE. Amount invested in British Government Securities - - - - - " in Indore Treasury - - - - - " Dhar - - - - - " District Treasuries - - - - - TOTAL BALANCE - - - Rs.			Rs. a. p. 3,32,400 - - 20,431 - 7 1,29,876 14 3 15,415 6 2 TOTAL BALANCE - - - Rs.	Rs. a. p. 4,98,123 5 -	Rs. a. p. 10,30,364 12 -½
GRAND TOTAL - - - Rs.			GRAND TOTAL - - - Rs.	GRAND TOTAL - - - Rs.	GRAND TOTAL - - - Rs.

(signed) **P. W. Bannerman,**
2d Assistant Agent, Governor General, Central India,
and Officiating Superintendent, Dbar.

From the Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Agent, Governor General, Central India, (No. 277), dated Simla, 31 August 1864.

IN reply to your letter, No. 46, dated 11th August, submitting a Report on the revenue administration and financial condition of the Dhar State for the year ending 5th June 1864, I am directed to inform you that the Governor General in Council considers the results reported to be satisfactory.

(Political Department.)

Sir *Charles Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council,
dated 16 December (No. 78) 1864.

1. I HAVE considered in Council the Despatches of your Excellency's Government, noted in the margin, respecting the administration of Dhar up to the 5th June 1864.

Foreign Letter, dated 13 August (No. 58) 1864.
Foreign (Judicial) dated 19 September (No. 12) 1864.
Foreign (Financial) dated 19 September (No. 11) 1864.

2. The general administration for 1863-4 may be considered highly satisfactory. The attendance of the Chief at cutcherry has been regular, and his readiness to adopt suggestions for the benefit of his country and people, is spoken of in terms of approval. The Dewan, too is favourably mentioned.

3. The State schools are fairly attended, and are believed to have a good chance of becoming popular. Progress in the construction of roads, though slow, is steady; and, under the Superintendent's advice, much has been done for the promotion of local works of public utility.

4. The report on Civil and Criminal Justice is the first of the kind which has been submitted, and there is, therefore, no means of comparing its results with those arrived at in previous years, but it may be considered as being on the whole satisfactory.

5. Her Majesty's Government remark with gratification the collection of the entire land revenue, as a proof that the assessment does not press unduly on the people. The decreasing income and increasing expenditure, as compared with the previous year, are satisfactorily explained; and the surplus exceeds by 5,000 rupees the three-quarters of a lac (75,000 rupees) which have been estimated, on apparently sufficient data, as the average surplus of the Dhar State.

6. The account to the credit of the State, in cash and Government Securities, is stated at 5,19,000 rupees.

7. It thus appears, that under British management, the revenue of the State has increased, notwithstanding the light assessment, from 4,02,000 rupees in 1858 to 4,80,000 rupees in 1863; and the accumulated surplus from 79,536 rupees to 5,19,000 rupees.

8. These results are very gratifying to Her Majesty's Government, as enabling them to render to the native ruler of the State so satisfactory an account of their trusteeship, and are most creditable to the officers concerned in the administration.

(Foreign Department—Political, No. 67.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Charles Wood*, dated Simla,
19 September 1864.

Sir,

WITH reference to para. 6, of your Despatch (No. 14), dated 28th February 1862, we have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a correspondence with the Agent, Governor General, for Central India, from which Her Majesty's Government will observe, that after a full consideration of the report submitted by Major Meade, we have come to the opinion that the management of the Dhar State should be made over at once to its Chief. We have been deterred from

carrying out the views of Her Majesty's Government in this matter earlier, in consequence of the reports received by us of the Chief's incapacity. We, however, consider that the time has now arrived for his restoration to the management of his ancestral possessions. It is by no means certain that the Chief will be able to manage his country, but we are of opinion that the British Government is bound to give him a fair and full trial.

2. As there appears to be no necessity for the continuance of the British agent at Dhar, and as his services were wanted at Indore to supply the place of Captain M'Mullin, we have directed the removal of this officer and all his establishment from the 1st of November next; this will give Captain Bannerman sufficient time to put the Chief in full possession of his authority, and allow a short interval for supervision.

We have, &c.

(signed) *John Lawrence.*

H. Rose.

R. Napier.

H. L. Maine.

C. E. Trevelyan.

W. Grey.

G. N. Taylor.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 51-214); dated Indore Residency, 27 August 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, the result of a recent visit to Dhar, whither I proceeded in the beginning of this week, with the object of carrying out His Excellency's instructions, conveyed by you demi-officially, "that I should report, after careful consideration, on the character and qualifications of the Chief, with a view, if practicable, of allowing him to manage his own country."

2. Before entering on the subject of my late visit to Dhar, I must beg to refer to the enclosed copy of a letter received by me last month from the Officiating Superintendent, Captain Bannerman, transmitting a khureeta from the Rajah to my address, "soliciting the fulfilment of the assurance given him by my predecessor that the government of his State would be entrusted to him on his attaining the age of 18 years, and begging that, if there was any doubt as to his fitness for the charge, the administration might be confided to him for a limited period, he binding himself to conduct it under the same rules and with the same arrangements as at present."

3. Previous to forwarding the letter and its enclosure referred to in the last paragraph, the Officiating Superintendent had informed me of the Chief's desire to address to me such a khureeta, the immediate cause, therefore, being, it was stated, his recent receipt of a copy of a pamphlet lately published in England by Mr. Dickenson, entitled "Dhar not Restored," which had been forwarded to him by post free from this place, being probably one of several copies which, I was informed by Maharajah Holkar last June, had been sent to him by the author direct from England.

4. As Captain Bannerman had, during the preceding 15 months, enjoyed the fullest and most favourable opportunities of forming a correct judgment of the young Chief's fitness for the charge of his State, and was well aware of the orders and anxious wish of Government that every possible effort should be made to fit him therefore, and that the transfer of the management to him should not be unnecessarily deferred, I instructed him, when forwarding the Chief's khureeta, to report carefully on his qualifications and present condition, and also on the state of parties at Dhar in reference to the possible compliance by Government with the young Rajah's request.

5. His report, it will be seen, while giving a favourable account of the Chief's disposition, speaks clearly and distinctly of the improbability of his being ever able
of

of himself to administer the State successfully, if its management be placed unreservedly in his hands; and, in reference to the state of parties at Dhar, it shows that there is no Durbar or State Council which could be looked to, to make up for the deficiencies of the Chief in this respect, and that the maintenance at the head of the administration of a competent, and, in other respects, fitting Dewan, offers the only prospect of a successful management, if the British superintendency be withdrawn.

6. During my recent visit to Dhar, I found the Rajah improved in his personal appearance and manner, the latter being more self-possessed and somewhat less nervous than I had noticed to be the case on previous occasions.

7. I passed several hours with him, the Officiating Superintendent and Dewan being also present, in his private cutcherry, and watched his proceedings in the transaction of the ordinary current business, all of a very simple nature, in connection with the pergunnah under his personal charge, that was submitted to him for disposal.

He listened attentively to each case, and passed his orders thereon very fairly, and in a way which showed that he had really been endeavouring to qualify himself for such duties, and had benefited by the Superintendent's advice and instruction.

8. In the conversations I had with him, the Chief also spoke sensibly and with interest of the improvements already carried out, or proposed, in the several departments of the State, and expressed his desire to follow the advice of the Superintendent, and to act up to the wishes of the British Government in all such matters.

9. I took an opportunity, before leaving Dhar, of referring to the request contained in his khureeta, and of informing him that it was my intention to forward that document with the Superintendent's and my own reports of the progress made by him in fitting himself for the management, and of the state of affairs at Dhar, for the consideration and orders of his Excellency the Viceroy.

10. I also pointed out to the Chief that Sir R. Shakespear's khureeta, referred to by him in his recent communication to me, contained only a qualified assurance that the government of his State would be entrusted to him on his attaining his 18th year, the words used by Sir Richmond in that document being, "after you are 18 years of age, if you are equal to the charge, the management will be made over to you;" while the instructions on this point from your office to my predecessor, contained in paragraph 3 of letter, No. 1696, of date 7th May 1860, merely stated, "that the question of transferring the Government of the State to his Highness would be taken into consideration on his attaining 18 years of age."

I must add here that, it is true, the proclamation regarding the restoration of the Dhar State to its Chief, issued by my predecessor on the 23d May 1860, was less guardedly worded on this point; for it stated that—"On the Rajah's attaining his majority, the management of his possessions will be made over to him;" and that I am, of course, unable to state what verbal communication on the subject passed between Sir Richmond and the Chief, though it is not at all probable that any more definite assurance was given on that occasion than that contained in the documents quoted above.

11. I have entered here into full particulars on this subject, because it will probably be convenient that his Excellency should have exact information as to the assurances actually given on that point under advertence.

12. When I was taking leave of the Chief, he stated that he wished to prefer a request for my consideration in connection with the subject of his khureeta, and that he would communicate it to me through the Dewan, who shortly after followed me to the Superintendent's house for the purpose.

This request was to the effect that—

1st. He might be at once entrusted with the management on his own responsibility, the Superintendent remaining at Dhar if the continued presence there of a British officer was deemed absolutely necessary, solely in a political capacity; or, if this could not be sanctioned, that—

2d. The management might be entrusted to him on probation, to be carried on by him with the Dewan, the Superintendent remaining at Dhar to watch over his proceedings and to assist him with his advice.

I begged the Dewan to inform the Chief that no change of the nature solicited could be made in the existing arrangement without the sanction of Government, but that I would include this request of his Highness in the Report I was about to submit for the Governor General's information, and that in the mean time his own special charge should be extended, if he desired it, in such way as might appear to the Superintendent reasonable and practicable.

13. I now beg to state, after the fullest and most careful consideration of the case, that though the Rajah has certainly improved in manner and general intelligence, and has learnt to pass suitable orders in simple cases, such as those which were read over to him in my presence, he cannot, in my opinion, be said to be equal to the charge of the State, and that I am compelled to concur with Captain Bannerman that there is no reasonable prospect of his ever being able himself actively to superintend and direct its administration; and that its successful management, if the British Superintendent be withdrawn, must depend wholly on the character and fitness for the situation of the person filling the responsible post of Dewan.

14. I have every reason to believe that Captain Bannerman has, in the enclosure, faithfully delineated the young Chief's character and mental condition, and has rightly estimated the results that would ere long ensue, if the charge of the State were made over to him, without some arrangements or conditions calculated to secure the employment and maintenance in authority by the Chief of a trustworthy and fitting minister.

15. The Rajah is docile and well disposed, and has hitherto shown himself amenable to good advice; but he has neither the character nor strength of mind or will which would enable him to resist the influence of any designing person about him who managed to secure his confidence.

16. He stands alone, so far as his own State is concerned; has no Durbar; and, with the exception of the present Dewan, Ruggonath Naraien, no person about him connected with Dhar to whom he could look for counsel or advice, for neither the Vakeel nor the Khasgee Karkoon, referred to in paragraph 5 of Captain Bannerman's letter, are at all qualified to assist him in that respect.

17. His maternal uncle, Ram Rao, also mentioned in that paragraph, who resides at Indore, and is a subject and creature of Maharajah Holkar's, is the person most in his private confidence; and there can be no doubt that his influence, if he had the opportunity of exercising it, would be used to bring the Dhar State and its Rajah under the indirect subjection of his own chief, a result which, I am bound to state, would be a grievous misfortune for both, and from which I feel strongly we are specially bound to protect them.

18. On a consideration of all these circumstances, and in the belief that the Governor General will nevertheless deem it desirable and expedient that the British superintendency should be withdrawn, if any practicable arrangement can be made for the administration of the State being carried on under the orders of its Chief, I beg to submit the following proposals with this object, for his Excellency's consideration, in the event of such being the case:—

I. The present management to continue till next April, when the Chief will attain the age of 21 years, every effort being made by the Superintendent during the interim, to direct the Rajah's attention to, and to prepare him for, the higher duties that will then devolve on him as head of the State.

II. The charge of the administration to be transferred to the Chief on his attaining the age of 21 years, as above, on the following conditions, viz.:—

1st. That the system of management introduced during the British superintendency shall be maintained; all leases and other engagements granted or entered into on the part of the State during that period being respected till the expiry of the term of such settlements.

2d. That the present Dewan, Ruggonath Naraien, shall not be removed from office without the concurrence of the British Government; and that, should

should the post of Dewan fall vacant, the selection of a person to fill it shall be made by the Rajah with the advice of the officer in political charge of Dhar, such selection being subject to the approval of the Governor General's agent.

3d. That the arrangements and allotments from the revenue for the completion of the lines of road in progress at the date of transfer shall be continued till the said lines are finished, the obligation of maintaining thereafter all such lines in fair repair resting with the Dhar State.

4th. That no alienation of the territory or revenues of the State to any of the neighbouring chiefs, whether in the form of exchange or of gift, shall be carried out without the advice and concurrence of the Governor General's agent.

5th. That the breach in the Dhar fort shall remain open and in its present condition, no repairs being made to it, and no addition in other respects to the defences of the work, without the sanction of the British Government.

III. The Dhar State, from the date of the transfer, to be placed under the political supervision of the Bheel agent and political assistant, with instructions to spend a few days each month at Dhar for some time to come, and to satisfy himself on such occasions that the progress of affairs is satisfactory.

19. With reference to the second of the conditions proposed under head II., I beg to state that the Dewan, Ruggonath Narain, was not on good terms with the chief at the time of his appointment, and that, though he has apparently now quite got over any dislike that the Rajah may originally have entertained towards him, the enmity of the maternal uncle, Ram Rao, and of the parties who were in power at Dhar in the autumn of 1857, to whose misconduct the misfortunes of the State were chiefly owing, but towards whom the chief has always been believed to have a leaning, would probably, with a weak prince like Anund Rao, soon render it impossible for him to retain his post, unless authoritatively supported by the British Government.

I therefore recommend the insertion of the condition in his behalf, though I am quite sensible of the grave objections, on general grounds, to such a measure.

Rugghonath Narain has hitherto behaved so circumspectly, and has so carefully abstained from anything in his conduct or demeanour that could displease or annoy his chief, while he has at the same time endeavoured by all proper and reasonable means to obtain his confidence and good opinion, that I have every hope he will do nothing hereafter to expose himself to the charge of taking advantage of, or abusing the support of, the British Government, if it be extended to him as proposed.

It will, however, be the duty of the political officer under whose supervision the State may be placed to watch him closely on this point, and at once to notice and check any symptoms of want of due deference towards, or respect for, his chief, should such occur.

20. With respect to the other conditions under head II., I trust his Excellency will deem them such as ought, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to be imposed.

The fourth appears to me to be absolutely necessary to secure the integrity of the State, and to prevent the misappropriation of its revenues.

With regard to the fifth, the defences of the fort were ordered to be dismantled after its capture in 1857, but these instructions were not then carried out, as was reported to Government in my predecessor's letters, as per margin, and it has since remained in the condition in which it was left by the force which took it; the lower part of the breach alone having been hastily built up in 1858 to secure the place from surprise by Tantia Topee, in the event of his visiting Dhar.

The orders of Government on the above Reports are contained in your office letters, as per margin.

Nos. 99 and 207, dated 28th April and 22d May 1860, respectively, Parl. Paper, No. 30, Sess. 1861.

No. 1696, dated 7th May 1860, para. 12. No. 1994, dated 15th June 1860, para. 7. Parl. Paper, No. 30, Sess. 1861.

21. Under head III. I have proposed the adoption of the same arrangement for the political supervision of the State that existed prior to 1857, but there would probably be an advantage in the continued residence of a political officer at Dhar for some short time subsequent to the transfer, and the superintendent might remain in that capacity for a period of (6) six months, by which time the new arrangements would, it may be hoped, have settled down, if such appeared advisable to his Excellency in Council.

From Captain *P. W. Bannerman*, 2d Assistant Agent, Governor General, for Central India, and Officiating Superintendent, Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, Confidential (No. 1A.); dated 12 July 1864.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a khureeta to your address (with English translation) from his Highness Anund Rao Puar, in which, after referring to the letters received by him regarding the restoration of the State, he prays that the administration may be confided to his management.

As his Highness refers to me in the khureeta as able to give information of the manner in which affairs are conducted at Dhar, and as I have now been upwards of a year in charge of the State, I trust that a few remarks from me on the subject may not be deemed out of place.

2. Since my arrival here, in April 1863, I have been in constant intercourse with the Rajah, and have had many opportunities of judging of his character and abilities. I have, to the best of my ability, by associating him with me daily in the transaction of business in Cutcherry; by frequent and lengthy conversations on revenue and financial matters, and on the advantages of railways, roads, tanks, education, an impartial administration of justice (the latter exceedingly rare under a native government); and by discussions, in fact, on nearly every subject which a native chief, desirous of benefiting his people, ought to understand and take an interest in; also by making over to him civil and criminal cases for investigation, and by entrusting him with nearly the entire management of one of the pergunnahs, endeavoured to qualify him to carry on the Government of his own State.

The Rajah possesses an amiable disposition, and has always shown himself most attentive and willing to carry out any advice or suggestions I may have given him; but from ill health and his weak and easy disposition, I much regret that I cannot conscientiously hold out any hopes of his ever being more fitted to govern than he is now; nor do I think there is any prospect of a successful management of the State, if the administration be made over unreservedly to his Highness.

3. With this view of the personal capabilities of the chief, in the event of the British superintendency being removed, there appear to me only two methods by which the business of the State could be carried on, namely, by a Council of the Durbar, or by a Dewan.

4. Regarding the first, a Durbar, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, does not exist at Dhar. The only hereditary members of the old Durbar are—

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Furnavese. | 4. Bukshee. |
| 2. Chetnavese. | 5. Mogumder. |
| 3. Siceñavese. | |

With respect to these:—

(1.) The actual Furnavese, Amrut Rao Sudaseo, is insane; and his son is only 14 years of age.

(2.) The Chetnavese, Weswanath Jabbajee, was suspended in 1860 from the appointment he then held (Kamasdar of Nalcha) for neglect of duty and misappropriation of Government money; the latter charge was not fully substantiated on the investigation which was made, but sufficient was elicited to convince the Rajah that he was not a man to place much confidence in.

(3.) The present Siceñavese, Martund Rao Mukhoond, is a boy of 11 years of age.

(4.) The Bukshee, Bulwunt Rao Bappojee, is at present also Kamasdar of the Dhar Pergunnah; he is a very good, hard-working, honest man, but without the slightest pretensions to talent, and not fitted for a higher position than he now holds.

(5.) The representative of the Mogumder is a woman, and consequently unable to take any part in State matters.

4. There are thus amongst the hereditary members of the Durbar none who are either capable of administering the State themselves or advising the Rajah.

5. The only men, as far as my observation goes, whom the Rajah would be likely to associate with himself in the transaction of business, or to whose advice he would listen, are—

- | | | |
|---------------|-------|--|
| 1. Bappojee | - - - | Karkoon of the Khasgee. |
| 2. Govind Rao | - - - | Vakeel. |
| 3. Ram Rao | - - - | { Maternal uncle of his Highness and one of the
private attendants of Maharajah Holkar. |
| | | None |

None of these three possess the education, abilities, or standing, in the estimation of the people of the State, which would qualify them either to fill the rôle of minister, or to tender sound and judicious advice.

With respect to the last named, Ram Rao, there are, I consider, very strong objections to his being employed in any important post in the State; he is of an intriguing disposition, and is supposed by the people here (rightly or wrongly) to be in the confidence of Maharajah Holkar, and disposed to view most favourably his Highness's system of Government. In the event of the British superintendency being removed, and this man succeeded in inducing the Rajah to take him into his confidence and appoint him to a high post, I fear that, ere long, the Dhar State would virtually become an appanage of Holkar's; more especially as the Rajah's uncle, his Highness Bappoo Sahib, Chief of Dewas, who always took great interest in Dhar affairs, and gave the soundest advice to the young Rajah, is now no more, and there is now not a single relative to watch over the interests of the young chief.

6. With respect to the administration by a Dewan. The present minister, Ruggonath Narain, was selected by Captain Wood as the only person fitted for the post, and after much intercourse and a close constant supervision of the manner in which he conducts the duties of his office, I am convinced that he fully justifies the confidence placed in him, and is in every respect a competent minister. His advice to the Rajah is invariably judicious, and he has the interests of the Dhar State most thoroughly at heart.

7. If, therefore, the administration was made over to the Rajah, and there were grounds for supposing that his Highness would, by tacitly acknowledging his own incapacity personally to carry on the duties of Government, leave the administration to the present Dewan, a successful result might be anticipated; but if on the other hand the Rajah were placed in unreserved charge, I feel tolerably confident that he would not retain Ruggonath Narain as Dewan for any length of time.

The Rajah has now got quite over the dislike he had to him, and at present listens to and follows the advice he gives; but the check he exercises upon the extravagance and expensive ideas of the Rajah is distasteful to his Highness, and the anxiety of the persons in immediate attendance on the Rajah to get rid of one who interferes so much with their plans, would, I think, soon result in Ruggonath Narain being ousted and Ram Rao appointed in his stead.

Than this a worse selection could not possibly be made. In a very short time the Rajah would forget all he has learnt; he would gladly get rid of the irksomeness of attending to business; the revenue would inevitably be squandered; and eventually all real power would fall into the hands of Ram Rao and a neighbouring native court, whose dependent and creature he is; such a result appears to me most undesirable, and to be prevented as much as possible.

Translation of a Khureeta addressed by His Highness *Anund Rao Puar Sunsthan*, Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India; dated 12 July 1864.

AFTER the usual compliments proceeds to state,—

That, in a khureeta from the Indore Residency, dated 21st May 1860, I was informed that the Government of the State would be intrusted to me on my attaining the age of 18 years. Subsequently, on Brigadier-General Sir R. Shakespear, then Agent, Governor General, for Central India, visiting Dhar, he gave me the same hopes, but on the desired time arriving, it was reported to the British Government that I was disqualified by ill health from conducting the duties of ruler. Up to the present date the management of the State has not been intrusted to me, and the old arrangement is still in force. You are aware how affairs are conducted at Dhar, and Captain Bannerman, under whose orders the Government is at present carried on, can give you full information on this point. Should any doubt exist as to my fitness, I beg the administration may be confided to me on probation for a limited period, and I bind myself to conduct it under the same rules, and with the same arrangement as at present.

If some such arrangement be not made, then the encouragement and hopes I have derived from daily attending to business will be turned into discouragement; it therefore now entirely depends upon you to make some such arrangement.

Thinking this a suitable opportunity, I have troubled you in this matter.

From the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Agent, Governor General, for Central India (No. 481); dated Simla, 12 September 1864.

I AM directed by the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 51, dated 27th August, and, in reply, to inform you that his Excellency in Council has read with great attention your report and its enclosure, and after full consideration, is of opinion that the management of the Dhar State

State should be made over at once to its chief. The Secretary of State has been desirous for the last year that this should be done, and the Governor General in Council has only been deterred from carrying out his views in consequence of the reports which his Excellency in Council had heard of the chief's incapacity. The Governor General in Council now considers that the time has come for his restoration to the management of his ancestral possessions. His Excellency in Council is by no means certain that the chief will be able to manage his country, but the Governor General in Council is of opinion that the British Government is bound to give him a fair and full trial. He is now nearly 21 years of age, or 2½ years older than the period at which native chiefs are generally considered to be entitled to government.

2. With the view of giving the chief the best assistance available, it will be expedient to stipulate that he shall employ the present Dewan, Ruggonath Narain, and subscribe generally to the second of the alternative proposals in the 18th paragraph of your letter now under acknowledgment. The five conditions therein laid down are fair and reasonable, and their maintenance will prove advantageous to the chief.

3. His Excellency in Council does not consider that any valid case is made out for the continuance of the British agent at Dhar: his Excellency in Council accordingly directs that this officer and all his establishment be removed from the 1st of November next; this will give Captain Bannerman sufficient time to put the chief in full possession of his authority and allow a short interval for supervision. The Dewan should be warned how much will depend on his care, integrity, and good management.

4. With reference to your demi-official letter of the 29th August, his Excellency in Council approves of your directing Captain Bannerman to take charge of the Residency during your visit to Gwalior.

(Political Department, No. 85.)

Sir *Charles Wood* to the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir,

India Office, 24 December 1864.

Para. 1. I HAVE received and considered in Council the Despatch of your Excellency's Government, No. 67, of the 19th September 1864, the enclosures to which were received only on the 21st November.

2. This correspondence relates to the surrender to the young Rajah of the administration of the principality of Dhar.

3. When the decision was first passed by the Home Government of India, that this ancient Hindoo State, which had been confiscated on account of the rebellion of its mercenary troops during the period of general trouble in 1857, should not be permanently alienated from its native rulers, the legitimate prince was a minor, in feeble health, and of no very advanced intelligence.

4. As there was no Durbar to which the government of the principality could be entrusted with advantage to the State or to the young prince himself, it was considered to be expedient to invest in a British officer authority to control the administration, until such time as the Rajah might be capable of managing the affairs of the principality for himself.

5. Accordingly, one of the officers of your government was placed in charge of the administration, with instructions to economise the revenues of the State for the benefit of the Rajah, and to do all that could be done, by good influence and sound advice, to qualify him for the conduct of public affairs, on attaining his majority, according to the law and usage of his country.

6. But the young Rajah, after completing his 18th year, was not, in the opinion of your local officers, qualified to take into his own hands the conduct of affairs, without serious risk of endangering the interests of the State. The stewardship of the British Government was therefore continued, and under it the financial prosperity of Dhar continued steadily to increase.

7. But

7. But I now learn, with much satisfaction, from your Excellency, that it was the opinion of your Government that the surrender, under certain conditions, of the administration of the country to the young Rajah need no longer be delayed, and that, therefore, you purposed to withdraw the controlling authority of the British agent, from the commencement of the month of November. This measure has the entire approval of Her Majesty's Government, to whom it has been a source of regret that the restoration of the principality, in the fullest administrative as well as financial sense, could not be accomplished at an earlier period, without, in the judgment of those in the best position to form an opinion, engendering a state of affairs which might shortly have necessitated further interference on the part of the British Government, and thus have retarded, to a still later date, the permanent re-assumption of the sovereign authority by "the legitimate" ruler.

8. The wise and careful management by which the resources of the State have been husbanded by the officers of your Government will place the Rajah in possession of a considerable surplus revenue on assuming the administration; and Her Majesty's Government earnestly hope that, being now of somewhat more mature age, and having had the benefit of the assistance of a British officer near him for a longer period, he will turn his opportunities to better account than if he had entered at an earlier period on the duties and responsibilities of government.

9. But, although Her Majesty's Government are fully aware that, on the withdrawal of the British agent, the success of the administration must mainly depend on the character and capacity of the Dewan, and that it is of the utmost importance, for his own sake, to protect the young Rajah against the sinister influences of the intrigues and cabals which are so frequent in an eastern government, I am averse to the imposition of any conditions which may have the effect of compelling the prince to retain permanently, against his will, the services of a minister supported by British authority, and not by the confidence of his own master. The effect of this must be, whilst lowering his dignity and reducing his power, to encourage him to shift on the British Government the responsibility of misrule. Arrangements of this kind are, indeed, equally disadvantageous to a native prince and to ourselves. I trust, therefore, that, whilst protecting the Dhar principality against the evils incident on abrupt changes, you will not consider it necessary to insist upon the continuance of the condition respecting the maintenance of the present Dewan in authority beyond such a period as may be absolutely necessary to this protection; and that the object in view may be afterwards attained by means of occasional visits from one of the officers attached to your agency in Central India.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, to Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 60-250); dated Indore Residency, 14 October 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, that the orders for the immediate restoration to the Dhar Chief of the management of his ancestral possessions, conveyed in your Despatch, No. 481, of date 12th ultimo, were duly carried out on the 1st instant by the Officiating Superintendent, Captain Bannerman, at a formal durbar held at the palace at Dhar for the occasion.

2. I beg to forward, for submission to his Excellency in Council, Captain Bannerman's Report of his proceedings in this matter,* together with a copy of the instructions of this office for his guidance, and a translation of the khureeta, in which I communicated to the Chief the orders on the subject, as above, issued by the Governor General in Council; all of which will, I trust, meet with his Excellency's approval.

* No. 24 A., dated 7th October 1864, in original.

From Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, to Captain *P. W. Bannerman*, Officiating Superintendent of Dhar (No. 1 G.); dated Indore Residency, Camp Gwalior, 22 September 1864.

YOUR letter, No. 1 A., of date 12th July last, transmitting a khureeta to my address from the Rajah of Dhar soliciting that he might be intrusted with the government of the State, in fulfilment of the assurances given him by my predecessor, having been forwarded for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, together with my own views on this question and on the general state of affairs and parties at Dhar, I have the honour to inform you that, after a full consideration of the subject referred to in these Reports, his Excellency in Council has decided that the time has arrived for giving the Chief a fair and full trial in the management of his ancestral possessions, and has directed the immediate restoration of the same to him on certain conditions, the Superintendent merely remaining at Dhar till 1st November next, to admit of his putting the Rajah in full possession of his authority and of a short subsequent interval of supervision.

Extract, paragraphs 13 to 21, of letter from Agent, Governor General, to Secretary to Government of India, No. 51-214, dated 27th ultimo.

Letter from Secretary to Government, to Agent, Governor General, No. 481, dated 12th instant.

2. I beg to forward herewith, for your information and guidance, copies of the correspondence, as per margin, between this office and Government, referred to above, together with a khureeta from myself to the address of Rajah Anund Rao Powar, announcing to him the Viceroy's orders in this matter, which latter document you will yourself present to the Chief in a full durbar as soon as you can proceed to Dhar for that purpose.

3. The conditions to which his Highness is expected to subscribe, previous to the actual transfer to him of the charge of the State, are those set forth under head II. of paragraph 18 of my letter to the Secretary to Government, No. 51-214, of 27th ultimo, a careful translation of which will be made in this office and forwarded to you with this letter.

4. These conditions should be carefully read over and explained to the Chief in private, previous to the publication of the khureeta in the durbar, and it will be convenient that he should signify his assent and attach his signature to them before the assembly of the latter. I do not anticipate that there will be any difficulty on this point, as the Rajah is, I believe, quite willing to agree to any terms of the sort which the Governor General in Council may deem it necessary under the circumstances to impose.

5. I beg that, after the khureeta has been read, you will convey to his Highness, in suitable terms, my congratulations on the accomplishment of his hopes and expectations on this subject, and my good wishes for his future success as ruler of the State.

6. I beg that you will also impress on the Dewan, Rughoonath Narain, what is expected of him in his future career and relations with his Chief, and how much will depend on his care, integrity, and good management, in the delicate and responsible position he will henceforth hold in the State.

7. You will complete every arrangement for your final withdrawal from Dhar on 1st November next with your establishment, the political supervision of the State being made over on that date to Major Cumming, Bheel Agent and Political Assistant, to whose charge will also be transferred the English and other records of your office, not being purely State documents, all of which should be left with the Chief.

TRANSLATION of Khureeta from the Agent, Governor General, for Central India, to His Highness *Anund Rao Puar*, Rajah of Dhar; dated 22 September 1864.

ON the occasion of my recent visit to Dhar I informed your Highness that it was my intention to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, your khureeta to my address, of date 12th July last, soliciting the full restoration of the State of Dhar to your charge, together with the Superintendent's and my own reports on the affairs of the said State, and the result of my observations as to your Highness's fitness to undertake its management.

2. I have

2. I have now the pleasure to inform you that his Excellency in Council, after a full consideration of those reports, has decided that the time has arrived for giving your Highness a fair and full trial in the management of your ancestral possessions, and has directed the restoration thereof to you on certain conditions, which have been recommended by this office, and which are deemed by his Excellency in Council as fair and reasonable, and the maintenance of which will, in his Excellency's opinion, prove advantageous to your Highness.

3. These conditions will be communicated to you by the Officiating Superintendent, and you will, I am convinced, have no hesitation in concurring in and subscribing to them.

4. Your formal acceptance of these conditions and the other requisite arrangements preparatory to the transfer of the administration to your Highness having been completed, the latter measure will be at once carried out, the Superintendent merely remaining at Dhar to put your Highness in full possession of your authority and to allow of a brief interval of subsequent supervision till 1st November next, when he and his establishment will be finally withdrawn from the State.

After that date the political relations of Dhar with this office will be conducted, as formerly, through the Bheel Agent and Political Assistant at Sirdarpore.

5. It is the earnest wish of the Governor General in Council that your Highness should have the best assistance available in carrying on the administration of the State, and his Excellency, therefore, desires that the present dewan shall remain in office to aid you in the weighty charge you are about to undertake; and that this office shall be consulted prior to any change in the occupancy of this important post, no such change being made therein without its concurrence.

To this your Highness will, I doubt not, readily assent.

6. From my conversations with your Highness, as well as from what I have heard from time to time from the Superintendent, I am satisfied that you will endeavour to continue and maintain the system of administration introduced and established by the Superintendent, and that you will thus secure to your State permanently the full advantages and benefits of that system.

7. I shall watch with anxious interest your Highness's proceedings in the arduous and responsible task you are about to undertake, and I beg to assure you of my sincere and heartfelt hopes and good wishes for your success therein.

8. Let your dealings and those of your officials with the meanest of your subjects be characterised by justice, moderation, and good faith; exercise your authority with impartiality, but with a firm and resolute hand; see that the cultivators and landholders are not oppressed by the district officials; let the revenue be honestly collected, and fairly and economically expended, with due consideration to the wants and advantage of the community at large; encourage education amongst your people; improve the communications within your State; and do all in your power to provide for the security and freedom from obstruction therein of commerce and traffic.

Lastly, bear ever in mind and fulfil faithfully your obligations to the paramount power, and pay due attention to the advice and requisitions of its local political officers, from whom you will always receive all proper and reasonable countenance and support.

FROM Captain *P. W. Bannerman*, 2d Assistant Agent, Governor General, for Central India, and Officiating Superintendent, Dhar, to Major *R. J. Meade*, Agent, Governor General, for Central India (No. 24 A.); dated Camp Indore, 7 October 1864.

IN conformity with the instructions conveyed in your letter, No. 1 G., of date 22d September, I have the honour to report my arrival at Dhar on the morning of Friday, the 30th idem, for the purpose of presenting to his Highness Anund Rao Puar your khureeta, intimating to him the orders of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council regarding the restoration of his ancestral possessions.

2. On Friday evening I had a long private interview with his Highness, when I most carefully read over and explained, one by one, the five conditions, as laid down in paragraph 18 of your letter, No. 51-214, of 27th August, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, and to which it was considered advisable his Highness should subscribe.

3. From the conversation which ensued I learned that his Highness was decidedly unwilling to bind himself to these conditions. This occasioned me some surprise, as in all previous conversations on the subject the Rajah had always expressed his perfect willingness to agree to any conditions the British Government might desire to impose when intrusting him with the management of the State. His Highness is a man of no strength of character, and I attribute this change in his sentiments to the advice of some of the individuals mentioned in paragraph 5 of my letter, No. 1 A., of 12th July.

I have also strong reasons for believing that the Rajah was counselled from Indore not to bind himself to any conditions whatever. However, to none of them did his Highness much demur, with the exception of the last, in which it is stipulated that the breach in the fort shall remain open and in its present condition, and that no addition to the defences of the place be made without the sanction of the British Government. His Highness evidently desired and had intended to repair the fort thoroughly, and this stipulation caused him considerable disappointment.

After some little conversation, however, he assented to and attached his signature to this and the other four conditions.

4. When explaining the second, his Highness remarked that, as it was deemed advisable that a stipulation should be taken from him regarding the appointment of a dewan, and more especially with reference to Rughoonath Narain, he trusted he would not be considered unreasonable in wishing that an agreement should be taken from that official binding himself to carry on the duties of the State faithfully and honestly, and always to conduct himself with the respect and obedience due by a subject to his chief.

An agreement of this nature was accordingly drawn up by me and signed by Rughoonath Narain; one copy was given to his Highness, a second to the dewan, and the third is herewith forwarded for your information.

5. After his Highness had signified his assent to these conditions, the dewan was summoned, and they were read over and most carefully explained by me to him. I pointed out most forcibly to Rughoonath Narain the duties and respect he owed to his chief, and I urged upon his attention the care, integrity, and good management which would be required of him in his arduous and responsible position. His Highness listened most attentively whilst I was thus addressing the dewan, and immediately said, that although he wished an engagement of the nature referred to in paragraph 4 to be taken from him, still he begged me to understand that he and Rughoonath Narain were the best of friends, and that he considered himself most fortunate in having such a trusty counsellor.

6. On the evening of Saturday the 1st, I proceeded to the palace accompanied by Major Cumming, Bheel Agent, and Mr. Langborne, Assistant Opium Agent, for the purpose of delivering your khureeta. The Rangra Thakoors of Budnawur, the Mundloe of Bukhtghur, and the various district officials were present in the durbar.

After a few minutes of the customary complimentary conversation, the khureeta was presented by me and a salute fired. The khureeta was then read aloud; the Rajah seemed much affected, and, at its conclusion, addressed a few words to me in reply, expressing his sense of the generosity of the British Government in intrusting the management of the State to his own hands, and his determination ever to fulfil faithfully his obligations to the paramount power.

I then offered him your congratulations on the attainment of his hopes and expectations on this subject, and your good wishes for his future success as ruler of the State. I, at the same time, took the opportunity of addressing a few words to the Rangra Thakoors and Bukhtghur Mundloe, impressing on them the absolute necessity of a cheerful and ready obedience to their feudal chief, more especially with reference to the question of "damee" and "bhet" recently decided by your office, and regarding which there is still much ill-feeling between the parties concerned.

7. Utur-pan was then distributed, and the durbar broke up.

8. The transfer of the administration to the young chief has occasioned general satisfaction to his subjects. The attainment of his wishes on this point has, of course, caused his Highness much gratification; he has repeatedly assured me that he will never forget the great advantages his State has derived from British management, and will always endeavour so to carry on the administration as to prove that he is not unworthy of the consideration which has been shown him.

9. When it is considered that on the 14th of February 1858, the date on which Meer Shahamut Alee, Native Assistant of the Central Indian Agency, was placed in charge of the Dhar State, the cash balance amounted to Rs. 79,535. 14., and that very large arrears of pay were due to the mánkurrees, relatives, durbar officials, and troops; and that on the 1st October 1864, the date on which the Rajah was intrusted with the reins of government, the cash balance amounted to Rs. 4,27,192. 6. 11.; that all debts due by the State had been paid off; that a sum of Rs. 2,83,770. 5. 3. had been spent on the improvement of communications and other works of public utility; and that far greater safety was afforded to commerce and traffic than ever formerly existed, His Highness has, I think, every reason to be grateful for the benefits his State has derived from British management, and I trust these benefits may be lasting.

10. The detachment of the Bhopal Levy on duty at Dhar (with the exception of a party of one havildar and six sepoy, left at the Superintendent's bungalow till 1st November), has marched to join head-quarters at Sehore, its duties in the fort having been taken by the toman of police, the enlistment of which was sanctioned in your letter, No. 23 E., of date 19th December 1863.

11. The cash balance in the several treasuries on the 1st October, as per annexed statement, examined and signed by his Highness and the dewan as correct, and amounting to

to (Rs. 4,27,192. 6. 11.) four lakhs, twenty-seven thousand one hundred and ninety-two rupees, six annas, and eleven pies, has been made over by me to Rughoonath Narain, and I beg to enclose his Highness's receipt for the same in duplicate.

12. Two copies of the conditions assented to and subscribed by his Highness are herewith forwarded.

13. In conclusion, I trust that the manner in which I have endeavoured to carry out your instructions will meet with your approval.

I, Rughoonath Narain, having been appointed Dewan of the Dhar State, do hereby bind myself to conduct the duties of the State truly and honestly, to render judicious advice to the best of my ability to his Highness the Rajah on all occasions, and always to conduct myself with all due respect and obedience to him as my chief.

Dhar, 30 September 1864.

(signed) *Rughoonath Narain.*

Signed, before me, this 30th day of September 1864.

(signed) *P. W. Bannerman,*
Officiating Superintendent.

STATEMENT showing the Amount standing to the Credit of the Dhar State on 1st October 1864, and made over on that Date to His Highness *Anund Rao Puar* by Captain *P. W. Bannerman*, Officiating Superintendent.

				<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
In Indore Treasury :									
Government Promissory Notes	-	-	-	3,20,900	-	-			
Cash	-	-	-	36,293	15	11			
							3,57,193	15	11
In Dhar Treasury :									
In Fort	-	-	-	60,000	-	-			
In Palace :									
			<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>				
Halee and Government Rupees			9,715	-	-				
Halves and Quarters	-	-	162	5	-				
Copper Coin	-	-	121	2	-				
				9,998	7	-			
							69,998	7	-
GRAND TOTAL				-	-	-	<i>Rs.</i>	4,27,192	6 11

(signed) *P. W. Bannerman,*
Assistant Agent, Governor General, Central India,
Officiating Superintendent, Dhar.

Dhar,
1 October 1864.

CERTIFIED that the above has been examined by me and found to be correct.

(signed) *Anund Rao Puar,*
Sowasthan, Dhar.
Rughoonath Narain,
Dewan, Dhar.

I, ANUND RAO PUAR, Sowasthan, Dhar, do hereby acknowledge to have examined the accounts of the Dhar State Treasury as they stood on 1st October 1864, the date on which the administration of the State was intrusted to my care, and to testify to their correctness, and to admit having received from Captain P. W. Bannerman, Assistant Agent, Governor General, for Central India, and Officiating Superintendent, the following amount standing to the credit of the State on the above date:—

				<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
In Indore Treasury :									
Government Promissory Notes	-	-	-	3,20,900	-	-			
Cash	-	-	-	36,293	15	11			
TOTAL in Indore Treasury				-	-	-	3,57,193	15	11
In Dhar Treasury :									
In Fort	-	-	-	60,000	-	-			
In Palace :									
				<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>			
Halee and Government Rupees				9,715	-	-			
Halves and Quarters	-	-	-	162	5	-			
Copper Coin	-	-	-	121	2	-			
				9,998	7	-	69,998	7	-
GRAND TOTAL				-	-	-	<i>Rs.</i> 4,27,192	6	11

Rupees four lakhs, twenty-seven thousand one hundred and ninety two, annas six, and pies eleven.

(signed) *Anund Rao Puar.*

Sowasthan, Dhar.

(countersigned) *Rughoonath Narain,*
Dewan of Dhar.

1 October 1864.

CONDITIONS subscribed to by *Anund Rao Puar*, Rajah of Dhar, on the Transfer to His Highness of the Management of his State.

1st. THAT the system of management introduced during the British superintendency shall be maintained; all leases or other engagements granted or entered into on the part of the State during that period being respected till the expiry of the term of such settlement.

2d. That the present Dewan, Rughoonath Narain, shall not be removed from office without the concurrence of the British Government, and that should the post of Dewan fall vacant the selection of a person to fill it shall be made by the Rajah, with the advice of the officer in political charge of Dhar, such selection being subject to the approval of the Governor General's Agent.

3d. That the arrangements and allotments from the revenue for the completion of the lines of road in progress at the date of transfer shall be continued till the said lines are finished, the obligation of maintaining thereafter all such lines in fair repair resting with the Dhar State.

4th. That no alienation of the territory or revenues of the State to any of the neighbouring chiefs, whether in the form of exchange or of gift, shall be carried out without the advice and concurrence of the Governor General's Agent.

5th. That the breach in the Dhar fort shall remain open and in its present condition, no repairs being made to it, and no addition in other respects to the defences of the work, without the sanction of the British Government.

I agree to the above conditions, and hereby bind myself to their fulfilment.

(signed) *Anund Rao Puar.*

Signed before me this thirtieth day of September 1864.

(signed) *P. W. Bannerman,*
Assistant Agent, Governor General,
Central India.

From *C. U. Aitchison*, Esq., Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Agent, Governor General, for Central India (No. 484); dated Fort William, 12 November 1864.

WITH reference to your letter, No. 60, dated 14th October, stating that the orders of Government for the restoration to the Dhar Chief of the management of his ancestral possessions were duly carried out on the 1st of October at a formal Durbar held at the Palace at Dhar, I am directed to communicate the Viceroy and Governor General in Council's approval of Captain Bannerman's proceedings, and of the instructions which you issued for his guidance on the occasion.

EAST INDIA (DHAR).

COPY of further CORRESPONDENCE in the case of
Dhar, from 15 February 1860 to the same Date
in 1865, including the REPORT of the Agent to
the Governor General for Central India in August
1864.

(*Mr. John Benjamin Smith.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
7 April 1865.

[*Price 1 s. 4 d.*]

196.

Under 16 oz.

EAST INDIA (ENGINEERS' ESTABLISHMENT, &c.)

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 22 June 1865;—*for*,

“RETURNS of the Names of the EXAMINERS appointed to examine the CANDIDATES who presented themselves, since the last Return, for Admission to the ENGINEERS' ESTABLISHMENT and PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT of *India* :”

“And, of the Names of the SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES in Order of Merit, their Ages, and the Names of the CIVIL ENGINEERS to whom any such Candidates have been Articled Pupils ; and MARKS assigned on each Subject to every Candidate ; and EXAMINATION PAPERS on each Subject (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 499, of Session 1861, and of No. 76, of Session 1863).”

India Office, }
24 June 1865. }

E. P. A. THOMPSON,
Assistant Secretary, Public Works Department.

(*Mr. Longfield.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
28 June 1865.

CIVIL ENGINEER EXAMINATIONS.

NAMES OF EXAMINERS.

Rev. Jonathan Cape, A. M., F. R. S.

Major General A. G. Goodwyn, late R. E.

George Preston White, Esq., C. E.

SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES in order of Merit.

NAME.	AGE.	Place of Education.	Engineer to whom Articled, or under whom Served.
1. Mr. John Campbell	22	Queen's College, Belfast -	A. Tait, Esq., C.E., Belfast.
2. „ John Paterson -	20	Dollar Institution - -	J. Mitchell, Esq., Inverness.
3. „ James W. Alexander.	21	Madras College, St. Andrews; The College, Chester.	J. Barton, Esq., Dundalk.
4. „ Charles W. Odling.	18	Queen's College, Galway	S. U. Roberts, Esq., C.E., Galway.
5. „ John A. Willmore.	21	Not stated - - -	Messrs. Easton, Amos & Sons, London.
6. „ Aloys Sprenger	21	Ecole Polytechnic, Zurich	Messrs. Platt, Brothers & Co., Oldham.

NUMBER of MARKS assigned to each Candidate.

	Mathematics.	Civil Engineering.	Surveying and Levelling.	TOTAL.		Mathematics.	Civil Engineering.	Surveying and Levelling.	TOTAL.
1	306	300	191	797	9	132	250	83	465
2	319	265	184	768	10	110	260	73	443
3	264	290	163	717	11	190	195	52	437
4	231	280	173	684	12	126	255	53	434
5	212	275	156	643	13	127	245	54	426
6	202	285	135	622	14	115	145	50	310
7	160	295	89	544	15	23	195	28	246
8	102	270	98	530	16	29	50	35	114

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT—INDIA.

CIVIL ENGINEER ESTABLISHMENT.

EXAMINATION PAPERS for June 1865.

June 1865.

EUCLID.—Rev. J. Cape.

1. Define a *superficies*, a *plane rectilineal angle*, a *circle*, and a *rhomboid*, and give the definition of *parallel lines*.

2. Show how to bisect a given rectilineal angle. Hence show also how to bisect a given straight line.

3. Parallelograms upon the same base, and between the same parallels, are equal to one another.

Prove that a square is greater than any other parallelogram of the same perimeter.

4. If a straight line be divided into any two parts, the square on the whole line is equal to the sum of the squares on the two parts together, with twice the rectangle contained by the parts.

If a straight line be trisected, show that the square on the whole line is equal to nine times the square on a third part of it.

5. The opposite angles of any quadrilateral figure inscribed in a circle, are together equal to two right angles.

If two sides AD , BC , of such a quadrilateral $ABCD$, be produced to meet in E , the circle described about ECD will have the tangent at E parallel to AB .

6. Prove that the angle in a semi-circle is a right angle.

If AC be the diameter of a circle, and if any other circle be described with the centre C , all chords of the latter circle, produced if necessary, and passing through A , are bisected by the former circle.

7. The angles in the same segment of a circle are equal to one another.

AB , BC , are two equal arcs in a circle; D , E , two points in the opposite circumference. If from the extremities of these arcs the chords AD , BE , be drawn and produced to meet in F ; and also BD , CE , be drawn and produced to meet in G ; the angles at F and G will be equal.

8. Inscribe an equilateral and equiangular hexagon in a given circle.

Inscribe an equilateral and equiangular hexagon in a given equilateral triangle, and compare the area of this hexagon with the area of the triangle.

9. Describe an isosceles triangle, having each of the angles at the base double of the third angle.

Prove that the rectangle contained by a side of the isosceles triangle and the base, together with the square of the base, is equal to the square of a side of the triangle.

4 PAPERS RELATING TO EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR

10. Prove that equiangular triangles are similar.

ABC is a triangle inscribed in a circle, BD is drawn parallel to the tangent of the circle at the point A , and meets AC in D ; prove that

$$AC : AB :: CB : BD$$

11. Triangles of the same altitude are to one another as their bases.

Point out how it may be proved in a similar manner that triangles with equal bases are to one another as their altitudes.

12. If two straight lines are parallel, and one of them is perpendicular to a plane, prove that the *other* is also perpendicular to the same plane.

June 1865.

ARITHMETIC, TRIGONOMETRY, and MENSURATION.—Rev. J. Cape.

1. Simplify $(\frac{1}{3} \times \frac{5}{6} + 3\frac{1}{2}) - 2\frac{1}{3} \times \frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{7}$;

multiply $(\frac{3}{5} + \frac{20}{39} - \frac{7}{117})$ by $(\frac{3}{7} + \frac{5}{8} - \frac{8}{77})$;

and reduce $\frac{\frac{\frac{5}{2}}{1 - \frac{1}{25}} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{7}}{1 - \frac{1}{7} \text{ of } (\frac{\frac{5}{2}}{1 - \frac{1}{25}} + \frac{1}{5})}$ to its lowest terms.

2. Divide $(.003)^3$ by $(.0002)^2$, and also $.07\dot{5}$ by $.3\dot{5}$; and extract the square root of 2313450.126009.

3. Find the value of

$.025$ of 50 shillings + $.063$ of 100 guineas — $3\frac{1}{8}$ of 13 s. 4 d.

4. A dishonest grocer sells 16 lbs. of butter at 1 s. 4 d. per lb.; each pound of butter being weighed out with weight half-an-ounce short. What does he gain by his fraud?

5. The goods' tariff on a railway 100 miles long, between two towns, is a halfpenny per ton per mile. A shorter line is afterwards made between the same towns, only 80 miles in length. What through-charge per ton may the second company make, so as to carry goods as cheaply as the old line?

6. What sum of money would amount to 2,460 l. in $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, at 2 l. 13 s. 4 d. per cent. per annum, simple interest?

7. Define the terms *sine*, *tangent*, and *cosecant* of an arc.

8. In any triangle ABC , prove that

$$AB + AC : AB - AC :: \tan \frac{ACB + ABC}{2} : \tan \frac{ACB - ABC}{2}.$$

Apply this formula to determine the angles ACB , ABC , in the triangle where $AB = 852$, $AC = 708$, and the angle $BAC = 49^\circ 16'$.

9. Explain the ambiguous case in plane triangles; and of the two triangles in which $AB = 516$, $AC = 329$, and the angle $ABC = 37^\circ 9'$; solve the smaller.

10. Determine

10. Determine the following quantities by means of the tables :—

(α). Logarithm of $\cdot 0573107$.

(β). Number corresponding to $1\cdot 318762$.

(γ). Numerical value of $\frac{\cdot 02631 \times 73\cdot 42813}{1562 \times \cdot 286009}$

(δ). Log cosine of $42^\circ 17' 33''$.

(ϵ). Arc, whose log cotangent is $9\cdot 833086$.

11. A tower 170 feet high stands in the middle of a field, which is an equilateral triangle; and at the top of the tower each side of the field subtends an angle of $96^\circ 17'$. Find the length of a side of the field.

12. Show how to ascertain the height of an inaccessible object, situated on the top of a mound, the height of which is also unknown, the whole of the object being visible from every spot in a horizontal plane in front of it.

13. How many acres are there in a field, one diagonal measuring 950 yards, and the perpendiculars on it from the other two angles being 135 and 210 yards respectively?

14. How long will it take to fill a cylindrical vat, the height being 14 feet, and the diameter 12 feet, by means of a pipe discharging 20 gallons per minute? ($277\cdot 3$ cubic inches in one gallon nearly.)

15. What must the radius of a sphere be, the volume of which is three times that of a pyramid 50 feet high, standing on a hexagonal base, each side of which is 35 feet?

16. A cubical block of granite (its edges being each 8 feet) has a corner broken off of the shape of a pyramid, each of the edges of which (terminating in an angle of the cube) is 1 foot 9 inches. What is the weight of the portion left, it being known that 1 cubic foot of granite weighs 162·5 lbs.?

17. How many cubic yards of earth will come out of a cutting, the transverse sections perpendicular to the axis being trapeziums, whose dimensions are—

Hor. lines at top	33,	39.7,	42.4,	37.2,	43.5,	35.6,	32.4	} feet.
„ do. bottom	20,	20,	20,	20,	20,	20,	20	
Perpendicular height	8,	11.3,	13.2,	10.1,	14.5,	9.2,	7.6	

and the distance between the sections 50 feet.

18. Find the area of a segment of a circle whose radius is 50 feet, and the angle at the centre $72^\circ 15'$.

June 1865.

ALGEBRA.—Rev. J. Cape.

1. Divide $\frac{x^4}{3} - \frac{11x^3}{12} + \frac{41x^2}{8} - \frac{23x}{4} + 6$ by $\frac{2x^2}{3} - \frac{5x}{6} + 1$; and find the continued product of $a + x$, $a^{\frac{1}{2}} - x^{\frac{1}{2}}$, and $a^{\frac{1}{2}} + a^{\frac{3}{2}}x^{\frac{1}{2}} + a^{\frac{3}{2}}x^{\frac{3}{2}} + a^{\frac{1}{2}}x^{\frac{5}{2}} + x^{\frac{5}{2}}$.

2. Find the greatest common measure, and least common multiple of $x^4 + a^2x^2 + a^4$ and $x^4 + ax^3 - a^3x - a^4$.

426.

A 3

3. Simplify

3. Simplify the following expressions :—

$$\frac{1}{a(a-b)(a-c)} + \frac{1}{b(b-a)(b-c)} + \frac{1}{c(c-a)(c-b)} \dots\dots\dots (\alpha)$$

$$\frac{\sqrt{18a^5b^3} + \sqrt{50a_3b^5}}{\sqrt{8ab^3} + \sqrt{2a^3b} - 8a^2b^2 + 8ab^3} \dots\dots\dots (\beta)$$

$$\frac{(1-xy)(1+xy) - (x-y)(x+y)}{(1+xy)^2 + (x-y)^2} \dots\dots\dots (\gamma)$$

4. Solve the following equations :—

$$\frac{\sqrt{4x+1} + \sqrt{4x}}{\sqrt{4x+1} - \sqrt{4x}} = 9 \dots\dots\dots (\alpha)$$

$$x^2 + 5x + 4 = 5\sqrt{x^2 + 5x + 28} \dots\dots\dots (\beta)$$

$$\left. \begin{aligned} 53 - \frac{x}{2} - \frac{z}{2} &= y - 109 \\ \frac{x}{4} + \frac{y}{8} &= 26 \\ 5y &= 4z \end{aligned} \right\} \dots\dots\dots (\gamma)$$

5. Extract the square root of $58 - 14\sqrt{3}$; and reduce the expression

$$\frac{\sqrt{5} - 2\sqrt{2}}{\sqrt{5} + \sqrt{2}}$$
 to its simplest form.

6. Sum the following series :

$$\frac{8}{9} + \frac{29}{63} + \frac{2}{63} \dots\dots\dots \text{to 7 terms} \dots\dots (\alpha)$$

$$\frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{2} + \frac{3}{4} - \dots\dots\dots \text{to 8 terms} \dots\dots (\beta)$$

$$\frac{1}{3} + \frac{5}{6} + \frac{4}{3} + \dots\dots\dots \text{to } n \text{ terms} \dots\dots (\gamma)$$

Also insert an arithmetical, a geometrical, and an harmonical mean between 3 and 12.

7. There are eight clerks in a bank, and two have to remain every Sunday; if the selection is varied in every possible way, how often will the turn of any particular two recur?

8. Determine the middle term in the expansion of $(3a^2 - 5x^2)^8$, and find approximately, by means of the binomial theorem, the value of $\sqrt[7]{108}$.

9. A man asks me the time. I say it is between 7 and 8, and that the minute-hand of my watch is exactly over the hour-hand. What is the real time?

10. A person borrows 1,200 *l.* 10 *s.*; how much must he pay annually that the whole debt may be cleared off in 35 years, allowing *simple* interest at 4 per cent.?

11. A farmer buys 100 sheep for 210 *l.*, and sells 70 of them at a gain of 5 *l.* per cent.; what must each of the remainder be sold for to make his whole profit 10 per cent.?

12. *A* and *B* can together do a piece of work in 10 days; *A* and *C* in 12 days; and *B* and *C* in 15 days. Find what time each could do it in by himself.

June 1865.

MECHANICS and HYDROSTATICS.—REV. J. Cape.

1. Enunciate the "*parallelogram of forces*," and prove it with reference to the *direction* of the resultant of two commensurate forces.

2. $ABCD$ is a parallelogram. If forces acting on a point be represented in magnitude and direction by AB , BD , CA , respectively, determine the direction and magnitude of their resultant.

3. Two forces of 3 and 4 pounds respectively act at the ends of a rigid weightless rod, 10 feet long, their directions being inclined at angles of 30° and 60° to the rod. Find the magnitude of the force which will keep the rod at rest, as well as the direction of it, and the point at which it must be applied.

4. Explain clearly the meaning of the term "centre of gravity," and distinguish between *stable* and *unstable* equilibrium.

Which equilibrium exists in the case of—

- (α) An egg balanced on an end ;
- (β) A cricket ball resting on the ground ;
- (γ) A weight hanging at the end of a rope.

5. If a piece of uniform wire be bent into the form of a triangle ABC , and be hung freely by the angular point A , show that it will only rest with the side BC horizontal when the angle ABC equals the angle ACB .

6. What is meant by the terms *friction* and *coefficient of friction*? State the actual process by which the *coefficients of friction* of different bodies are determined.

7. A body of 25 lbs. weight is placed on a rough plane inclined to the horizon at an angle of 30° . If the coefficient of friction be $\cdot 18$, show that the body cannot be drawn up the plane by a force (or weight) less than $16\cdot 397$ pounds.

8. A capstan is held by four men pressing similarly on arms at distances of six feet from the axis about which the capstan can move; and the cylinder, whose radius is 9 inches, has a chain coiled round it exerting a tension of 1 ton. What force does each man exert?

9. Determine the conditions of equilibrium in the case of the screw—

- (1) When the screw is smooth ;
- (2) When it is rough.

What means have been suggested for increasing indefinitely the power of the screw, and what disadvantages limit the use of such means?

A substance compressed by a screw-press exerts a reaction of 400 lbs. in the direction of the axis of the screw. The diameter of the screw is 8 inches, and the thread makes 3 turns in 2 inches. The power is applied at the distance of 2 feet from the axis, and perpendicular to the arm. The coefficient of friction of the screw being 2, find the limits between which the power must be limited when there is equilibrium.

8 PAPERS RELATING TO EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR

10. Enunciate the principle of *virtual velocities*, and illustrate it by the inclined plane, when it is perfectly smooth.

11. What is understood in "practical mechanics" by the terms *work* and *horse-power*, and what is taken as the unit of work?

What is the horse-power of an engine, when the diameter of the piston is 75 inches, the length of the stroke is 9 feet, when 11 strokes are made per minute, with a mean pressure of steam of 16 lbs. on the square inch?

A mine has 4 shafts, which are 250, 300, 350, and 400 feet deep respectively. It is required to raise from them 100, 70, 65, and 40 cubic feet of water per minute respectively. What horse-power must an engine possess to do all the pumping of the mine?

12. Show how to determine the amount and direction of the pressure of an isosceles roof without a tie-beam on the side walls which support it.

Find the thrust on a wall made by an isosceles roof weighing 20 lbs. per square foot, and having a pitch of 60° , the distance between the side walls being 30 feet, and the rafters being 4 feet apart.

13. Explain the meaning of the terms *velocity*, *accelerating force*, *centrifugal force*, *impulsive force*, and *mass*. Give any illustrations you can think of, tending to prove the truth of the first two *laws of motions*.

14. Find the space a body would move through from rest under the influence of a uniform accelerating force.

A body moves over 14 feet in the first second of time during which it is observed, and over 22 feet and 34 feet in the third and sixth seconds respectively. Is this consistent with the supposition of its being under the influence of a uniformly constant force?

15. Assuming the formula expressing the relation between the length of a pendulum and its time of oscillation, show by what fraction of its length a pendulum must be altered, which beats seconds at a place where the force of gravity is 32, so that it may continue to beat seconds when removed to a place where the force of gravity is 32.32064 .

16. Prove that the surface of every fluid at rest is horizontal, or perpendicular to the direction of gravity.

Hence apply this to the common practice of levelling; and show that the *depression* in 1 mile is 8 inches.

What is the depression in 3 miles?

17. Explain the construction of the thermometer; state how it is filled, and how the freezing point and boiling point are determined.

When Fahrenheit's thermometer registers 63° , what will the centigrade thermometer register?

18. What is meant by saying that the specific gravities of gold and mercury are 19.362 and 13.568 respectively? Find the weight of a cubic foot of gold, and also of a gallon of mercury, it being given that a gallon contains 277.3 cubic inches nearly.

EXAMINATION PAPERS for Competitive Examination of Candidates for Appointments in the Engineer Establishment of the Department of Public Works in India, held at the India Office, London, in June 1865.

George Preston White, C.E., Examiner.

[*Note.*—You are particularly requested to write legibly, and to answer the questions as concisely as possible. Prefix the number of the question to each answer. In those cases in which free-hand sketches or diagrams are used to illustrate the subject, it is requested that they may be carefully executed, in order to show the Candidate's proficiency in this style of drawing. Candidates must not, during the Examination, refer to any Book or MS., nor communicate with each other; their doing so will disqualify them. Candidates are required to produce *bond fide* finished drawings, with certificate, respecting which there will be a *viva voce* examination.]

Describe the course of education you have undergone; name the Engineer to whom you have been a pupil; the number of years articulated; the nature of the works on which you have been engaged, and state in what branch of the profession you have had most practical experience.

CIVIL ENGINEERING.

MATERIALS AND GENERAL CONSTRUCTION.

(*Building Materials, Masonry, Carpentry, Earthwork.*)

1. Name the principal stones employed in building, under the following heads:—

1. Siliceous. 2. Argillaceous. 3. Calcareous. 4. Stratified. 5. Unstratified.

2. Specify those stones which are most durable under ordinary circumstances, which are the easiest worked, and the means usually employed to test the quality of stone for building purposes.

3. Give a simple chemical test for ascertaining when stone is calcareous.

4. Describe some of the most successful processes employed for the preservation of stone. What is the nature of patent stone, and under what circumstances is it economical to employ it?

5. Describe, by diagram, the modes employed in practice for setting out the forms of arch stones for flat segmental arches, without using the centre of the circle of which the arch forms a part. Also describe the methods employed for elliptical arches of large span.

6. Describe how to set out for the workmen the lines of the courses for a skew bridge, make a diagram, and state at what angles it becomes unsafe or undesirable to build skew bridges.

7. Describe the means employed by Mr. Gibbs and others, to build skew bridges, the brickwork or masonry being coursed in the usual way; and state where examples exist.

8. Make free-hand sketches to illustrate the different modes adopted for scarfing and trussing timber.

9. Illustrate, by free-hand sketch, the means employed by Sir Christopher Wren, for framing and supporting the outer dome of St. Paul's Cathedral. Point out the chief advantages, ingenuity, and skill of this mode of construction.

10. Why is the employment of sea sand in mortar prohibited in specifications? and specify the conditions required for good sand.

11. Explain the modes employed for calculating earthwork, and give the names of standard books of tables used for the purpose. Explain how the tab. numb. is obtained, and upon what principle the tables most employed are constructed.

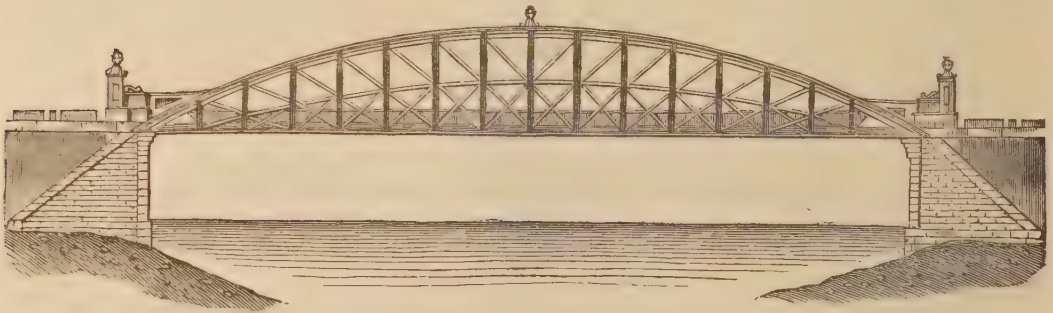
12. What are the best materials to employ for forming embankments? Specify those in which the least settlement takes place, and state what per-centage you would allow for settlement in your estimates in the different materials employed.

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTIONS.

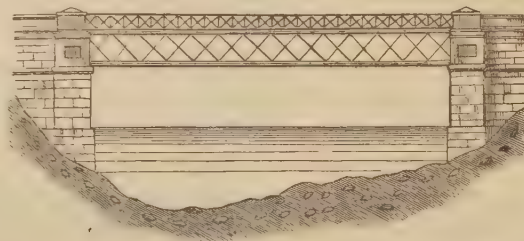
(*Bridges, Roads, Railroads, Hydraulic Works, Architecture.*)

13. In designing the proportions of a wrought-iron bridge, to what extent may iron of a fair average quality be strained per square inch, under compression and in tension respectively, under the effect of the maximum load that can possibly come upon the bridge?

14. What should be the net sectional areas in the arches and in the horizontal ties, for a bow-string girder bridge (*vide* drawing), the clear span of which is 220 feet, versed sine 28 feet; the weight of the structure being 320 tons, and the additional (traffic) load, equally distributed, 200 tons?



15. The accompanying sketch is a design for a lattice girder bridge, 100 feet span; width of roadway 18 feet; required to be constructed sufficiently strong to bear a load of ballast equal to about 84 lbs. per square foot, and a moving load of traffic of the same amount. State what depth you would make the beam in proportion to the span; give free-hand sketches of the details of the ironwork, distinguishing the parts subject to tension, from those liable to compression, and give an approximate estimate of the weight of iron, and of the cost of such a structure.



16. Make a design for an iron shed of simple construction, supported by cast-iron pillars 15 feet in height, 20 feet apart, connected at top by wrought-iron girders, to carry a segmental roof 40 feet span, versed sine 10 feet, and composed of ribs of T-iron, with purlins of angle-iron, covered with corrugated iron bolted on; make free-hand sketches of the different parts in detail, with dimensions figured on, and give an approximate estimate of the cost of such a structure per hundred square feet of ground covered.

17. Draw up a brief specification for the shed described in the foregoing question, and specify what wire gauge you would recommend for the corrugated iron, the structure to be sufficiently rigid to withstand a hurricane.

18. State what ruling gradient Mr. Telford considered desirable to obtain in laying out roads, and the form of cross section he adopted for the carriage-way.

When

When broken stone is employed for metalling, what sized ring should it pass through? In applying fresh metalling to roads, what precaution should be adopted to make the materials bind?

19. Describe and make free-hand sketches of some of the most approved and generally adopted forms of rails and chairs, the best means of fishing or securing the rails at the joint, and describe Mr. Dering's improvements; and name the most important points to attend to in the selection and construction of permanent way.

20. Explain some of the modes employed for ventilating buildings, and the best arrangements for roofs in warm climates.

21. What is the average cost per ton, at present price of iron, for ordinary wrought-iron lattice girders for bridges, and what would be a fair estimate per ton for cost of erection, the piers or abutments being already prepared to receive the girders?

22. When iron is used for the flooring of an iron bridge, to support the gravel and metalling, what is the best and most economical form in which to employ it?

23. Explain the uses and applications of Mallet's buckled plates.

24. Describe some of the most successful means employed for striking and easing bridge centres, and explain in what way sand has been used for the purpose.

25. In preparing a specification for a road or railway, state the general clauses desirable to introduce under the following heads:—

1. The bricks; the quality and description of the brickwork.
2. Stone; its character, colour, and quality.
3. Mortar; lime, cement, and concrete.
4. Tooled masonry.
5. Foundations.
6. Specify the precautions necessary in forming embankments, so as not to injure the bridges or culverts.
7. Removal of centres, and style of finishing earth round bridges.
8. Draining and metalling roads.
9. Ballast; state what materials are suitable, and why clay is not admissible.
10. Penal clauses.

26. Describe briefly, with free-hand drawing, the cylinders employed to form the Thames Embankment: and name other cases where iron-sheet piling has been used instead of timber.

27. Give the names of the different orders of Grecian and Roman architecture; name some buildings in each style, and state the chief features or characteristics which distinguish classic from the so-called Gothic or Christian architecture.

28. Make a free-hand drawing of a flying buttress; describe its objects and uses as a piece of skilful and scientific construction, independent of its advantages as a beautiful feature in architecture, and state upon what does its stability depend.

APPLIED MECHANICS.

(Strength of Materials, Mechanism, Hydraulic Machines.)

29. Give the names of some of the principal authorities who have experimented on the strength of the materials, wood, stone, mortars, cement, and wrought and cast-iron. State the general results arrived at, and name a few standard works of reference on the subject.

30. Explain the nature and give the results of the experiments made by Mr. Grant, C.E., to test the quality of the cement supplied in the construction of the main drainage works of London; and state what are the characteristics of good cement, and how you would test it.

31. Explain and illustrate, with free-hand drawings, the action of Appold & Gwynne's centrifugal pump and of Fourneyron's turbine.

32. Make a free-hand sketch of the sun and planet and ex-centric motions, and explain their uses.

33. Explain the difference between spur gear and bevel gear, and make a free-hand sketch illustration.

34. Explain the principle of the atmospheric and pneumatic railway. What advantage does the latter system possess over the former; what are the steepest gradients which have been worked by it, and what are its advantages over the system of ordinary locomotive propulsion? State what pressure has been obtained in practice per square inch.

Miscellaneous.

35. Describe briefly the principal inventions and improvements in the manufacture of iron and steel by the following:—D. Dudley, Andrew Yarranton, Abraham Darby, Richard Reynolds, Benjamin Huntsman, Henry Cort, John Roebuck, David Mushet, James Beaumont Neilson.

36. How is Bessemer steel manufactured, and what are its advantages?

37. What are the advantages of employing steel in the construction of girders, bridges, and rails for permanent way?

38. State the advantages of Swedish iron and steel, and to what are they attributable?

39. What is the meaning of the terms—steam possessing an atmosphere of tension, of superheated steam, and of steam at its maximum density?

40. What is the meaning of the term horse-power as applied to the steam engine; upon what calculation is it founded, and by whom was the term introduced.

41. Name the principal mechanical inventions of the following eminent engineers:—Joseph Bramah, Henry Maudsley, Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, Joseph Clement, Richard Roberts, James Naysmith, William Fairbairn.

42. Explain the meaning of the following terms used in mining:—Back of a lode, counter lode, champion lode, cross course, cross cut, costeaning, dialling, driving, elvan.

43. It is proposed to carry out docks, piers, harbour works, and other improvements in a tidal harbour, and for this purpose it is required to obtain an accurate section of the bottom of the harbour, the nature of its bed, its capabilities as holding ground for anchorage, &c., &c. Describe how to fix the position of the soundings, whilst being taken, so as to mark them on the accompanying map, and how to reduce them to a common datum; as, for example, the low water of "ordinary spring tides."

The river flowing into the harbour discharges and throws up a considerable amount of silt; describe some of the means usually employed at Ramsgate and elsewhere to counteract and remove impediments of this kind.

Also, mark on plan lines of intercepting and thorough drainage, and describe the conventional signs used on maps to denote geological, mineralogical, and other physical features. Print title, and colour map.



FIELD BOOK

Fore sight 185°
Back sight 260°

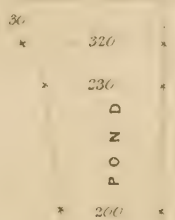
S H I R L E Y
H E A T H
R o a d
20 ft.

120 2 928
20 2 830
2 690
2 530
2 130
2 000
1 970
1 880
1 785
45 1 510
1 255
1 230
1 180
860
635
525
280
100
40

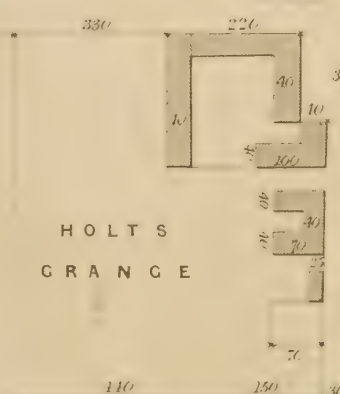


Fore sight 260°
Back sight 5°

T O W N C O U R T



H O L T S
G R A N C E



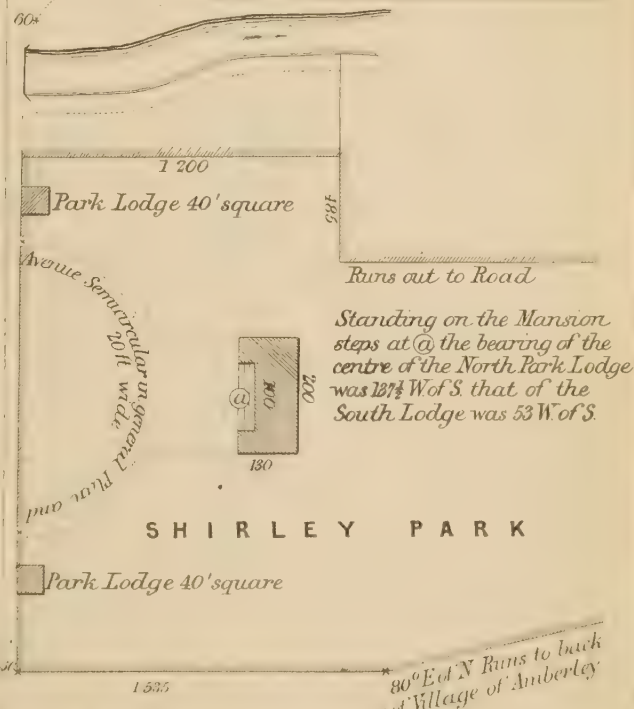
4 141
4 000
3 920
3 907
3 300
3 237
3 197
3 162

2 030
2 000
1 865
1 870

1 435
1 400
1 360
1 320
1 285
1 200
1 100
1 070

880
830
760
645
580

80
50
10
0



Runs out to Road

Standing on the Mansion steps at @ the bearing of the centre of the North Park Lodge was 127½ W of S. that of the South Lodge was 53 W of S.

80° E of N Runs to back of Village of Amberley

Start from centre of four cross roads, on a bearing 5° E of N

along middle of road which is everywhere 60 ft wide.

Closes on 4 000

starting point

120 3 999
40 3 950
30 3 900
3 215
30 3 100
70 2 450
90 2 000
15 1 550
640
30 110
30 70

100
10

AMBERLEY COMMON

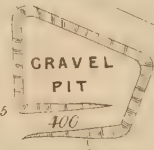
Centre of Road from corner of Amberley



Fore sight 290°
Back sight 350°

70 4 000
30 10 3 940
10 3 430
3 410
3 240

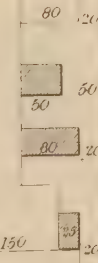
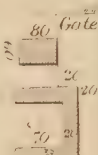
40



AMBERLEY
COMMON

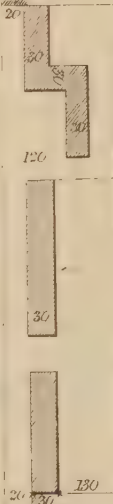
Road 20' wide
61° W. of S. Runs completely across common

2.95



AMBERLEY

120 1 425
20 1 130
20 1 005
985
80 20 800
730
50 50 670
635
80 20 605
570
530
150 20 480



SHIRLEY PARK

Fore sight 350°
Back sight 185°

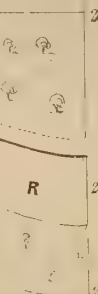
2 070
2 069
1 490

20
20

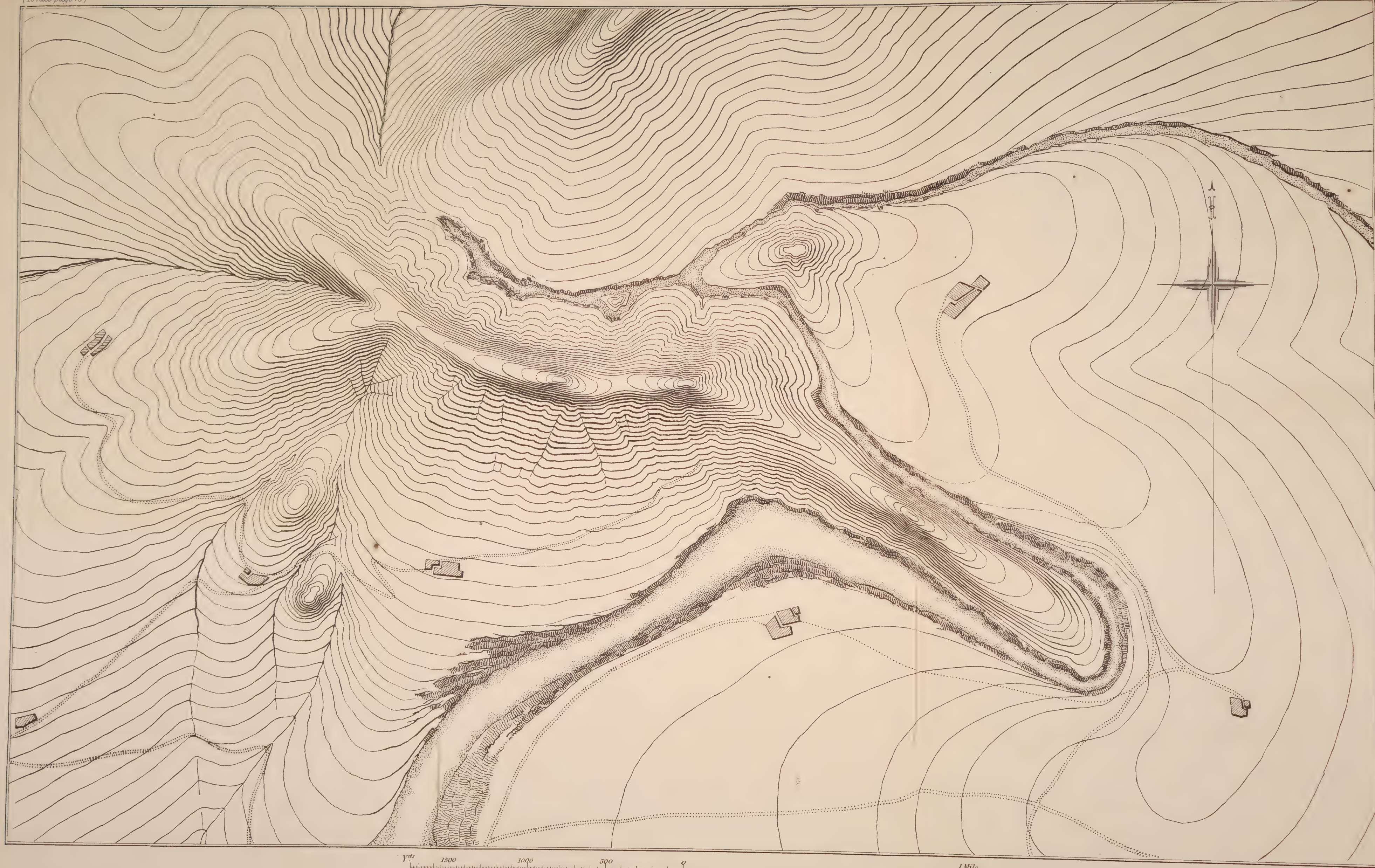
SHIRLEY PARK



RIVER



20 865
435
420
340
20 220



Yds 1500 1000 500 0

1 Mile

SURVEYING.

Examiner, Major General *A. G. Goodwyn*.

1. Accompanying is the field book of a traverse survey which you are required to plot. The measurements are in feet. The plan should be appropriately headed.

If a sheet of foolscap paper be opened out, and the meridional line be drawn on it parallel to its longer sides, the starting point may advantageously be fixed in the lower left-hand corner, 4 inches from the bottom, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the side. If, as is recommended, a scale of 12 inches to the mile be adopted, the work will be conveniently contained within the sheet. No scale smaller than 9 inches to the mile can be allowed.

The work will be valued as to—

- Coming to a close correctly on the starting point ;
- Intelligent reading of the field book, and general accuracy ;
- Correct fixing of position of Shirley Mansion ;
- Good drawing and printing. (Colours may be used at discretion. Their absence, however, will not be deemed a defect) ;
- Completeness.

2. The accompanying plan represents ground, of which it is supposed you have to make a trigonometrical survey, and may be drawn over and lettered in any way you may deem necessary.

You are required to—

(a) Exhibit, in red ink, the scheme of triangulation you would adopt, specially marking the base, and not cumbering the plan with the less trustworthy observations, which, in the field, you might record.

(b) Give in a field book recording the measurement of the base as now to be got by scale ; and the theodolite readings at, at least, three of the points to be trigonometrically fixed, as now to be measured with a protractor.

(c) Hand in a field book of a supposed traverse survey of at least three miles of the course of the dry watercourse represented, including in its length at least two changes of direction of the lines to be chained. (*N.B.*—The scale at the bottom of the plan may be cut off, and used in measurements, if desired.)

(d) State how, after taking observations with a theodolite at your several trigonometrical stations, their correctness may be checked ; and, similarly, after making a traverse survey, in a circuit, and coming to a close on your starting point, the correctness of the work with the theodolite may be tested.

(e) State how, in the event of slight error, in either of the above cases, it should be disposed of.

(f) State how you would, in the field, ascertain the variation of the compass.

(g) Sketch freely, in any style you please, and as a specimen of your ability to do such work, features of the country, including the south-eastern loop of the dry watercourse. Not less than 9 square inches of the plan before you should be embraced by the sketch, and the copy should be on the same scale as, or in due proportion to, the original.

(h) Compute the area bounded on the north and west by the two branches of the watercourse, and on the south and east by the limits of the plan.

LEVELLING, SURVEYING, and GEOMETRICAL DRAWING.

Examiner, Major General A. G. Goodwyn.

3. Having to construct an embankment, level at top, straight across the valley of the Rooprail, along the course of which a stream flows, and 15 feet above the surface of the water, I drive pins flush with the ground, at the uniform distance of 100 feet apart, marking the central alignment of the work, and, having numbered them from (1) to (25) inclusive, I set my level over Nos. (4), (10), (16), and (22), and take the following readings:—

FIELD BOOK OF LEVELS.

Bearings.	BACK SIGHTS.			Height of Instrument, and Number of Pin.	FORE SIGHTS.			Bearings.	REMARKS.
	Number of Pins, and their Staff Readings.				Number of Pins, and their Staff Readings.				
	<i>Ft.</i>	<i>Ft.</i>	<i>Ft.</i>	<i>Ft.</i>	<i>Ft.</i>	<i>Ft.</i>	<i>Ft.</i>		
W. of S. 85°	(1) 0·59	(2) 1·67	(3) 2·91	(4) 4·52	(5) 5·81	(6) 7·04	(7) 8·35	E. of N. 85°	90 ft. east of Pin No. 12, you descend perpendicularly into the bed of the stream, which is 300 ft. wide. Eastern bank also precipitous. From Pin No. 10, the dry weather surface level of the water reads 10·60.
Ditto -	(7) 1·86	(8) 3·77	(9) 4·51	(10) 5·33	(11) 6·78	(12) 7·55	(13) 12·10	Ditto.	
Ditto -	(13) 11·75	(14) 11·60	(15) 10·53	(16) 5·01	(17) 4·62	(18) 2·84	(19) 1·11	Ditto.	
Ditto -	(19) 9·24	(20) 8·12	(21) 6·65	(22) 5·18	(23) 3·84	(24) 2·53	(25) 0·92	Ditto.	

From the above data it is required to draw sections both of the valley and of the embankment, marking the height of the top of each pin above a datum line 30 feet below No. 1, and the height of the embankment above each pin.

Work to be given in complete. It may be on any convenient horizontal scale—one-tenth of the vertical scale.

4. Starting from Ferozepore, the distance between that station and Loodianah was measured with a 100-feet chain, and found to be 423,000 feet. Also the intermediate station of Dhurumkote was found to be 200,000 feet distant from Ferozepore. The chain, which was of the right length at starting, and so substantial as to forbid the idea of elongation in the *straight* portions of the links, nevertheless, at the termination of the work, was found to be six inches too long. What were the true distances between the three places?

5. Explain the principle of the vernier, and its mode of action.

6. In chaining, suppose a pond wider than the length of the chain to lie in your path, how would you continue your measurement beyond it?

7. Construct a scale of 13 feet to an inch, and show the method of dividing such a scale geometrically. Also state what methods are usually adopted in copying plans on a different scale.

8. An octagon of 200 feet side is surrounded by houses 70 feet high, extending back 50 feet. The roofing of the houses has a pitch of one-fourth its span, and where its continuity is broken the ends are finished off with hips (not in gables). The octagon lies square with the cardinal points, and streets 80 feet wide enter it from the north, south, east, and west, having houses on each side of them of the same description as those round the octagon.

Draw, in isometrical perspective, such a mass of buildings, on any scale not less than 50 feet to an inch; attaching the scale.



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(*Mr. Longfield.*)

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